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THE PREFACE.

WE ſhould not have troubled our Readers with any Preface to this Volume, had we not been impudently attack'd by a little, buſy, pragmatical Fellow, who calls himſelf *Sylvanus Urban*, and has the Aſſurance to pretend to know what paſſes in the *Political Club* better than their Secretary, from whom we have our Account of the Proceedings and Debates of that Club. This little Fellow has long made himſelf remarkable for thruſting his Head into every Ring of Gentlemen that happen to aſſemble at any Coffee-Houſe or Place of publick Rendezvous, and from what he thus hears, ſets up for a Stateſman and Politician; but how he can pretend to know what paſſes in the *Political Club* we cannot imagine, for we are well aſſured, he was never admitted into that Club, nor into the Converſation of any Gentleman belonging to it.

WHAT he means by putting the Words of one Stateſman into the Mouth of another, is beyond our Comprehenſion, for there are no Stateſmen in the Club whoſe Debates we give an Account of; and as little do we know what he means by our being ignorant of the Number of Speakers, when in the Title-Page of every one of our *Magazines* it is expreſsly declared, That all the Speeches made in the Club are not inſerted, nor, indeed, would it be poſſible to afford Room in our *Magazine* for one Half of them, therefore we are obliged to give only the moſt remarkable.

IF we ſhould ſhew a Contempt of our Readers by giving them ſuch *Tittle-Tattle* as he entertains his with, in what he calls, The Debates of his *Lilliputian Senate*, we might eaſily give the Names, and ſuch as he calls Speeches, of *twenty* or *thirty* Speakers in every *Magazine*; but this would not be ſo much as a Repreſentation of the ſolemn and inſtructive Debates in the *Political Club*.

THE Speeches he gives, except when he ſteals from us, may moſt juſtly be called *Lilliputian Speeches*, and therefore, they may be proper enough for a *Lilliputian Senate*; but ſurely he has not the Impudence to palm his *empty and unmeaning, or nonſenſical Stuff* upon his Readers, as the Debates of the *Political Club*, or of any other Aſſembly of Gentlemen in this Kingdom.

IT

IT would be endleſs to point out the Bundles of Nonſenſe wrapt up in every Speech he makes, for they can be made by none but himſelf, and therefore we ſhall take Notice only of the firſt three or four Paragraphs of what he calls the *Hurgo Quadrett's* Speech in his *Magazine* for *October* laſt.

PARAGRAPH 1. *Preſcribe the Courſe of publick Enquiries*, is Nonſenſe. If he means any Thing, he means, and ought to have ſaid, Preſcribe a Method of proceeding in all publick Inquiries.

PARAGRAPH 2. *Becauſe I* SHALL *not be eaſily ſuſpected*, is Nonſenſe. He ſhould have ſaid, I CANnot be ſuſpected.

PARAGRAPH ditto. *And to recover that Confidence in the Government, without which no Happineſs is to be expected, without which the beſt Meaſures will always be obſtructed by the People, and the juſteſt Remonſtrances diſregarded by the Court*, is Nonſenſe. If he means any Thing, he ſhould have ſaid, And to recover that Confidence between the *Governors and Governed*, without which, *&c.*

PARAGRAPH 3. *Means* TO *which we are invited to concur*, is Nonſenſe. He ſhould have ſaid, Means IN which we are invited to concur.

PARAGRAPH 4. *The Caution with which our Anceſtors proceeded, and the Certainty they required in Evidence,* IS *univerſally known*, is ungrammatical. He ſhould have ſaid, ARE univerſally known. And as to what follows in this Paragraph, we defy any Man to make Senſe of it, or to gueſs what the Author means.

THESE are not Errors or Inaccuracies of Stile which proceed from Inadvertency, and are therefore excuſable in one who writes in a Hurry, as moſt of our periodical Writers do: They muſt proceed from a Defect in the Underſtanding, and, if we may be allowed the Expreſſion, ought to be called *Nonſenſe prepenſe*. As there are innumerable ſuch in his Speeches, it ſhews his Genius to be Lilliputian as well as his Senate; and as little Minds are generally crammed with Envy, therefore, we hope, all Gentlemen of Senſe or Taſte will deſpiſe any Falſhoods his Envy may prompt him to propagate, and continue to give us the ſame Encouragement they have done hitherto, for which we ſhall always be thankful, and which we ſhall endeavour, as much as poſſible, to deſerve.

WHAT we have ſaid will, we hope, ſuffice to give Gentlemen a juſt Idea of our little Rival's Performance, and therefore we ſhall, for the future, forbear to take Notice of any Criticiſms he may think fit to publiſh, becauſe, we know, he thereby deſigns to provoke us to puff his *Magazine*, which, if neglected by us, will probably, in a ſhort Time, ſink by the Weight of its own Stupidity.

THE

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JANUARY, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from the *Appendix*, 1741.

In the Debate begun in the ſaid Appendix, *Page* 654, *the Motion made by* L. Valerius Flaccus, *was firſt oppoſed by* L. Junius Brutus, *in a Speech to the Effect as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I T is an unfortunate State we are fallen into, that every Seſſion of Parliament muſt be attended with new Laws, or new Clauſes in old Laws, for oppreſſing the induſtrious Subject, and endangering the Liberties of the Country. It is impoſſible to levy high Duties upon the Neceſſaries or Conveniencies of Life, it is impoſſible to keep up numerous ſtanding Armies, without ſuch Laws, or ſuch Clauſes; and yet we have, for twenty Years, been contriving how to continue and increaſe both. The high Duties we roan under, were introduced for ſupporting a heavy and expenſive, but neceſſary war; but how the keeping up of a numerous ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, was introduced, I can no other Way account for than by ſuppoſing, that it was neceſſary for ſupporting unpopular, deſtructive Meaſures, and a hated Miniſter. I am ſurprized to hear the forcible Quartering of Soldiers, upon publick or private Houſes, inſiſted on, as if it were a neceſſary Means for the Support of our Government. Sir, if we were to attend ſtrictly to our Conſtitution, even as it ſtands at preſent, we ought, in no Mutiny Bill, to admit of the Quartering of Soldiers, even on Publick-houſes, except for a few Nights, in their March from one Gariſon to another, or for the firſt Night after they arrive at the Place deſigned for their Reſidence. Tho' we now keep up, tho' we have long kept up a great Number of ſtanding Forces in Time of Peace, yet, properly

perly ſpeaking, they are no more than is ſuppoſed to be neceſſary for Guards and Gariſons; and accordingly, the Reſolution annually agreed to in this Houſe is, "That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Gariſons in *Great Britain*, for the enſuing Year, ſhall be ſuch a Number as is then thought neceſſary." Before the Revolution, we had Guards and Gariſons, even in Time of Peace; but before the Revolution, nor for ſome Years after, we had no Quartering of Soldiers, either upon publick or private Houſes, in Time of Peace, without the Conſent of the Owner. On the contrary, by an expreſs Law, the latter End of King *Charles* IId's Reign, it was enacted, "That no Officer, military or civil, or other Perſon, ſhall quarter or billet any Soldier upon any Inhabitant of this Realm, without his Conſent;" which Law ſtood in force till near the End of the Year 1692, when the firſt Law was made for quartering Soldiers in Publick-houſes.

Before that Year, Sir, our Guards and Gariſons, by which, I mean all the Soldiers we had on foot, even in their marching from one Place to another, were obliged to quarter themſelves as other Travellers do, in Houſes that were willing to receive them; and when they came to any Gariſon or Place where they were to reſide, every Officer and Soldier provided Quarters for himſelf; in which, I believe, there was no Inconvenience found; for when Soldiers behave civilly, and are agreeable to the People, there will always be Houſes enough, either publick or private, that will be glad to receive them for what they are able to pay, unleſs there be a greater Number of them than the Place can conveniently accommodate. From the Revolution to the Year 1692, we had a Sort of civil War amongſt ourſelves, for *Ireland* was not entirely reduced till the End of the Year 91; and as *inter arma ſilent leges*, perhaps, during that Time, ſome Liberties were taken with the Laws, in reſpect to Quartering or Billeting of Soldiers. But in the Year 92, the domeſtick Tranquillity of the three Kingdoms being re-eſtabliſhed, the Parliament began to think of reſtoring the Laws to their priſtine Force. However, as we were then engaged in a dangerous foreign War, and upon that Account obliged to keep a greater Number of Troops in the Kingdom than uſual; and as our Troops were often obliged to march in great Bodies, either from one Place of the Kingdom to another, as Danger threatened, or through the Kingdom in their Way to *Flanders*, the Parliament ſaw it would be neceſſary to provide Quarters for them upon their March, in a different Manner from what had before been allowed by Law; and therefore in the Mutiny Bill for the enſuing Year, which then firſt began to be intitled, A Bill for puniſhing Officers and Soldiers who ſhall mutiny or deſert their Majeſties Service, and for puniſhing falſe Muſters, *and for the Payment of Quarters*, the Clauſe for quartering Soldiers in Publick-houſes, without Conſent of the Owner, was introduced, and has ever ſince remained in all the Mutiny Bills paſſed, to this very Day; for a favourite Power once granted to the Crown, is ſeldom recovered by the Subject, without ſome remarkable Revolution in our Government.

But, by this Clauſe, as the Act then ſtood, it was not intended, that Soldiers ſhould be quartered or billeted in the Places appointed for their Reſidence, even upon Publick-houſes, without the Conſent of the Owner. At leaſt it was not intended, they ſhould be ſo quartered for any longer than the firſt Night after their

their Arrival. That this was the Intention of the Act, is, I think, plain, from the next Clauſe of the Act, whereby it is enacted, " That Officers and Soldiers billetted, as directed by the preceding Clauſe, ſhall pay ſuch reaſonable Prices as ſhall be appointed by the Juſtices of Peace in their Quarter Seſſions; and the Juſtices are thereby required to ſet Rates for Proviſions, for one or more Nights in their Marching, *and for the firſt Night only in Places appointed for their Reſidence.*"

This, I think, Sir, plainly ſhews, that in Places appointed for the Reſidence of Soldiers for any Time, neither Officer nor Soldier was to be quartered for more than the firſt Night, upon any Houſe, publick or private; and the Reaſon is evident, becauſe, being then ſettled, if they could not agree with their Landlords where they were firſt lodged, for a Continuance, they might next Day look out for, and provide new Lodgings or Quarters for themſelves. It was not then intended to give any Soldier, and much leſs an Officer, a Right to lodge in the beſt Room of an Inn or Ale-houſe, without paying any Thing for it, and that, perhaps, for a Year, or ſeveral Years together. Even when they were upon a March, or for the firſt Night after their Arrival at the Place appointed for their Reſidence, they were not to have their Lodging abſolutely free; becauſe the Juſtices were certainly to have a Regard to the Expence and Trouble of lodging them, when they ſettled the Rates they were to pay for Proviſions. The modern Practice of giving every Officer and Soldier a free Lodging in the Houſe where he is quartered, whether he ſpends any of his Money there or no, and even in the Place where he is appoited to reſide, as well as when he is upon a March, would then have been rejected with great Contempt, if it had been propoſed; for it is really laying a Tax upon the Subject, without the Conſent of Parliament, at leaſt without any ſuch Conſent obtained in a regular Manner, and according to the uſual Methods of proceeding in Parliament, when the Subjects, or any Part of them, are to be loaded with a new Tax. But, a Foundation being thus laid for obliging our Publick-houſes to give free Lodging to the Soldiers for a few Nights in their March, and for the firſt Night after their Arrival at the Place where they were appointed to reſide, a Pretence was from thence taken to inſiſt, that Soldiers were always to be a Load upon our Publick-houſes, and to be intitled to have always a free Lodging even in the Places appointed for their Reſidence. Perhaps the Words of this firſt Law were left a little doubtful, on purpoſe to draw this Inference from them; but this was not enough, for in order to give Soldiers a leſs doubtful Title to this free Lodging for ever, the Words of the Law were afterwards altered, and the Juſtices were required to ſet and appoint ſuch reaſonable Rates for all neceſſary Proviſions for ſuch Officers and Soldiers, for one or more Nights, in the ſeveral Places which they ſhall come to in their March, *or which ſhall be appointed for their Reſidence and Quarters.*

Thus, Sir, you ſee what an incroaching Thing an Army is, and, I wiſh, it did not incroach upon us in any more dangerous Reſpect. This of free Lodging for Soldiers is now become a continual and ſettled Tax upon the Publick-houſes, in all Places where Soldiers are uſually appointed to reſide. Every ſuch Houſe has generally one Soldier at leaſt quartered upon it; and if the Landlord does not give his Gueſt ſuch a Lodging as pleaſes him, he muſt pay him ſuch a Sum weekly

as he ſhall demand, for his furniſhing himſelf with a Lodging. Here in *Weſtminſter* it is by Cuſtom ſettled at 9*d.* a Week, that is 39*s. per Annum*, for a common Soldier; and conſequently the Officers, if they ſhould inſiſt on it, might ſurely demand a great deal more. Is not this, Sir, taxing the Subject? Is it not increaſing the Pay of the Soldier, without any proper legal Authority for either? This Tax, Sir, is the more grievous, becauſe of its being raiſed upon a Part of the People only; and it is the more dangerous, becauſe a Miniſter may raiſe it in what Places, and in what Proportions he pleaſes, and conſequently may make it a Handle for oppreſſing thoſe Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, that do not ſend him up ſuch Members to this Houſe, as he ſhall pleaſe to direct. But this Handle is not, it ſeems, ſufficient, therefore ſome new Strength muſt be added to it; and for this, a Pretence is taken from ſome Clauſes in our late Mutiny Acts, which, I think, can admit of no ſuch Meaning. The Inn-keeper, or Victualler, muſt now, it is ſaid, furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon him, not only with Lodging, but alſo with Board, both according to the Liking of the Soldier, and yet he is to have no more for both than a Groat a Day, even in Times of the greateſt Scarcity. The Soldier may inſiſt upon what Sort of Victuals, and what Quantity he pleaſes, but let him eat of what he will, or how much he will, the poor Landlord muſt not charge above a Groat a Day. In Times of Plenty, the Soldier will furniſh himſelf, becauſe he can, perhaps, do it at 2*d.* a Day; but in Times of Scarcity, he will oblige his Landlord to furniſh him, becauſe he cannot do it perhaps under 8*d.* a Day. Is this juſt, Sir? Is it equitable? Is it poſſible to ſuppoſe that an Act of Parliament ſhould eſtabliſh ſuch an Impoſition?

I do not know, Sir, nor do I much regard, what Opinion the Lawyers may have given; becauſe they generally give their Opinion according as the Caſe is ſtated to them; and therefore, when the Caſe is falſely ſtated, their Opinion muſt be wrong. This ſeems to be the Caſe at preſent. The Queſtion is not, what an Inn-keeper or Victualler may demand, if he does furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon him with Proviſions; for it is plain he cannot demand, at leaſt he cannot recover, more than a Groat a Day; becauſe the Pay-maſter can ſtop no more of a Soldier's Pay on that Account; and how the Victualler can otherwiſe recover it, I believe no Lawyer, nor even a Conjurer can tell. The only Queſtion therefore is, whether an Inn-keeper or Victualler be obliged to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them with Proviſions; and this, I think, admits of as little Doubt as the other. He certainly is not obliged to do ſo, by any expreſs Words in the Mutiny Bill paſſed laſt Year. By a Clauſe in that Bill, as well as many former, the Inn-keeper is obliged to receive the Soldiers quartered upon him: He muſt let them into his Houſe: He muſt not ſhut his Doors againſt them; but this is all he is obliged to do by that Law: Even his furniſhing them with Beds is by that Law left, as it ſhould be, depending upon his Courteſy; and hitherto it has produced no Diſpute, nor have the Soldiers been left unaccommodated, except in a few very extraordinary Caſes, which can afford no Foundation for any Alteration in the Law.

Both the Inſtances that have been mentioned, are of this Kind. The Diſpute at *Wakefield* I am far from being ſurprized at; I am ſurprized, Sir, there were not ſuch Diſputes laſt Winter all over the whole Kingdom.

dom. It was cruel to oblige Innkeepers to furniſh Hay and Straw to the Soldiers Horſes, at the Rate of 6*d. per Diem*, when Hay and Straw bore ſuch monſtrous Prices; nay, when their own Cattle were perhaps dying for Want. The Juſtices were in the Right to allow 8*d.* Can it be ſaid, that a Trooper or Dragoon could not afford 8*d.* for his Horſe, at a Time when there was ſuch a Scarcity of all Sorts of Fodder? Why may not a Trooper or Dragoon live upon 4*d.* as well as a Foot Soldier? Suppoſe he allowed 8*d.* for his Horſe, he had 4*d.* a Day for himſelf; and with that, or with the worſe Fare for himſelf, he ſhould have been content; eſpecially as he knew, the Scarcity of Fodder could not be of a very long Continuance.

The Affair at *Ledbury* too, Sir, was a Caſe of a very extraordinary Nature. The People there did not like at that Time to have any Soldiers among them, or at leaſt not ſo many of them; becauſe they thought themſelves oppreſſed, and knew that the Soldiers were ſent there, to prevent their taking their own Way for freeing themſelves from that Oppreſſion. I do not ſay it was wrong to ſend Soldiers there, or to ſend ſuch a Number of them; becauſe, whether the People were oppreſſed or no, they had taken a very wrong Method to free themſelves from that Oppreſſion. They had choſen a riotous and tumultuous Way of doing it; and a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood, who had acted the Part of a bold and worthy Magiſtrate, had not only been inſulted by the Mob, but was in Danger of being murdered by them. The People in that Neighbourhood had behaved in a moſt riotous and obſtinate Manner upon that Occaſion; but ſurely the Obſtinacy of the People in a particular Corner, and upon a particular Occaſion, is not to be pleaded as a Reaſon for oppreſſing the whole Kingdom,

The few Diſputes that have happened, Sir, in ſuch a long Courſe of Years, between the Soldiers and the People where they are quartered, is a much ſtronger Reaſon for continuing the Law as it is. The A Harmony between the Soldiers and People may hitherto be ſaid to have been general: But do not let us depend, Sir, upon the Continuance of this Harmony, if we ſhould begin to keep up a greater Number of Troops, or even if we ſhould continue to keep up the ſame Number B for many Years to come. The People muſt always ſuffer many Hardſhips by the Quartering of Soldiers, and theſe Hardſhips muſt increaſe or diminiſh in Proportion as we increaſe or diminiſh our ſtanding Army. C The People have for many Years expected a Diminution of our Army, and conſequently a Diminution of the Hardſhips they ſuffer from thence. They have every Year hoped it would be the laſt, and that the next Year would put an End to D moſt of the Hardſhips they ſuffered on Account of our Army. However ſharp-ſighted our Miniſters and Parliament-Men have been, in ſeeing thoſe Dangers which have all along been pretended as the Reaſon for keeping up ſuch a numerous E ſtanding Army, the People could perceive none of theſe Dangers, or at leaſt they ſuppoſed, that ſuch tremendous Proſpects would not regularly preſent themſelvos to View every ſucceeding Winter, and this confirmed them in their annual F Hopes, that next Seſſion of Parliament would reduce the Army, and that our regular Troops would at laſt come really to be, what they are every Year ſuppoſed to be by Parliament, nothing but Guards and Gariſons, which would of courſe G free all thoſe who do not live in the Purlieus of a Gariſon, or the Sunſhine of a Court, from the Burden of quartering Soldiers.

But,

But, Sir, the People have been ſo long diſappointed in theſe Expectations, that it is to be feared, they will ſoon grow deſperate. They will deſpair of ever ſeeing themſelves relieved from the Hardſhips they groan under, with reſpect to the Army. The Suſpicion will become general, that ſuch a numerous Army is not kept up to protect us againſt foreign Dangers, or becauſe it is neceſſary for the juſt Ends of Government, but becauſe it is neceſſary for ſupporting and enforcing the weak or oppreſſive Meaſures of an Adminiſtration. In this Caſe, every Corner of the Kingdom will become a *Ledbury*: The Soldiers will become every where hateful to the People, and the People will become deſpicable in the Eyes of the Soldiers. There will then be no Courteſy, no Harmony between the Soldiers and the Perſons upon whom they are quartered. The latter will furniſh nothing to their unwelcome Gueſts, but what they are in the utmoſt Strictneſs of Law obliged to furniſh; and every Soldier will exact with the utmoſt Rigour whatever he thinks himſelf intitled to by Law. This will of courſe occaſion many Broils between the People and the Soldiers, and may at laſt occaſion an Inſurrection; which will probably end in a total Reduction of the Army, or in the Eſtabliſhment of a military Government.

This Conſequence, I ſay, Sir, is to be apprehended even from the Army you have now on Foot, and from the Laws you have now in Force, with regard to the Quartering of Soldiers; but if by new Laws you increaſe the Demands of the Soldier upon his Quarters, and at the ſame Time oblige the Perſons upon whom he is quartered to anſwer thoſe Demands, the Approach of this fatal Conſequence will be very much accelerated. I ſay, Sir, if by any new Law you increaſe the Demands of the Soldier; for whatever Gentlemen may think, the Soldier's Demands upon his Quarters will be very much increaſed by what is now propoſed. At preſent he does not think, that his Landlord is obliged to furniſh him with Diet and Small Beer at the Rate of a Groat a Day, and therefore he deſires no better Fare than may be furniſhed at that Price; but if you oblige the Landlord to furniſh the Soldier with Diet and Small Beer for a Groat a Day, the Soldier will inſiſt upon much better Proviſions, and perhaps a greater Quantity too, than what he now chearfully accepts of. The immediate Conſequence of this will be, that a great many of our Inn-keepers and other Publick-houſes will give over that Buſineſs, and betake themſelves to ſome other Way of Living. This will increaſe the Burden upon thoſe that continue in the Buſineſs, which will ſoon make many of them follow the ſame Courſe; ſo that at laſt you may not have, in many Places, a ſufficient Number of Publick-houſes, for receiving a Party of Soldiers upon their March; and the Conſequence of this is, that they muſt either lie in the Fields, or be quartered upon private Houſes. The former they would not ſubmit to, the latter I dread to think of, and therefore I am againſt the Clauſe propoſed.

Upon this L. Valerius Flaccus *ſtood up again, and ſpoke in Subſtance thus.*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

WHEN I opened this Affair to you, and gave my Reaſons for the Clauſe I took the Liberty to offer, I told you, that the Caſe had been lately rendered doubtful, by ſome Peoples refuſing to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet

Diet and Small Beer, or, indeed, with any Thing elſe; and that upon this a Law-ſuit was intended to be commenced, in order to have this Queſtion determined. If there had been any expreſs Words in the Law for obliging Inn-keepers and others to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at the Rate of a Groat a Day, no ſuch Doubt could ever have ariſen, no Man would have been ſo mad as to have refuſed it, when the expreſs Words of the Law appeared againſt him, nor would there have been any Neceſſity to have troubled you with a new Clauſe upon this Occaſion. But will the Hon. Gentleman ſay, that nothing is ever comprehended within the Meaning and Intention of a Law, tho' not declared in expreſs Words? This is the very Caſe now before us: The Queſtion that has ariſen, is not upon the expreſs Words, but upon the Meaning and Intention of the Law; and if there was ever any Obligation created or eſtabliſhed by Inference from the Meaning and Intention of a Law, I think, there is, from the Meaning and Intention of this Law, a plain Obligation laid upon Inn-keepers and others, to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with a convenient Lodging, at leaſt with as convenient a Lodging as they can afford, and with neceſſary Proviſions, that is to ſay, Diet and Small Beer, at ſuch a Rate as ſhall be appointed by the Juſtices, not exceeding a Groat a Day.

This, Sir, is my Opinion, and in this Opinion I am ſupported, not only by the Opinion of ſeveral eminent Lawyers, but alſo by as plain Inferences as were ever in this World drawn from any Law. This, I think, will appear evident, if we will but ſeriouſly conſider the two Clauſes, in the laſt Mutiny Act, which relate to this Queſtion. The firſt ſays, "That Soldiers quartered as aforeſaid, ſhall be received by the Owners of Inns, and other Houſes, in which they are allowed to be quartered by that Act; and ſhall pay ſuch reaſonable Prices as ſhall be appointed from Time to Time by the Juſtices:" And then, by the ſame Clauſe, the Juſtices are impowered and required to ſet and appoint reaſonable Rates for all neceſſary Proviſions for ſuch Soldiers. Now, Sir, if the Law did not intend to oblige the Inn-keeper to furniſh the Soldiers with neceſſary Proviſions, for what End was the Juſtice obliged to interfere? If the Inn-keeper was to agree to furniſh the Soldier with neceſſary Proviſions, he would not certainly agree, unleſs the Soldier on his Part agreed to pay him ſuch Prices as he inſiſted on; and, if they two agreed together, what had the Juſtice to do in the Affair, or why ſhould the Law oblige him to interpoſe? Nay, his Interpoſition would ſignify nothing; for if the Inn-keeper agreed to take leſs than the Rate appointed by the Juſtices, they could not prevent his taking leſs; and, if the Soldier agreed to pay more, they could not prevent his paying it. Therefore, from the Law's requiring the Juſtices to interpoſe, I think, it is evident, that it meant to oblige the Inn-keeper to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon him, with neceſſary Proviſions; becauſe, otherwiſe, the greateſt Part of this Clauſe would be moſt impertinent and uſeleſs.

The other Clauſe, Sir, which relates to this Queſtion, is that which is intended for ſecuring the Inn-keeper's Payment; and here I muſt obſerve, that one of the chief Deſigns of this Law, as appears from the very Title, is to provide effectually for paying the Quarters of the Army; and how does it provide? By enacting, "That the Pay-maſter, when he receives the Soldiers Pay, ſhall give Notice to all Inn-keepers and

and others to bring in their Accounts; and that he ſhall accept of, and immediately pay thoſe Accounts, before any Part of the Subſiſtence be diſtributed to the Soldiers; but with this Proviſo, that ſuch Accounts ſhall not exceed 4*d.* *per Diem* for a Foot Soldier's Diet and Small Beer. Can we ſuppoſe that a Law chiefly intended for ſecuring the Payment of the Army's Quarters, would have had ſuch a Proviſo, if it had intended, either that the Inn-keeper ſhould have Liberty to charge more, or that the Juſtices ſhould have a Power to appoint a higher Rate for that Article. To ſuppoſe ſo is, I think, ſuppoſing the Law-makers to have been guilty of a very great Abſurdity. But the contrary is, in my Opinion, very evident. They wiſely conſidered the utmoſt a Soldier could allow for Diet and Small Beer; and they reſtrained both the Inn-keeper and Juſtice from exceeding that Sum. The Inn-keeper muſt therefore take care to provide ſuch Diet and Small Beer for his Soldier, as may be afforded for that Price; and this the Soldier muſt be ſatisfied with, becauſe he can pay for no better.

Thus, Sir, as to the Queſtion's being without any Doubt, I agree with the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt; and yet, he and I differ very widely in our Opinion. He thinks, it is the Negative Side of the Queſtion that is certain and without any Doubt, and I think, it is the Affirmative. I think, that by a plain Inference from, tho' not by any expreſs Words in the Law, the Inn-keeper is certainly obliged to furniſh the Soldier quartered upon him with Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat a Day; and he thinks that, neither from the Words nor the Meaning of the Law, the Inn-keeper can be obliged to furniſh the Soldier with Diet and Small Beer, at that or any other Price, but that if he does furniſh him, he can recover no more than a Groat a Day. I ſhall not therefore ſay it is a Doubt, becauſe that Word ſeems to offend, but it is a Difference in Opinion that makes the Clauſe I have offered neceſſary; and as we have now the Opportunity before us, I think we ought to determine that Difference, and prevent the Expence of a Law-ſuit, both to the Publick and to the private Perſons that may be concerned. As we are now appriſed of this Difference in Opinion, about the Meaning of ſome of the Clauſes in the former Law, I think, it would be a Neglect of Duty in us to revive that Law, without determining that Difference; for, I am ſure, we ought not, knowing, to make a Law that muſt create a Law-ſuit, and there is nothing more apt to occaſion Diſputes, and even Broils between the Soldiers and the People upon whom they are quartered, than their differing in Opinion about their reſpective Rights.

I am ſo well convinced, Sir, of the Inconveniencies and Dangers that may enſue from leaving this Difference in Opinion ſubſiſting, that I ſhould rather chuſe to have it expreſly declared, that Inn-keepers ſhall not be obliged to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them with Diet and Small Beer, than to have it remain in the Uncertainty it is at preſent. But if you ſhould determine the Queſtion in this Way, I am perſuaded no Inn-keeper, Victualler, or other Perſon, upon whom Soldiers are uſually quartered, would furniſh them with Proviſions at the Rates which they are able to pay. The Juſtices appointing a certain Rate for Proviſions would in that Caſe ſignify nothing; becauſe, if the Inn-keeper did not like the Rate appointed by the Juſtices, he would furniſh no Proviſions: The Soldier muſt provide for himſelf;

and

and this might be rendered impoſſible by a Combination among the Tradeſmen and Inhabitants of a Country Town, which Combination would, very probably, be entered into in all Country Towns, and even in Cities, that do not like to have any Soldiers among them. There is, therefore, I think, a Neceſſity for obliging ſome Sort of People or other to furniſh the Soldiers with neceſſary Proviſions; and none are ſo proper to be laid under this Obligation as the Perſons upon whom they are quartered.

Then, Sir, with regard to what the Soldier is to pay for Diet and Small Beer, you may ſettle it at what you will, or not ſettle it at all if you pleaſe; but I am very ſure, a Soldier cannot pay above a Groat a Day for Diet and Small Beer, becauſe the Subſiſtence Money actually paid him by the Government, never, or but very ſeldom, exceeds that Sum: A common Soldier has, indeed, Six-pence a Day allowed him; but then, the Deductions made for Cloathing, for Stockings, Shoes, Shaving, and other Incidents, reduces his Pay to very little above a Groat a Day for his Subſiſtence. This, therefore, is the higheſt he can give for Diet and Small Beer; and as a Houſe-keeper may always provide for a ſingle Man lodged in his Houſe, at a cheaper Rate than ſuch ſingle Man can provide for himſelf, I am convinced, there is not, at preſent, a Place in *England*, where a Houſe-keeper may not furniſh a Soldier lodged in his Houſe, with Diet and Small Beer, at leſs than a Groat a Day. In Times of Scarcity, 'tis true, it may be difficult to furniſh him with Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat a Day; but, at ſuch Times, the Soldier muſt take up with the worſe Fare; and, as they very ſeldom happen, they cannot be made a Foundation for any eſtabliſhed Regulation. A Famine may, indeed, ariſe in the Land: Such a Scarcity of Proviſions of all Kinds may happen, as to render it impoſſible for a Soldier to ſubſiſt upon a Groat a Day; but, if any ſuch Calamity ſhould happen in the Country, and ſhould continue for any Time, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for the Government, to make a temporary Addition to the Soldiers Pay; for it is not to be expected, that a Body of Men with Arms in their Hands, will allow themſelves to ſtarve. You muſt enable them to purchaſe a Subſiſtence: If you do not, they will take it by Force. You muſt provide for them by Law: If you do not, they will provide for themſelves againſt Law. If you oblige the Owners of Houſes where Soldiers are quartered, to furniſh them with Diet and Small Beer at a Groat a Day, it may, in a Time of Scarcity, in ſome Places, be a Loſs to the Owners of ſuch Houſes; but that Loſs, I hope, will never be general, or of any long Continuance, and conſequently can never be ſo great as to come within the Notice of the Law, for *de minimis non curat Lex*.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that if ſuch a Scarcity as this were to be of any long Continuance, and no additional Pay given to the Soldiers, in order to enable and oblige them to make an additional Allowance to their Landlords for Diet and Small Beer, it would force many of our Publick-houſes to give over their Buſineſs, becauſe the Loſs they had ſuſtained would diſable them from continuing it; but an Inn-keeper, Alehouſe-keeper, or Victualler's being at a ſmall Loſs for a Week or two in a Year, or for a Month or two in ſeven, by being obliged to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon him with Diet and Small Beer, will never force him to give over his Buſineſs, even tho' our Army were much more numerous than it is; nor will

his being ſo obliged, occaſion any Broils between him and the Soldiers; becauſe, if they ſhould not reſt ſatisfied with ſuch Fare as he may afford them for a Groat a Day, and ſhould, on that Account, be uncivil and troubleſome in their Quarters, he may have an eaſy Remedy, without any Expence, by complaining to the commanding Officer, who muſt, in order to recommend himſelf to the Government, be always ready to hear ſuch Complaints, and to give Redreſs by puniſhing the Soldier when he deſerves it.

From this Conſideration it is, Sir, that if any Thing is, by Law, to be left to Courteſy and Civility, it ought, I think, to be left to the Courteſy and Civility of the Soldier rather than his Landlord; becauſe the former may, by martial Law, be puniſhed for Want of Courteſy or Civility, but I know no Law by which the latter can; and, from Experience we find, we have leſs Reaſon to accuſe Soldiers of Want of Civility, than we have to accuſe their Landlords; which may be owing to this very Reaſon, that the Officers are always at hand, and have a Power to puniſh Soldiers for any rude Behaviour in their Quarters, whereas, the Perſons upon whom they are quartered, are liable to no ſuch Check. In the Affair at *Wakefield*, if it had not been for a moſt ſeaſonable and prudent Interpoſition of the commanding Officer, a moſt dangerous Tumult might have enſued; for the Townſmen had exaſperated the Soldiers to ſuch a Degree, that it was with the utmoſt Difficulty the commanding Officer prevented their coming to Blows; and, if he had not had a great deal of Prudence, as well as great Authority over the Men under his Command, he could not have reſtrained them from revenging themſelves upon ſome of thoſe Perſons that had uſed them ſo ill. I ſhall, therefore, never be afraid of putting it in the Power of Soldiers, to demand from their Landlords what is neceſſary for their Subſiſtence, at ſuch Prices as they can afford to pay; but I am extremely afraid of putting it in the Power af thoſe Perſons upon whom Soldiers are quartered, to make it impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt; which will, I think, be the Caſe, if you do not agree to ſome ſuch Regulation as I have propoſed.

The Hon. Gentleman ſays, the Caſes that have been mentioned are of an extraordinary Nature, and ought not, therefore, to be made a Foundation for altering the Law. Sir, the Caſe of *Wakefield*, and the Caſe of *Ledbury*, are not the only two Caſes that might be mention'd: In many otherPlaces, as well as there, the Inn-keepers and Alehouſe-keepers have refuſed to furniſh the Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer, or with Fire and the neceſſary Utenſils for dreſſing their own Proviſions; and now the Queſtion is ſtarted, I make no Doubt, but that in a ſhort Time the Soldiers will meet with the ſame Refuſal in every Corner of the three Kingdoms. It was never queſtioned, till very lately, but that an Inn-keeper or Victualler was obliged to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon him with Diet and Small Beer, at ſuch Rates as the Juſtices ſhould appoint, not exceeding a Groat a Day; but of late they have been by ſome Lawyers adviſed, that they are not obliged by Law to do ſo; and therefore we may expect, that from henceforth, none of them will furniſh the Soldiers quartered on them with Diet or Small Beer, or with Firing, Salt, or any Kitchen Utenſil for dreſſing the Proviſions they buy for themſelves, which, in my Opinion, will make it impoſſible for the Soldiers to ſubſiſt, eſpecially when they are upon

upon a March from one Part of the Kingdom to another; and the neceſſary Conſequence of this will, I think, be a Mutiny in the Army, which I dread much more than any Danger that can ariſe from obliging Inn-keepers and others, to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at ſuch reaſonable Rates as the Juſtices ſhall appoint, not exceeding a Groat a Day.

I ſhall admit, Sir, that it is a little unequal, and will be a Sort of Hardſhip upon the Owners of Publick-houſes, to oblige them to furniſh Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer at a Groat a Day, when Proviſions are dear; and yet, to leave it in the Power of the Soldier to furniſh himſelf, or in the Power of the Juſtices to make the Owners of ſuch Houſes take leſs, when Proviſions are cheap; this, I ſay, I ſhall admit to be a Hardſhip, becauſe in Times of Plenty the Owners of ſuch Houſes can have no Opportunity to repair the Loſs they ſuffered in Times of Scarcity. But, Sir, it is a Hardſhip ariſing from publick Neceſſity, and muſt therefore be ſubmitted to. Is not the Quartering of Soldiers a Hardſhip as well as this? And yet no Scruple has ever been made to ſubject the Owners of Publick-houſes peculiarly to this Hardſhip. It is a leſs Hardſhip upon them, than it would be upon any other Part of the People; and as their Buſineſs is more profitable and eaſy, than moſt other Sorts of Employments, which People of an inferior Degree uſually betake themſelves to, the Parliament wiſely, and I think, juſtly too, reſolved, that they alone ſhould bear this Burden, as often as publick Neceſſities ſhould require. The Inequality, therefore, of this Burden or Tax, if you pleaſe to call it ſo, is not to be complain'd of; and if the Quartering of Soldiers were made a Handle of for oppreſſing any City, Borough, or Corporation in the Kingdom, eſpecially for the Sake of influencing Elections, I make no Doubt, but that we ſhould ſoon hear a Complaint of it in this Houſe, and upon that Complaint I as little doubt, that the Authors of ſuch Oppreſſion would meet with condign Puniſhment.

Thus, Sir, as I ſee no Dangers that can accrue from the Clauſe I have offered; as I apprehend many Inconveniencies, and even Danger too, from the Law's being left as it is, I muſt ſtill hope to ſee what I have taken the Liberty to offer, or ſome Clauſe to the ſame Effect, made a Part of the Bill now under your Conſideration.

The next that ſpoke was Cn. Octavius, *whoſe Speech was to the following Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

THE Obſcurity and Uncertainty of the Law now under our Conſideration, proceeds from a very natural Cauſe, a Cauſe which renders all Laws obſcure, that are intended by the Promoters to incroach upon the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of the People. By the Laws of *England*, ever ſince we had ſuch a Thing as an eſtabliſhed Conſtitution, a Man's Houſe is reckoned his Caſtle; no Stranger, no civil Officer is to enter into it without his Conſent, unleſs he has committed, or is ſuſpected to have committed ſome Crime. This was the Privilege which every *Engliſhman* anciently enjoy'd; but Taxes and ſtanding Armies have now deprived moſt of the Subjects of *England* of this valuable Privilege; and in all the Laws that have been made for this Purpoſe we may obſerve an Obſcurity, which by Degrees only has been cleared up. At firſt the Pro-

moters and Contrivers were cautious, leſt the Friends of Liberty ſhould perceive the Extent of their Deſign; and in the Bills they propoſed, they expreſs'd themſelves obſcurely, that afterwards, in the Execution, they might by Interpretation extend the Efficacy of the Law: This raiſed Doubts and Diſputes, and theſe have generally been cleared up by new or more extenſive Incroachments upon the Liberties of the People.

Theſe gradual Incroachments, Sir, are in no Caſe more apparent than in what relates to the Law now under our Conſideration. When this Project of quartering Soldiers upon Publick-houſes, without the Conſent of the Owners, was firſt thought of, it would have ſounded very harſh in the Ears of an *Engliſhman*, to have ſeen a Clauſe inſerted, for compelling the Owners, even of ſuch Houſes, to receive ſuch Gueſts, whether they would or no. The Projectors were therefore obliged to content themſelves with a Clauſe for giving Liberty, not a Power, to Conſtables and chief Magiſtrates to quarter Soldiers upon ſuch Houſes, and they ſaid they deſired this Liberty, only for Soldiers upon a March, and for the firſt Night of their Arrival in the Places appointed for their Reſidence. They were forced to ſuppoſe, that the Owners of ſuch Houſes would willingly receive ſuch Soldiers as were quartered upon them by the Civil Magiſtrate, but this Suppoſition they took Care not to have expreſſed in the Law itſelf; becauſe if it had been expreſſed in the Law, it would then have plainly appeared, that there was only a Liberty, which was all they then ſeemed to aſk, granted to the Civil Magiſtrate, to quarter or billet Soldiers upon Publick-houſes, but that he had no Power to compel ſuch Houſes to receive them. This was to be left to Cuſtom, becauſe they knew, that few private Men would like to diſpute the Power of their Magiſtrates; and if any ſuch Diſpute ſhould ariſe, the Projectors truſted to their being able to get it explained in their Favour by ſome new Clauſe. Accordingly, Sir, when the Diſpute or Queſtion was ſtarted, whether the Owner of a Publick-houſe was obliged to receive the Soldiers quartered upon him by the Civil Magiſtrate, they at laſt got that Clauſe inſerted, which has ſince ſtood in all Mutiny Bills, whereby it is enacted, "That the Owners of ſuch Houſes ſhall receive the Soldiers ſo quartered upon them."

Thus, Sir, that which was at firſt deſired as a Liberty only, has ſince been converted into a Power; and that Liberty or Power which was at firſt deſired to be temporary only, that is to ſay, to quarter Soldiers *for one or more Nights in their marching, and for the firſt Night only in Places appointed for their Reſidence*, has been ſince made perpetual, by a very ſmall and imperceptible Alteration in the Words of the Clauſe. When this Liberty or Power of quartering Soldiers upon Publick-houſes, without the Conſent of the Owner, was firſt aſked, the Parliament would have been amazed if it had been expreſsly aſked, that Soldiers ſhould always be neceſſary Inmates in Publick-houſes, that they ſhould always have a Lodging at free Coſt, even in the Places appointed for their Reſidence: Such a Propoſal the Parliament would then certainly have rejected with Diſdain. This the Projectors were ſenſible of, and therefore they aſk'd only for one or more Nights upon a March, and for the firſt Night only after their Arrival at the Place appointed for their Reſidence; but as they had the drawing up of the Bill, and were reſolved, if poſſible, to extend it farther than was then deſired, they took Care that this Reſtriction ſhould not

not be inſerted in expreſs Words, or in the proper Place, but brought in, as it were by Head and Shoulders, at the End of that Clauſe which requires the Juſtices to appoint Rates for Proviſions.

By this Means, Sir, our ſtanding Army Projectors at firſt obtained a Liberty to quarter Soldiers, by the Interpoſition of the Civil Magiſtrate, upon Publick-houſes, for one or more Nights upon their March, and for the firſt Night only in Places appointed for their Reſidence; and a Foundation for a temporary Lodging at free Coſt, being thus laid, when the Mutiny Act was revived in the firſt Year of the late Queen *Anne*, our Army Projectors took Care to lay a better Foundation for rendering this temporary Privilege perpetual, by requiring Juſtices to appoint ſuch reaſonable Rates for all neceſſary Proviſions for ſuch Officers and Soldiers, for one or more Nights in their marching thro' their Cities, Towns, and Villages, *as ſhall be appointed for their Reſidence or Quarters.* In this Form this Clauſe continued for ſeveral Years; but at laſt it began to be conceived in theſe Words, "And the Juſtices of the Peace aforeſaid are hereby impowered and required to ſet and appoint ſuch reaſonable Rates for all neceſſary Proviſions, for one or more Nights, in the ſeveral Places which Soldiers ſhall come to in their March, *or which ſhall be appointed for their Reſidence and Quarters*;" in which Words, or Words to this Effect, the Clauſe has ſtood ever ſince. This, as appears, is but a very ſmall Variation from the Clauſe as it ſtood at firſt; and, I am perſuaded, it was imperceptibly introduced, that is to ſay, without being taken Notice of by thoſe who were the true and ſincere Friends of the People, and of the Liberties of their Country. The Misfortune is, that thoſe who are for keeping up ſtanding Armies, have generally the drawing up of ſuch Bills; and this makes it eaſy for them to introduce, imperceptibly, very material and dangerous Variations, when they are not moſt ſtrictly look'd after.

But this, Sir, is not the only Misfortune: They have not only the drawing up of the Bills, but they have the Execution of them after they are paſſed into Laws; and in the Execution they put that Interpretation upon them that beſt ſuits their own Purpoſes, in which they are encouraged by a Backwardneſs, too common among private Men, to contend with the Government about the Interpretation of a Law, which probably was made obſcure, on Purpoſe to enable thoſe intruſted with the Executive Power to carry it farther than was ever dreamed of, or would have been approved of by a Majority of thoſe intruſted with the Legiſlative. Thus, tho' our Army Gentlemen had for ſeveral Years no Power, and for many Years no expreſs Power, to quarter Soldiers in the Places appointed for their Reſidence, except for the firſt Night only after their Arrival there, yet they introduced the Cuſtom of quartering Soldiers even in Places appointed for their Reſidence, and during the whole Time of their Reſidence; ſo that the Quartering of Soldiers, inſtead of being a temporary, became a perpetual Burden upon the Publick-houſes in *Weſtminſter*, and many other Parts of the Kingdom. And this Cuſtom being once introduced, they at laſt got a Sort of legal Authority for it, by getting a Clauſe inſerted in the Mutiny Bill paſſed the 7th of the late Queen, whereby it was enacted, "That the Conſtables in *Weſtminſter* and Places adjacent, ſhould billet Soldiers of the *Foot Guards* in ſuch Houſes only as by the Act are limited, in and about the City of *Weſtminſter*; except the City of *London*.

don. But this of quartering Soldiers in the Places appointed for, and during the whole Time of their Reſidence, was deemed to be ſuch a Grievance, that in the firſt Year of the late King, and by the firſt Mutiny Bill paſſed in his Reign, a Clauſe was inſerted, by which it was enacted, "That nothing in that Act ſhould extend to compel the Quartering of any Foot Soldiers in *England*, unleſs within ten Miles of his Majeſty's uſual Reſidence, or the Place where he ſhould be preſent, or in ſome Gariſon where ſufficient Barracks were not provided, or upon their Marches; and that in ſuch Marches no Perſons ſhould be obliged to quarter them above *ſix Days* at a Time."

I have the more fully opened this Affair to you, Sir, becauſe when the preſent War is over, which, I fear, will not be ſoon, unleſs we purſue it with more Vigour than we have done hitherto, or put an End to it by an inglorious Peace: I ſay, Sir, when the preſent War is over, I hope we ſhall embrace the Opportunity of returning, as near as poſſible, to our ancient Conſtitution. We may think it neceſſary to keep up ſome regular Troops in Time of Peace; but I can ſee no Occaſion we have for a Mutiny Bill, unleſs when we are actually engaged in War. We kept up ſome regular Troops even in the peaceable Part of King *William*'s Reign, and thoſe Troops, ſo far as I could ever hear, were kept in good enough Order without any Mutiny Bill; for from the 10th of *April* 1698, to the 20th of *February* 1701, when a War with *France* and *Spain* began to be thought unavoidable, we had no Mutiny Act ſubſiſting in this Kingdom; and I ſhall always be againſt having any ſuch Law ſubſiſting, except when abſolutely neceſſary; becauſe I do not like to make Slaves of thoſe in Time of Peace, to whom we are to truſt our Honour and our Defence in Time of War.

Having thus given you my Sentiments about the Time for which Soldiers may or ought to be quartered, before I come to the very Point now in Queſtion, I ſhall beg Leave to explain a little farther, how, and by what Degrees the Owners of Publick-houſes were compelled to receive the Soldiers quartered upon them by the Civil Magiſtrate. I have already taken Notice, that when the Quartering of Soldiers upon ſuch Houſes was firſt aſk'd for, it was aſk'd for as a Liberty only, not as a Power. The Conſtables and Magiſtrates were not impowered and required, it is ſaid only, that they may quarter and billet Officers and Soldiers upon Inns and other Publick-houſes: Nay, the Conſtables and Magiſtrates might have refuſed ſo to do: There was no Law for puniſhing them for ſuch Refuſal, till the firſt Year of his late Majeſty's Reign, when a new Clauſe was inſerted for that Purpoſe. And as to the Owners of Publick-houſes, they were for many Years left entirely at Liberty, whether they ſhould receive the Soldiers ſo quartered upon them; for I know of no Law that ſo much as ſeemed to oblige them to do ſo, till the tenth of the late Queen *Anne*, and then this compulſatory Clauſe was introduced but in a partial Manner; for in that Law a new Clauſe was introduced, by which it was enacted, "That if any Perſon ſhould be aggrieved by a Conſtable's billeting in his Houſe a greater Number of Soldiers than he ought to bear in Proportion to his Neighbours, upon Complaint to a Juſtice of Peace, that Juſtice was to relieve him, by ordering ſo many of the Soldiers to be removed, and quartered upon ſome other Perſons, *who ſhall be obliged to receive them accordingly.*

This, I ſay, Sir, is the firſt Clauſe

I can find, in any of our Mutiny Acts, that ſeems to oblige Owners of Publick-houſes to receive any of the Soldiers ſo quarter'd upon them; but this Foundation being once laid, a Pretence has from thence been taken, to inſert ſome new and general Words in all our Mutiny Bills of late Years, by which it is enacted, "That the Officers and Soldiers ſo quartered and billeted as aforeſaid, ſhall be received by the Owners of the Inns and other Publick-houſes;" and it is remarkable, that theſe Words, which make ſo great an Alteration in our Law, were not formed into a Clauſe by themſelves, but were, as I may ſay, ſtoln into the Beginning of that Clauſe, which enacts, "That the Soldiers ſhall pay reaſonable Prices for the Proviſions furniſhed them by the Owners of the Houſes, where they are quartered."

You may now ſee, Sir, by what ſlow, what hidden, and what imperceptible Degrees our Mutiny Act is arrived to its preſent Maturity and Perfection; and now I muſt ſay, the finiſhing Touch ſeems to be deſigned. Finiſhing I may call it, Sir, in a double Senſe; it will be the finiſhing Touch to this Bill, and I am afraid, the finiſhing Blow to the Liberties of our Country. Our Soldiers, which I am ſorry for, and which we may come heartily to repent of, if we ſhould ever have Occaſion for their Courage; our Soldiers, I ſay, have long been made Slaves by this Bill; and now, the Owners of all the Publick-houſes in the Kingdom are to be made the Slaves of thoſe Slaves: For this will be the Caſe, if we ſhould by an expreſs Law oblige the Owners of ſuch Houſes to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, whether they will, nay whether they can, or no.

Sir, it is, in my Opinion, of very little Signification to the preſent Queſtion, whether this was or was not the Meaning of all or any of the Mutiny Bills we have paſſed into Laws. I am very ſure, I never thought it was; and if it were determined to be ſo, by the Decree of any Court of Judicature in *England*, I ſhould be for our taking the firſt Opportunity to alter the Law in this Reſpect. But when we talk of the Meaning and Intention of ſuch Laws, we ought to diſtinguiſh between the Meaning and Intention of thoſe that were the chief Promoters of them, and the Meaning and Intention of thoſe who only gave their Conſent to the paſſing of them. As to the former, I make no Queſtion, but it was their Meaning and Intention to oblige the Owners of Publick-houſes to furniſh the Soldiers with all neceſſary Proviſions, tho' they durſt not declare their Intention in expreſs Words, becauſe it would have either thrown out their Bill, or have occaſioned the inſerting of ſome expreſs Words againſt what they intended: They therefore choſe to draw up their Bill in a dubious Sort of Expreſſion, that after they had got it paſſed into a Law, they might make the moſt of it in the Execution; and, indeed, they made ſo good an Uſe of their Power in the Execution, that the Owners of moſt Publick-houſes did agree to what they deſired.

But in this, Sir, they were at firſt very much favoured by the Circumſtances of the Times; becauſe the Nation being at that Time engaged in a heavy and expenſive War againſt *France*, the Revolution in its Infancy, and our publick Credit far from being ſo well eſtabliſhed as it has been ſince; our Government was often very ſhort of Money, and very dilatory in their Payments to the Army, eſpecially to thoſe Regiments that remained within the Kingdom, who were ſometimes for ſeveral Months together without receiving

ceiving any Pay; and when our Soldiers had no Money to purchaſe Proviſions for themſelves, it became neceſſary to have them provided for by thoſe upon whom they were quartered. It was, therefore, the publick Neceſſity, that made the Owners of Publick-houſes ſubmit to the furniſhing the Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer, and not any Conſciouſneſs of their being obliged by Law to do ſo; and for the ſame Reaſon, the Parliament at that Time connived at the Interpretation put upon the Mutiny Act by thoſe that had been the Promoters of it: Nay, in the Year 169⅘, the Parliament agreed to a Clauſe, which ſeem'd to confirm this Interpretation; for it was then enacted, "That no Inn-holder or other Perſon ſhould, during the Continuance of that Act, be oblig'd to provide Meat or other Victuals for any Soldiers, legally quartered on them, except in their March only, if they ſhould give or tender to each Horſeman 6*d. per Diem*, for his Subſiſtence in Meat only, and to every Dragoon and Foot Soldier 4*d. per Diem* for the ſame, beſides Candle and the Uſe of his Fire for dreſſing his Meat;" and by another Clauſe in the ſame Act it was provided, "That Inn-holders and others ſhould furniſh, for every Soldier lawfully quartered upon them, Lodging, Small Beer, and Candle, with the Uſe of Fire to dreſs his Meat by, and Hay, and Straw for his Horſes, at the Rate of 6*d. per Diem*, for Small Beer, Fire, Candle, and Hay and Straw to a Light Horſeman, and 5*d. per Diem* to a Dragoon. But one may eaſily ſee, that theſe Clauſes proceeded from the Neceſſities the Publick was that Year reduced to, by Reaſon of the clipp'd Money having been called in to be recoined but the Year before, and by Reaſon of the vaſt Expence this Nation was at in ſupporting the War, which laid them under a Neceſſity of paying 8 *per Cent.* for Money borrowed in that Year; and this obliged the Parliament to conſent to this harſh and unequal Method of providing for the immediate Subſiſtence of the Troops.

I am, therefore, very well convinced, Sir, that it was never the Intention of the Majority in Parliament, to ſubject the Owners of Publick-houſes to the unequal and heavy Burden of being obliged to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat, or any other Rate, *per Diem*; and, I believe, no Lawyer will ſay, that a Man can be ſubjected to a Penalty, or Obligation, by Inference from any Words in a Law that can admit of another Interpretation. But whether or no the Majority of Parliament have been drawn in to do what they did not intend, as I am no Lawyer, I ſhall not pretend to determine. I muſt be, at leaſt, doubtful in my Opinion; and I have a very good Authority for being ſo; for in the Affair at *Ledbury*, a very great Lawyer, and one of the Judges upon the Aſſizes then holding there, I mean Judge *Comyns*, was aſked his Opinion upon this very Queſtion, and he declared himſelf to be doubtful.

The Argument, Sir, which has been drawn from the Clauſe requiring Juſtices to ſettle the Price of Proviſions, is of very little Force; for I do not think the Juſtices had from thence any Power to preſcribe how much a Soldier ſhould eat, or to order that his Landlord ſhould furniſh him with as much as he could eat for a Groat, or at any leſſer Rate *per Diem:* They were only to appoint and aſcertain the Prices of all neceſſary Proviſions, ſuch as Bread, Small Beer, Beef, Mutton, Butter, Cheeſe, and the like, according to the Market Rates, at that Time, and in that

Place;

Place; and this Appointment of theirs, neither was, nor could be ſuppoſed to take Place, but in Caſes where the Soldier and his Landlord could not agree between themſelves. Their Interpoſition was deſigned only, and could be deſigned for nothing elſe than to prevent Diſputes between Soldiers and the Perſons upon whom they were quartered. And, ſurely, it would have been a very lame Proviſion for paying, duly and juſtly, the Quarters of the Army, if the Law had obliged an Inn-keeper to furniſh every Soldier with as much as he could eat, and of what Sort of Proviſions he pleaſed to inſiſt on, without allowing him any more than a Groat a Day, even in the deareſt Times, and for the beſt Sort of Proviſions.

To tell us, Sir, that the Inn-keeper will always meet with Redreſs from the commanding Officer, in caſe a Soldier inſiſts upon too much, or too delicate Fare, becauſe the Officer will thereby recommend himſelf to the Government, is ſomething very ſtrange, becauſe it may, in many Caſes, be directly otherwiſe: A Regiment or two may be ſent to correct an unruly County, City, or Borough: A private Hint may be given to the commanding Officer, that this is the Deſign of ſending him there, and this Deſign may be communicated to the Soldiers. Muſt we not, in this Caſe, ſuppoſe, that the Soldiers will make the moſt rigorous Uſe of every Right granted them by Law? Can we ſuppoſe, that the commanding Officer will be ready to hear or redreſs the Complaints of the Inhabitants? If he is, I am ſure, we cannot ſuppoſe, he will thereby recommend himſelf to the Government. Such a Caſe as this, Sir, may cerrainly happen; and we are not to ſuppoſe, that no ſuch Caſe ever did happen, becauſe no ſuch Complaint has ever been brought to Parliament. It is impoſſible, Sir, to prove the Fact upon which ſuch a Complaint muſt be grounded. The true Cauſe of ſending a Regiment to quarter upon a Borough, may be ſuſpected: It may be almoſt certainly gueſſed at; but Miniſters have ſo many Reaſons or Pretences to alledge, for ſending one or more Regiments to any Part of the Kingdom, that it is impoſſible to prove, they had no other Reaſon but that of the Borough's having ſent two diſagreeable Faces to this Aſſembly.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, that no ſuch Caſe could ever happen; and ſuppoſe that the Officers of the Army ſhould always be ready to hear and redreſs every juſt Complaint againſt the Soldiers, or any Soldier, under their Command; tho' I have a very good Opinion of the Juſtice, Honour, and Impartiality of the preſent Officers of our Army, yet, I ſhall never agree to a Regulation that renders any Part of the People liable to be oppreſſed by the Soldiers, without any Relief but from the commanding Officer. I do not think, that the Eſtabliſhing of this Regulation can be preſumed to have been the Intention of any Parliament of *Great Britain*, unleſs we, at the ſame Time, ſuppoſe, that the Majority of the Parliament conſiſted of Officers of the Army, which is not to be ſuppoſed of any *Britiſh* Parliament hitherto; tho' I do not know what may be the Caſe hereafter, if a Bill ſeveral Times propoſed without Succeſs, ſhould never meet with a better Fate than it has done. If this, indeed, ſhould happen, we may expect to ſee ſuch a Clauſe as this approved of, and another Clauſe, which is the only one I can at preſent think of, that is wanting to make this Bill a compleat Syſtem of Slavery: I mean a Clauſe for ſubjecting Publick-

houſes to ſevere Penalties, if they do not furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with convenient Lodging and all neceſſary Proviſions.

Such a Clauſe as this, I ſay, Sir, ſeems to be wanting; and if we agree to the Clauſe now offered, I ſhall expect to ſee ſuch a one as this offered in the very next Seſſion of Parliament; for your obliging Innkeepers to receive Soldiers, and to furniſh them with Diet and Small Beer, will not ſignify much, unleſs you ſubject them to Penalties, or impower the Soldiers to make Diſtreſs and Sale of their Goods, if they do not.

I mention this, Sir, to ſhew you what this ſuperlative Care of the Army muſt, at laſt, drive you to; but what muſt be the Conſequence? In a little Time you'll have no Inns, Ale-houſes, or other Publick-houſes in the Kingdom; at leaſt, not near ſufficient for quartering your Army; and then you muſt quarter your Soldiers upon private Houſes, or build Barracks for them. The latter, I confeſs, I ſhould rather ſubmit to, tho' I think the certain Conſequence of it would, at laſt, be a military Government; becauſe it would, in a ſhort Time, render our Army a Sort of diſtinct People. Whilſt our Soldiers are quartered in the Publick-houſes up and down the Country, it preſerves a Correſpondence and an Intimacy between them and the People: They often contract Friendſhips together, which preſerves in the Army a Regard for the People, and makes them look upon themſelves as nothing more than fellow Subjects; but, if they ſhould once come to be lodged in Barracks, ſeparate and diſtinct by themſelves, they would ſoon begin to look upon themſelves as ſole Maſters: They would then break off all Correſpondence with, and loſe all Regard for the People; and would be the ſame, in every Reſpect, with foreign Troops. They would conſider nothing but their Pay and Preferment in the Army, and would be ready to obey the moſt illegal Orders that could be given them by their Commander in Chief; the Conſequence of which would be, the Eſtabliſhment of a military Government.

Theſe, Sir, are Conſequences that are moſt juſtly to be dreaded from your agreeing to what is now propoſed; but, on the other Hand, what is the Conſequence we are threatned with? I am really ſurprized to hear it mentioned in this Houſe: It is ſaid, if you do not agree to ſome ſuch Clauſe as this, the Army will mutiny. What, Sir, will the Army mutiny, if you refuſe them a Liberty to oppreſs the People? When I hear this Houſe threatned with ſuch a Conſequence, I muſt ſay, it is high Time for us to think of reducing our Army, or of ſending them where they ought to have been ſent long ago, abroad to fight our Enemies, where they may gain both Honour and Wealth to themſelves, and at the ſame Time vindicate the Honour of their Country. It is a common Failing of weak Minds, and ſometimes of weak Miniſters too, Sir, to avoid leſſer Evils by running themſelves into greater, and rather than expoſe themſelves to a ſmall immediate Danger, to run headlong into a Danger which is much greater, but a little more remote: I wiſh this may not lately have been our Caſe, with regard to foreign Affairs; I am ſure it would be our Caſe with reſpect to domeſtick, if, for fear of a Mutiny in the Army, we ſhould give them a legal Title to oppreſs the People, which would be the Conſequence of our agreeing to the Clauſe propoſed, and therefore I muſt declare againſt it.

The

The next Speech I ſhall give you, was that made by Servilius Priſcus, *the Purport of which was as follows,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I WAS heartily ſorry when I heard, that any Doubt or Diſpute had ariſen, about the Affair you have now under your Conſideration. I foreſaw, that the Diſcuſſion would be attended with great Inconveniencies, and that it would have been much better, if the Queſtion had never been ſtarted. Whilſt the Innkeeper thought he was obliged to furniſh the Soldier with Diet and Small Beer, and the Soldier doubted if he was, it made both of them live eaſily with one another: The Inn-keeper provided for the Soldier the beſt he could afford for the Money, becauſe he thought himſelf obliged to do ſo; and the Soldier often contented himſelf with the worſe Fare, rather than be obliged to take the Trouble of providing for himſelf. But now the Queſtion is ſtarted, and eſpecially as the Opinion begins generally to prevail, that no Inn-keeper, or other Perſon upon whom Soldiers may be lawfully quartered, is obliged to furniſh the Soldiers with any Sort of Proviſions, I confeſs, I thought it would be abſolutely neceſſary to put an End to the Diſpute by ſome ſuch Clauſe as my Hon. Friend has propoſed. However, I muſt ſay, I now wiſh it had not been propoſed, or the Doubt ſo much as mentioned in this Houſe, becauſe the Clauſe ſeems to give ſeveral Gentlemen great Apprehenſions; and if the Clauſe ſhould be rejected, it will be interpreted by the whole Nation, as the Opinion of this Houſe, that Inn-keepers and others are not obliged to furniſh any Diet or Small Beer for the Soldiers quartered upon them.

I ſhall not take up your Time, Sir, with giving you my Reaſons, why I think otherwiſe; for as I do not pretend to be learned in the Law, I cannot preſume, that my Opinion will have any Weight, or that my Reaſons will be ſatisfactory: And, indeed, I think it below the Dignity of this Houſe to conſider the Point in this Light, becauſe, if the Law were wrong, it is our Buſineſs to rectify it; and if it ſhould be Law, but is not, it is our Buſineſs to make it ſo. We are therefore to conſider, whether it be in itſelf right or wrong, that Innkeepers, and others, upon whom Soldiers may be lawfully quartered, ſhould be obliged to furniſh the Soldiers ſo quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat a Day, or ſuch leſſer Rate as they ſhall agree on. In my Opinion, it is right it ſhould be ſo, and I have one very ſtrong Argument in my Favour, which is almoſt forty Years Experience. Whatever the Meaning of the Law may be, it is very certain, that ever ſince the firſt Mutiny Act was paſſed, which is thirty-nine Years ago, the Opinion has generally prevailed, that the Owners of Publick-houſes were obliged to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer: This, I ſay, has been the general Opinion till very lately, and the Law, in this Senſe, has been generally complied with. In all that Time, it has never produced any Inconveniencies, nor can the Owners of ſuch Houſes ſay they ever met with any Oppreſſion or Exaction from the Soldiers quarter'd upon them, but what was redreſſed by the Officers, as ſoon as they heard of it.

The Law therefore, Sir, during the Time it has been interpreted in this Senſe, has produced no bad Effect; but if it ſhould be interpreted otherwiſe, as it will be, if you re-

ject this Clauſe, God knows, what ill Effects it may produce. No Inn-keeper, or other Perſon, upon whom Soldiers may be lawfully quartered, will think himſelf obliged to furniſh any Thing for the Soldiers, even when they are upon a March; and conſequently, no Inn-keeper will furniſh any Thing, unleſs they agree to pay the Prices he pleaſes to demand. The Juſtices may appoint Prices, but what will that ſignify, if no Man be obliged to furniſh or ſell to the Soldier at that Price. The March of a Regiment, Troop, or Company will occaſion a Market or Election-Day at every Country Town they paſs thro': The Prices of all Manner of Proviſions will riſe to double what they are upon ordinary Occaſions; and if the Soldiers will not, or cannot, which will be truly the Caſe, pay thoſe Prices, no Man will ſell them any Thing. Sir, it is eaſy to ſee what this muſt produce: The Soldiers will not ſtarve in a Country where there is Plenty; it is unreaſonable to expect they ſhould; and if they cannot pay the Prices demanded, they will take what they want at their own Price, perhaps without paying any Price, becauſe the Crime will, in ſtrict Law, be the ſame: They will break open Doors to come at it, or to ſearch for it; and if ſuch a Body of Men ſhould once begin to think themſelves criminal in the Eye of the Law, they will naturally and of courſe begin to think of deſtroying that Law, which would deſtroy them; eſpecially, as they will expect, and in ſuch a Caſe might, probably, meet with the Support of the whole Army.

Theſe Effects, Sir, are certainly to be apprehended, becauſe, I think, they are the natural Conſequences of your altering the Law in this Reſpect. I call it altering the Law, becauſe, if it was not Law, it has at leaſt been underſtood to be Law for almoſt forty Years paſt. If this was really the implied, tho' not expreſſed Meaning of the Law, ſurely no great Inconvenience can ariſe from your making the Law more explicit: If this was not the implied Meaning of the Law, I think, you ought now to make it the expreſſed Meaning of the Law, becauſe the publick Safety requires it. Some Method muſt be taken to provide for the Soldiers: They muſt live, and they muſt live upon a Groat a Day; becauſe they have no more to give. They muſt have neceſſary Proviſions at the Prices they are able to pay for them, and they muſt have them at or about the Places where they are quartered, becauſe, according to the Rules of Diſcipline in the Army, they cannot go elſewhere to ſeek for them. If you oblige the Owners of Publick-houſes to furniſh neceſſary Proviſions for the Soldiers quartered upon them, at the Prices the Soldiers are able to pay, for at thoſe Prices they muſt furniſh or not at all, you only make them a Sort of Purveyors for the Army, which has never been thought a bad Imployment: They will generally have ſome Days Notice of a Regiment, Troop, or Company's coming to be quartered upon them, and will take Care to provide ſome Days beforehand, when the Markets are cheap, or they will ſend to the Market-Town in the Neighbourhood where they can buy cheapeſt. They will always have many Opportunities, and many Methods of providing for the Soldiers, at a cheaper Rate than they can provide for themſelves; and ſince they may ſo eaſily, and ſo certainly, provide for the Soldiers quartered upon them, at ſuch Prices as the Soldiers are able to pay, I cannot think there would be any great Hardſhip in obliging them to do ſo.

The Dangers from thence ariſing, and

and which have been ſet in ſo terrible a Light by ſome Gentlemen in this Debate, are, in my Opinion, Sir, mere Bugbears, created by the Imagination only. It will very rarely happen, eſpecially in Places at any Diſtance from *London*, that a Soldier may not be plentifully furniſhed at the Rate of a Groat a Day; and if any Soldier ſhould inſiſt upon a greater Quantity of Victuals, or upon more delicate Fare, than can be furniſhed at that Price, he will not only be deſpiſed by his Companions, but puniſhed by his Officer; for hitherto in the Army, and, I hope, it will always be ſo, there is nothing reckoned more diſhonourable and deſpicable than for a Soldier to be troubleſome and uneaſy in his Quarters, without any juſt Cauſe; from whence, I believe, it would be a very dangerous Project to ſend Soldiers to quarter in a City or Borough, with a private Hint to be as oppreſſive as poſſible in their reſpective Quarters, in order to puniſh ſuch City or Borough on Account of an Election, Thank God! the Soldiers of our Army would as yet deſpiſe ſuch Hints, and thoſe that gave them: They would think themſelves obliged in Honour to diſcover the Authors of ſuch treaſonable Practices againſt the Conſtitution of their Country; and therefore, upon a Complaint, it would be very eaſy for this Houſe to find out and puniſh the Authors: Nay, as we are not tied down to the Rules of Evidence in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, we might very probably, by proper ſifting, come at the prime and original Author.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I muſt think, that the Dangers pretended to ariſe from our obliging the Owners of Publick-houſes to furniſh Diet and Small Beer for the Soldiers quartered upon them, are all imaginary; but the Dangers ariſing from our leaving the Soldiers of our Army unprovided for, and often without a Poſſibility of providing for themſelves, are far from being ſo. Theſe Dangers therefore muſt be guarded againſt: I ſhould be glad to find ſome other Expedient for avoiding theſe Dangers; but if no other can be found, we muſt take what is now propoſed. It is the Buſineſs of every Gentleman here, when any Difficulty or Danger occurs, to think of, and contrive ſuch Expedients as may be moſt effectual and moſt ſafe for his Country; and yet there are ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe, who ſeem to behave in a very different Manner: They are always ſtarting Objections againſt, and preſaging Dangers from every Expedient they hear propoſed, but never offer any Propoſal, any Remedy or Prevention, of their own. As theſe Gentlemen ſeem to have a mighty fruitful Invention, I wiſh they would apply it to the Caſe now before us: I wiſh they would propoſe ſome other Expedient for preventing the Evil we are at preſent threatned with. If they do, I promiſe them, I ſhall give it a candid and impartial Examination; and if I think it more effectual or more ſafe than what is now propoſed, I ſhall certainly give it the Preference.

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

Univerſal Spectator, N° 690.

MISS-LED'*s Account of herſelf and Progeny.* (*See our* MAG. *for* Dec. *laſt, p.* 604, 605 D.)

FORTUNE, who took little Care of any of her Daughters, took none at all of me: When I was ſcarce Fourteen, I had contracted an intimate Acquaintance with two Siſters of infamous Characters, called

ed *Vice* and *Folly*; theſe Baggages firſt artfully inſinuated to me, that what my Mother might beſtow on me was very precarious, therefore I ſhould take Care of myſelf: Then they paid me great Compliments on my Wit and Beauty, which were not, at my Age, to be concealed from the World, but to appear in it with full Luſtre. Theſe Things, with the Deſcription of Balls, Aſſemblies, Theatres, Opera's, Maſquerades, *&c. &c.* quite turn'd my Brain, and I betray'd an eager Deſire for the Enjoyment of them, but ſhew'd a Fear that I ſhould not attain it: Immediately both the Ladies ſaid, I need have no Apprehenſion of that; for that there was a very fine, rich, young Gentleman at Court, who had fallen in Love with me, and would, on *certain Conditions*, let me live in all the Splendor of a Ducheſs. I objected to the *Conditions*; but they urged ſuch Reaſons, to prove that my Objections were not regarded in this Age, and introduced the Gentleman, whoſe Perſon I lik'd ſo well, that I at laſt conſented to live with him as a *Miſtreſs*, and have had by him the Iſſue, which I ſhall deſcribe. It may be neceſſary firſt to mention, that the Name of my Gallant was *Error*.

Our eldeſt Daughter was *Miſs-Begotten*, a Girl of great Spirits and Vivacity; but had, at firſt, the Unhappineſs to be reproach'd, becauſe I and her Father had not comply'd with a particular Cuſtom: However, in Proceſs of Time ſhe met with civiler Treatment, and was received very kindly into the Palaces of Kings and Emperors; nay, it has been thro' her Influence, that Kings and Princes have had their Being; and were we even to trace our own Annals, we muſt confeſs her Power has been great: But in no Reign was ſhe better received at Court, than in the amorous Æra of *Charles* II. What an Efficacy ſhe had over that Prince's Heart, ſome *Demi-Royal* Coats of Arms, which we frequently ſee on Chariot Doors, can ſufficiently declare. She is now received among the Great and Noble, with a Regard equal to any body; it is only among Country Wenches, or an odd Sort of People called *Virtuous*, eſteem'd a Shame to bring into Publick a *Miſs-Begotten*.

The next was her Father's Favourite, as ſhe often occaſion'd the moſt fatal *Errors* that could happen; *Errors* greater than ruining private Families; *Errors* which were the Overthrow of Empires, and the Deſtruction of Kingdoms: This political Lady was *Miſs-Advice*. When ſhe has any grand Scheme to execute, ſhe gets to be retain'd by a very *evil* or very *blundering* M—ſt—r; in either Caſe ſhe is introduced into the Cabinet, the Army, the Fleet, and executes her Deſigns both at home and abroad. Should *ill Treaties* be made, they are all made by *Miſs-Advice*; ſhould Forces be ſent abroad at a *wrong Seaſon*, or not properly ſupported when ſent, who is it owing to?—*Miſs-Advice*. Should formidable Fleets ſail and re-ſail to no Purpoſe, muſt not *Miſs-Advice* be the Occaſion of it? But I hope ſhe has no Efficacy in the *B——ſh* Councils, Fleets, or Armies; for if ſhe has, there are a bold Set of Men, who will call my Daughter, and all her Party of *Miſs-Adviſers*, to a ſtrict Account.

My third Daughter was rather theologically than politically inclined, and has occaſioned as warm Controverſies in Religion, as the other in the State: But what is very extraordinary, every Sect or Opinion, Orthodox or Heterodox, *Jews*, *Turks*, *Infidels*, and modern *Atheiſts*, inſtead of eſpouſing her to their Party, have diſclaimed her to belong to them. The Diſputes to which ſhe belong'd, have occaſioned

ſioned bloody Wars, tyrannical Martyrdoms, and all the Evils which Ignorance, Superſtition, and falſe Zeal could have introduced: It will now become obvious, that I mean *Miſs-Belief*.—To confeſs the Truth, the young Lady is of no Religion, yet is in great Reputation among our modern Wits; becauſe in their Eyes ſhe ſeems, like other faſhionable Beauties, more agreeable from the *black Spots* which appear upon her.

Miſs-Application has had her Share in governing the Actions of human Kind; and many immenſe Sums have been loſt, and many great Genius's ſpoiled, by her Pretence to direct them.——Can any Director of a publick Company, or Supra-Cargo from the *Indies*, ſay, I do not know *Miſs-Application?*——What could be ſaid of the Monies iſſued from the *T*———*ry* to carry ſome E———ns, if *Miſs-Application* was not to point to the *S—k—g F—d?*—Is ſhe not ſeen in *H*—— *W*———, when he is a Pl——p———ry? or 'Squire *Dullman*, when he attempts to be a Wit? For the one would appear to more Advantage on a Mountebank Stage, and the other as a Country Grazier. But ſhe ſometimes deſcends from the high Scenes of Life, and actuates on ſecret Committees, ſelect Veſtries, Courts of Aſſiſtants, and Companies Feaſts.—With Reverence be it ſpoken: I cannot but ſay ſhe has a ſtrong Influence in the Pulpit; ſo ſtrong a one, that when I hear the Words, *Now to apply*, I am in as much Pain, as Mr. *Prior* has deſcrib'd he was on the ſame Occaſion; for, too often would it have been more Propriety to have ſaid, *Now to miſs apply*.

The two only Twins I had were *Miſs-Count* and *Miſs-Reckon*; they were ſo like each other, that they could hardly be diſtinguiſhed, the former only adapting herſelf to the Buſineſs of the Men, as the laſt did to that of the Women. *Miſs-Count* committed her Rogueries deſignedly, the other thro' Blunders: The firſt will often get unperceivedly at the Elbow of a Clerk of the *Bank* or any Pay-Office, to prompt him to *count* ſhort. It has been ſaid, ſhe prompted a *Prime Miniſter*, e'er now, to *count* the publick Money on a *Gridiron*; all that fell thro' being his own, but all that remain'd on the Bars was his Maſter's and the Nation's. As many Properties are aſcrib'd to her, as to *Mab* the *Fairy*; ſhe makes *Fortune-Hunters* dream they are to have ſuch and ſuch *Ladies*; *Curates*, *fat Rectorſhips*; *Rectors*, *good Deaneries*; and *Deans*, *noble Biſhopricks*. *Miſs-Reckon* occaſions Trouble and Diſappointment in the Female Sex; ſometimes ſhe diſcovers the Shame of a Maiden, who has not kept a juſt Account; at others, flatters them with the Expectation of a particular Sweetheart, who is on the Point of Marriage to another: This is called, *Reckoning Chickens before they are hatch'd*. In one Thing ſhe is very favourable to the Sex, and that is, in the *Account* which ſhe gives of their Age.

Here muſt I mention an odd fantaſtical Girl, but the Humour and Air of her you may every Day ſee in all the publick Places: It is *Miſs-Becoming*, who, by ſome Oddity in her Dreſs and Gait, quite diſfigures a tolerable Face, and diſtorts her Limbs and Shape into the moſt diſagreeable Form. This, ſhe ſays, ſhe does to be in the *Mode*; therefore ſometimes ſhe *hobbles*, ſometimes *ſtraddles*; to day a perfect *Frenchwoman*, to-morrow half *French* and half *Engliſh*, and perhaps the next a downright *Slattern* in a *Bed-Gown*.—I muſt confeſs, I have *miſled* many of my Countrywomen to follow her Airs, and from ſuch Fantaſticalneſs only, made them ſeem (my Daughter) *Miſs-Becoming*.

My other Daughters, who are all

Miſſes,

Miſſes, tho' ſomewhat ancient, are too well known to give a Deſcription of; as, *Miſs-Truſt*, *Miſs-Time*, *Miſs-Doubt*, *Miſs-Deed*, &c. &c. who have all ſimilar Qualities to thoſe already deſcrib'd.

Craftſman, Dec. 26. N° 808.

Of FLATTERY *in Courts.*

THO' Praiſe is due to real Merit, and the natural Deſire of Fame and Reputation is a commendable Quality, and one of the ſtrongeſt Incitements to virtuous Actions; yet the Love of groſs *Flattery*, which conſiſts of groundleſs Praiſe, either in Print or Converſation, is a nauſeous Vanity, and renders a Man ridiculous in the Eyes of all impartial People.

This ſiniſter Method of ſaying the Thing that is *not*, like downright Lying, is often very prejudicial in private Life: But when this mean Spirit of Sycophancy infeſts Courts, and poiſons the Ears of Princes, it is a terrible Omen to the People, and commonly attended with fatal Conſequences.

Moſt Princes are train'd up from their Infancy in ſuch high-flown Notions of their exalted Birth, and in a Manner ſecluded from the reſt of the World, that it is an eaſy Matter for a well-fed Paraſite to make them look upon themſelves, as another Species of Mortals, or rather, ſomething more than Mortals.

To what vile Purpoſe, of this Nature, hath the Pulpit itſelf been made ſubſervient, by wreſting ſome Texts of Scripture, and conſtruing others in a literal Senſe, which they cannot bear without a manifeſt Abſurdity; particularly that, where Kings are ſaid to be *Gods*, which hath been ſpun out by mercenary Court-Preachers into numberleſs Volumes of the moſt impious and blaſphemous Doctrines. —— How often have the weakeſt Princes been call'd the *Light of our Eyes*, and the *Breath of our Noſtrils*, with other ſuch-like Appellations, peculiar only to the Almighty, and great Creator of the Univerſe?

A Was not K. *James* I. moſt fulſomly beſlabber'd with the Name of *Solomon the Second*, and as wickedly flatter'd, in the Sham-Conference at *Hampton-Court*, by Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, who declared, *that his Majeſty muſt certainly ſpeak by the Inſpiration* B *of the Holy Ghoſt?*—It was this *wiſe* Prince, I think, to whoſe Title the awful Epithet of *Sacred* was firſt added to *Majeſty*, and hath continued ever ſince.

I ſhall juſt mention one Objection, which the Diſſenters have often C made againſt our Liturgy, that the Title of *moſt religious and gracious King*, in the Form of Prayer during the Sitting of Parliament, was firſt given to one of the looſeſt Princes, both in Point of Religion and Morals, that ever ſat upon the *Bri-* D *tiſh* Throne.

From hence originally proceeded all thoſe monſtrous Doctrines of *abſolute paſſive Obedience*, *Non-Reſiſtance*, *unalienable hereditary Right*, and *unlimited Prerogative*; which occaſioned a long and bloody Civil War, E overturn'd our Government, both in Church and State, for a Time, and ended in the Ruin of all the elder Branches of the *Stuart* Family.

In ſhort, *Flattery* hath been the Bane of all or moſt of thoſe Princes, who were weak enough to liſten to F the Voice of this artful *Syren*, and ſuck'd up her deluſive Incantations. —If we examine the Hiſtory of all Ages and Countries, we ſhall find more crown'd Heads brought to Ruin by fawning, wheedling Sycophants, than by all their open and G profeſs'd Enemies.

In the arbitrary Governments of the *Eaſt*, it is cuſtomary for the Emperors to be the Trumpeters of

their own Praiſe, by the pompous Stile and Titles which they aſſume to themſelves: And tho' our *European* Monarchs, both abſolute and limited, have not yet equal'd the Sublimity of the *Oriental* Stile; they have made ſome conſiderable Advances towards it, within a few Centuries paſt; and in as many Centuries more will, in all Probability, not come much behind them in their *Speeches, Declarations, Memorials, Manifeſtoes, Treaties*, &c.

No good *Engliſhman* can repine at the glorious Titles, which our Monarchs have acquir'd ſince the Time of *Henry* IV. to whom the Title of *Grace* is ſaid to have been firſt given; to *Henry* VI. that of *excellent Grace*; to *Edward* IV. *high and mighty Prince*; to *Henry* VII. ſometimes *Grace* and ſometimes *Highneſs*; to *Henry* VIII. firſt *Highneſs*, then *Majeſty*; and now *ſacred Majeſty*, or *moſt excellent Majeſty*.——Mr. *Selden*, indeed, will not allow King *Henry* VIII. to be the firſt *Engliſh* Prince, who aſſum'd the Title of *Majeſty*, and produces ſome Inſtances from our ancient Records to the contrary; but ſtill I think it appears plainly enough, that the lofty Term of *Majeſty* did not become the ordinary current Title of our *Engliſh* Monarchs, till about the Time before-mention'd.

All I mean by this Remark, is to ſhew, that our *Britiſh* Kings being poſſeſs'd of ſuch high and illuſtrious Titles, by the very Tenure of their Crown, it is beneath their elevated Character to encourage any little ſneaking Adulation in *perſonal Audiences, Sermons, Dedications*, or *publick Addreſſes* of any Sort; which, inſtead of increaſing, diminiſhes the Luſtre of their ſupreme Dignity.

But the moſt pernicious *Flattery* of all is, when a Miniſter by indirect Means gains ſuch an Aſcendant over his Maſter, as to make him the Pipe of Conveyance of his own Praiſe; and ſuch a commanding Influence in popular Aſſemblies, as to prevail upon them to echo back the ſame blind Approbation of his ruinous Meaſures to the Throne.—We have many ſuch Inſtances in our own Hiſtory; but the ſame Hiſtory furniſhes us likewiſe with Examples, when theſe abominable Practices are ſo notorious, as to make a whole Nation ring with Complaints and Exclamations: And when a free and uncorrupted Parliament makes a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry into them, and a wiſe and good Prince ſits on the Throne, we may ſafely conclude, that the Domination of ſuch a Miniſter is near to an End; and dreadful muſt be his Fall, in Proportion to his inſolent and deſtructive Uſe of Power.

Common Senſe, Dec. 26. N° 254.

A PANEGYRICK *upon* DULNESS.

IF the Value of a Patron ariſes from the Number of his Clients and Admirers, the grave Perſonage, whoſe Praiſes I intend to celebrate, may deſervedly claim our deepeſt Regard at this Time. On the Sea and the Land, in the College, the Palace, and in the City, there are not wanting ſincere Votaries of *Dulneſs*. The Inhabitants of this Iſland happily become ſenſible of the Power of this gentle Goddeſs, and begin daily to deſpiſe her inveterate Adverſary, *Wit*.

What Man that abounds in Senſe and Penetration, has in our Memory made his Fortune? How grating muſt it be for a Miniſter to hear of his Bribery, his Tricking, his broken and deceitful Promiſes; or a Biſhop, of his Avarice, Pride, and Immoralities.

Tell a Debauchee of his falſe Calves, an impotent Huſband of his budding Forehead, a Glutton of the Veniſon he has devoured, or an Uſurer of the Families he has ruined,

they will all hate you more violently, than a red-hair'd Woman does her Picture exactly drawn. The Fooliſh and the Vicious are as afraid of a Wit as of a Dun, and avoid him as a Fly does a Spider's Web, and would ſooner have a Harpy at their Tables, than a Son of *Phœbus*.

Inconſiderate *Cynthio*, who hinted to the haughty *Pompilius*, that his Taylors and Confectioners Bills were unpaid, that his Lordſhip's Apprehenſion was ſomething *Bœotian*, and contradicted him when he ſwore that *Blackmore* was a better Poet than *Pope*, loſt all Pretenſions to his Patron's Smiles, ſaw the Deanery promiſed him given to another, and for ſome innocent Gaieties is now ſtarving in a Priſon.

The Paths to Preferment (Thanks to dear *Dulneſs*) are not ſo ſteep or ſo thorny, as formerly. Silence (that grave *Pythagorean* Virtue,) the Cringe, the Smile, and the fulſome Compliment, are now the only Qualifications neceſſary for riſing to Preferment and making a Fortune.— The World is ſo wiſe as to forget Induſtry, Parts, Ability, and Honeſty.

That famous Traveller, *Tavernier*, relates, that there is no Subject of the Great *Mogul*, but what is often reciting a favourite Proverb, as containing an uſeful Direction for Behaviour at a Court. The Proverb is, That if a King ſaith at Noon-Day, it is Night, you muſt immediately cry out, Behold the Moon and the Stars. Contradiction to a Superior betrays the hardieſt Impudence and Want of Attention to a Man's own private Intereſt; and who is ſo *ſtoical* as to prefer Truth before Flattery, when the one introduces Men into the Preſence-Chamber, the other confines them to the thatch'd Cottage.

Above all, let the Man that hopes to be diſtinguiſh'd by the Favours of the Great, tear from his Heart all fooliſh Notions of the Phantom Honour, and let him talk againſt, let him baniſh all Liberty;—a Concern for which is diametrically oppoſite to the deſirable Tranquillity which *Dulneſs*, a moſt generous Patroneſs, will impoſe on the Senſes.

We have indeed been told of a *Solon*, a *Leonidas*, a *Curtius*, a *Regulus*, and other ancient Worthies; as People that felt warmly for the Publick, and who loſt their Lives and Fortunes for its Sake. Such Enthuſiaſts in Point of Virtue, deſerve rather a Place in *Bedlam*, than *Elyſium*, and ſhow they little attended to the Dictates of human Nature, which whiſpers every Man principally to regard his dear Self, and not to injure or hazard either his dear Perſon or his dear Fortune, for the Sake of the nobleſt Community upon Earth.

It is altogether unneceſſary to recommend *Dulneſs* any farther to my Countrymen, ſince, without any Application made to them, a great Number of ſubſtantial thriving Perſons in the Profeſſions of Law, Phyſick and Divinity, are beholden to her kind Influence, and owe conſiderable Fortunes to it.

What military Man inures himſelf to Toils and Hardſhips, in order to make the Dangers and Difficulties of a Campaign familiar and eaſy to him, with Expectation to riſe by Merit?—Who among them but affects the *Frenchman* more than the *Spartan*, and chuſes not to have his Head covered with a Bag-Wig, rather than with Laurels?

How many dignified, fat Prieſts would rather flatter than preach, and envy the ſnoring Audience, whom their lethargick Diſcourſes have ſet faſt aſleep?

Among the fair Sex, how has Faſhion univerſally perſuaded them to think the Out-ſide of their Bodies deſerves their principal Attention, and commanded them more to admire

mire the Character of *Helen*, than of *Sappho*?

The Pleader at the Bar, having experienced that Eloquence and Honeſty will not fill his Pockets, and enable him to loll in a gilt Chariot, quickly turns himſelf to the more advantagious and eaſy Arts of Lying and Court-ſerving.

The 'Squire in the Country, contented with his Beef, his October, and his Hounds, rides away Life, and is utterly regardleſs whether Virtue or Learning may flouriſh or decay.

In fine, Men begin to be convinced that Indolence and Unthinkingneſs, are the greateſt Bleſſings upon Earth; that Knowledge is a vain Acquiſition, a Bubble that ſwells and breaks, a Rainbow that glows and fades away; and that *Tully*'s Son was in reality happier than our violent Enemy, his *Conſul-Father*.

As the *Sicilians* built a Temple to *Gluttony*, ſo we hope that the preſent excellent M—— will ſhortly erect one to her Daughter *Dulneſs*; and that *Gothiciſm* being re-eſtabliſhed, a Huntſman will be preferred to an Hiſtorian, a Butcher to a Poet, and a *French* Cook to a Philoſopher.

Craſiſman, Jan. 2. N° 809.

A Political DISCOURSE *upon the Commencement of the* NEW YEAR.

I AM ſorry to begin with obſerving, that *this Year* opens to us but a melancholy Proſpect, with regard to foreign Affairs. No good *Engliſhman*, or true Patriot of any Nation, whoſe Intereſt and Safety depend upon the Preſervation of the Balance of Power in *Europe*, can look without the deepeſt Concern upon the complicated Diſtreſſes of her *Hungarian* Majeſty and the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*. The rapid Progreſs and Succeſs of the *Pruſſian* Arms, the ſudden Revolution in *Ruſſia*, the impending Dangers of other States, and above all the exorbitant Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, from whoſe Intrigues it now appears that all theſe publick Calamities of *Europe* took their Riſe, are melancholy Conſiderations. — Who can any longer doubt of the true Motive of the ſudden and unprecedented March of the *French* Troops, as it is juſtly call'd, into the Heart of *Germany*, of the Conjunction of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleets in the *Mediterranean*; or of the *Swediſh* War againſt *Muſcovy*, &c? But what Perſon, or Perſons, by their Tameneſs, Inactivity, or Treachery, are properly anſwerable for giving the *French* Court ſuch an Opportunity of playing their old Game, and dictating Laws to all *Europe*, is a Point, which deſerves the ſtricteſt Inquiſition.—We have, indeed, been lately commanded by Authority to humble ourſelves before God in Faſting and Prayer for our manifold Sins and Tranſgreſſions, which have drawn down this heavy Judgment upon us. But let it be remember'd, that God commonly acts by ſecondary Means, and ſometimes puniſhes a whole Nation, or Community, for the Sins of a few, or even of a ſingle Perſon. — This was, in ſome Meaſure, the Caſe of *Jonah*, who for diſobeying the Command of the Lord, and endeavouring to flee from his Preſence by Sea, God work'd up a mighty Tempeſt, which had like to have daſh'd the Ship to Pieces, and put the Mariners under terrible Apprehenſions; upon which, concluding that this Evil muſt be brought upon them for the Sins of ſome body on board, they agreed amongſt themſelves to caſt Lots, and finding it to be *Jonah*, they threw him into the Sea, as *Jonah* himſelf commanded them, and the Tempeſt immediately ceaſed.—The only Comment I ſhall make upon this Paſſage is, that the Ship's Crew appear to have been innocent,

and ſuffer'd only for the Sins of one Man.—Our *Britiſh Jonah*, who hath ſo long troubled the *Veſſel of the State*, is well enough known, without caſting Lots, and ought to make the ſame voluntary Sacrifice of himſelf, for the Preſervation of his Country, which he hath brought into the moſt imminent Danger. Upon this Condition, I heartily wiſh him the ſame miraculous Deliverance with his *Jewiſh* Predeceſſor.

But that I may not be charged with delighting to dwell upon the dark Side of the preſent *New Year*, let us turn our Eyes a little to what may be call'd the bright Side of it; and as our only Hopes of Safety and Proſperity depend, next to God and the King, upon a free, uncorrupt and independent Parliament, I have the Pleaſure to wiſh my Countrymen Joy upon that Account; for our new-elected Repreſentatives have open'd their firſt Seſſion with a Spirit and Vigour worthy of a *Britiſh* Parliament, and given us an Earneſt of much better Things from their Hands. Their chuſing a Gentleman of the moſt unqueſtion'd Judgment and Integrity, to fill the Chair of the Committee of Elections, upon whoſe Deciſion the Right of ſo many controverted Seats in a great Meaſure depends, is an early Proof of their Regard to Juſtice and Equity.

As nothing ſtrikes more immediately at the very Root of all Freedom of Elections, and Independency of Parliament, than Bribery, Corruption, open Violence, and falſe Returns, it muſt give every true Friend to Liberty the utmoſt Pleaſure to reflect on the Zeal, which our Repreſentatives have already exerted againſt ſuch pernicious Practices, and their Reſolution to make a farther Inquiry into the Conduct of the Authors and Agents, in this dirty Work.—We have therefore good Reaſon to expect and believe, that no Tools of Power will be bold enough, for the future, to hire arm'd Ruffians, in order to make Riots, and intimidate the Electors, or to cloſe any Poll in an abrupt and arbitrary Manner, or to ſend for a military Force to protect them in their illegal Proceedings.—Theſe Men, I ſay, have received one remarkable Check in the full Career of their Wickedneſs; and there being many Caſes of much the ſame Nature already laid before Parliament, it is not to be doubted that they will be examined in the ſame impartial Manner; and if any Perſons, whether Electors or Magiſtrates, ſhould be proved guilty of the like Offences, we may reſt in full Confidence that the moſt exemplary Puniſhment will be inflicted on them.

A *falſe Return* is ſelling the People by wholeſale, and endeavouring to defeat the End of all Elections; for if any Man ſhould be induced by private Friendſhip, Conſanguinity, Affinity, Party Motives, Dependency, Corruption, or any other ſelfiſh Conſiderations, to proſtitute the high Truſt repoſed in him, by returning what Perſons he pleaſes, without any Regard to the Number or requiſite Qualification of the Electors; the Perſons ſo return'd are properly the Repreſentatives only of a wicked Magiſtrate, and not of the County, City, or Borough, which are thus deprived of their true Choice.—It was to prevent, reform, and puniſh ſuch Abuſes of Men in Office, that the *Committee of Elections* was firſt inſtituted, which in free Parliaments hath often been of ſignal Benefit to the Nation.

The preſent Parliament have likewiſe given us very promiſing Hopes of procuring ſome farther Advantages to the Publick, by calling for the Inſtructions, Letters, and other Papers, which have paſs'd between the Adminiſtration at home, and our

our Admirals, Commanders, and Miniſters abroad.—This ſeems to imply a firm Reſolution to make a ſtrict Scrutiny into the Conduct of Affairs, both foreign and domeſtick; particularly how the vaſt Sums of Money, already given and appropriated to national Uſes, have been apply'd; how our numerous Fleets and Armies have been employ'd againſt the common Enemy, in Vindication of our Honour, Intereſt, and undoubted Right to a free Trade and Navigation in all Parts of the World, not ſpecifically excepted by Treaties; laſtly, whether any Body is culpable or not, for Maladminiſtration and Miſmanagement in any Branch of Government.

Upon the Whole, I may venture to conclude with the uſual Compliment of the Seaſon, by wiſhing my Readers and Countrymen Joy, upon the *preſent New Year*; for if our Circumſtances at home ſhould be viſibly found upon the mending Hand, it might poſſibly give a Turn to Affairs abroad, however gloomy and diſmal the Proſpect may at preſent appear.

Common Senſe, Jan. 2. N° 255.

SEveral grave and learned Writers have communicated their Dreams to the World, as Matters worthy of moſt ſerious Conſideration.

If my Memory does not deceive me, it is *Montaigne* who tells us, that he had made whole Comedies full of Plot and Intrigue, and compoſed ſeveral Copies of Verſes, in his Sleep; which he thought to be much ſuperior to any he had ever compoſed when he was awake.

I think *Montaigne* was not only a Man of as much Wit as any of his own Age, but as any that hath lived ſince; and yet he tells us, that he would always chuſe to ſtudy in his Sleep.

To tell the Truth, when I firſt undertook this Work, I propoſed now and then to fall aſleep myſelf for the Good of my Country; and I may without Vanity ſay, that I dream'd once or twice with tolerable good Succeſs, and to the no ſmall Satisfaction and Entertainment of my courteous Readers; but of late I have receiv'd ſeveral friendly Admonitions, informing me that this is not a Time for Sleep; and particularly ſome Months ago, a ſhort Note came to my Hands, ſubſcribed by no Name, containing only the two Expreſſions following: ——*Sleep no more*, ——*the Corruptor hath murder'd Sleep.*——Upon which I rouſed myſelf, and have ever ſince been doing my poor Endeavours to rouſe the whole Nation, which about that Time ſeem'd to be ſeiz'd with a Kind of ſleeping or lethargick Fit, which, in the Opinion of the Learned, would have carried it off, if it had laſted two or three Months longer.

But altho' I have left off ſleeping myſelf, ſome of my Correſpondents are ſo kind to ſleep for me; as the Reader will perceive by what follows.

To the Author of Common Senſe.

SIR,

I Happened laſt Night to be preſent at a Club, where our Converſation chiefly turn'd upon the Follies of Mankind: And we at laſt concluded,

Nemo ſine vitiis naſcitur,
Optimus ille, qui minimis urgetur.

This Converſation made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion on me, that when I went to Bed, I fell into a ſtrange Kind of Dream.

Methought I ſaw all Mankind, as they came into the World, obliged to clamber up a ſteep Mountain, all cover'd with craggy Rocks and Thorns, at the Top of which they arrived ſooner or later, according as Nature had given them Strength.

At

At their firſt attempting the Aſcent, I perceived a fair Nymph, cloathed with a white ſhining Garment, ſtart from a Thicket, and attended cloſe behind every Perſon as they went up. I could obſerve her frequently whiſpering to them, and on my nearer Approach plainly diſtinguiſh'd what ſhe ſaid.

The firſt I heard her ſpeak to, was a Lady who had the fineſt Features that Nature could form, but wanted a Complexion: The Nymph told her, Paint would remedy that Defect.

Another who had a Deformity in her Hip and Shoulder, came limping on with the utmoſt Concern; and her Companion the Nymph recommended to her, Stays properly padded and a Hoop.

A Lady that had been married to a debauched Rake, after finding her Arguments could not prevail to reclaim him, found out a Remedy, or at leaſt a Revenge, by the Aſſiſtance of her kind Adviſer; who recommended her acting the ſame Part, and then ſhe ſaid they would be on equal Terms, for one bad Turn, as well as one good Turn, deſerves another.

The deep Sighs of one that was near me drew my Attention to her, and I found ſhe was bemoaning her hard Fate that obliged her to drudge on a melancholy Life with a ſenſeleſs Huſband, who could not reliſh the Pleaſures of the Town, and the Follies of a gay World. She had hardly uttered theſe Words, when her Attendant told her, a ſeparate Maintenance would ſet her at Liberty, would make her her own Miſtreſs, and was frequently practiſed.

I obſerved an old Lady crawling up the Hill on all Fours, and notwithſtanding the Fatigue of the ſteep Aſcent, endeavour'd with great Care to cover her white Locks with Pieces of Rags, which I heard the Nymph call a Cap; and told her, Diamonds and Gold would cut off threeſcore Years of her Age.

I was ſurpriz'd to find all the young Women that follow'd her, endeavouring in the ſame Manner to hide the moſt beautiful Hair that Nature could produce.

A fine Gentleman that had moſt of thoſe Qualities which render a Man agreeable, wanted a Fortune; which his fair Companion obſerving, told him, there was but one Remedy left, which was to lay Conſcience aſide, and all would go well: Upon thoſe Conditions, there never was a better Time to thrive.

I ſaw a young Man heavily loaded with a Bag of Money, and he complain'd of its great Weight. The Nymph, who never was wanting in her Advice, told him, Money was made for the Uſe and Pleaſure of Mortals, and when it was gone, his Burden would be light enough.

Another was loaded in the ſame Manner, but had been liberally diſtributing it for forty Years, until the Nymph thought that forty Years was too long a Time for any one on the Mountain to continue in the ſame Courſe, and whiſper'd him that Riches have Wings and will certainly fly away; he immediately ſhut the Bag, and ſaid, I'll clip them cloſe and make them ſtay.

I for a long Time obſerved a Man picking every Man's Pocket as he came by them, until he had accumulated great Wealth; he would not follow the common Road, but ſtruck into a narrow Way on the left Hand, all over-grown with Briars and Thorns, few having paſs'd that Way for many Years: He came to a ſteep Rock, call'd *abſolute Monarchy*, which he endeavour'd with infinite Labour to climb up; it was rough and had many ſharp Points, and there was a ſtrong Guard ſet round to watch it; all who had of late

late attempted to aſcend this Rock, were generally deſtroy'd: So after graſping at every Thing he could lay his Hands on to help him up, and finding his Attempt was like to prove vain, he addreſs'd himſelf to the Nymph, who had firſt adviſ'd him to turn on that Road, and deſired to know of her how he might beſt ſucceed in his Attempt; ſhe told him, that he had ſufficient Riches to bribe all the Guards; that if he divided his Money with a liberal Hand amongſt them, they would allow him to mount on their Shoulders; and that there was no other Way. He follow'd her Advice, and when he was almoſt at the Top, the Weight of his corpulent Body was too heavy, and ſo they let him tumble down, and he broke his Neck.

On the Top of the Hill there was plac'd a Looking-Glaſs, which diſcover'd the Nymph behind to be the *Goddeſs of Folly*, who immediately diſappear'd.

Over this Glaſs was written the following Inſcription:

The world with fools is over-run,
If you're alone, theſe fools you'll ſhun;
But if you would not ſee one aſs,
You then muſt break this looking-glaſs.

I had no ſooner read theſe Lines, but I took the Glaſs into my Hand with a Deſign to break it; the imagin'd Noiſe wak'd me, and to my great Diſappointment and Surprize I found it only a Dream.

Craſtſman, Jan. 9. N° 810.

The Inconveniencies objected to FREE GOVERNMENTS, *anſwer'd.*

Mr. D'Anvers,

IT is a Point agreed to, I think, on all Sides, that different Kinds of Government have their particular Conveniencies, and are likewiſe attended with their reſpective Inconveniencies.

The Convenience of abſolute Government is Unanimity, Secrecy, and Diſpatch; but then the Reins of Government muſt be ſuppoſed always to be lodged in the Hands of a Perſon endowed with Fortitude, Wiſdom, and Activity.——But if he ſhould be vitiated with Ambition, Cruelty, or Avarice, he may make as bad a Sovereign, notwithſtanding his eminent Endowments, as any Hero of Antiquity.

In order therefore to make a good domeſtick Prince, there muſt be added ſome other perſonal Virtues, ſuch as Oeconomy, Benevolence, and Integrity; but having with great Care, compared, from the original Hiſtories, the Characters of the Princes, whoſe Names are inſerted in *Talent*'s Chronological Tables, I find the Odds, to be full 999 in 1000, againſt any Prince, at the Time of his Nativity, being endowed with the Requiſites above-mention'd; and if he chances to be born with any one, or more of them, there is the ſame Odds that his native good Qualities will be ſo metamorphoſed by his Miniſters, that by the Time he comes to govern, they will be made inviſible to his People.

For theſe Reaſons, with great Submiſſion I ſpeak it to thoſe Perſons, who are fond of abſolute Government, that I differ in Opinion; for the Government I ſhould chuſe to live under, inſtead of having a Chance for thoſe exquiſite Advantages, which may be found in an abſolute executive Part, ſhould be ſuch as ſhould beſt obviate the Inconveniencies which the executive Part might introduce, and where the Conveniencies of the Government, ſuch as they ſhould be, would be leſs liable to Caprice or Ambition, Fear or Treachery, Covetouſneſs or Prodigality.

Some eminent Politicians have often told us, that *Faction* is a Concomitant of *Freedom*; from whence will

will ariſe this Queſtion —— What is Faction? Miniſters, no Doubt, and all their venal Tribe, will call ſuch People factious, who oppoſe their Proceedings; therefore allowing them to be Judges, People, who regard their Liberty, will often be factious. —— But I muſt here obſerve, that Freedom ſeldom makes a People factious. It is generally an Invaſion of Freedom, or the Danger of loſing it, that makes them ſo; and whoever will look into the Hiſtory of *England*, will find that the People have been moſt factious, when they have been leaſt free, for this plain and natural Reaſon, that People will always make more Noiſe when they loſe, than when they gain.

Another Inconvenience generally aſcribed to free States, is Want of *Secrecy*; but I think very unjuſtly. —— As I am an *Engliſhman*, I am moſtly concern'd for the Defence of my native Soil, and Examples of preſent Times are certainly much more illuſtrative than to have Recourſe to Antiquity. —— For the Truth of what I am going to ſay, I ſhall appeal to the Reader's Knowledge; whether the miniſterial Proceedings in Points of moſt Conſequence for theſe 20 Years paſt, have not been kept ſo ſecret, that both at home and abroad, in Peace and in War, People have never been able to gueſs at what was doing, till it was done; and when Things have been done, whether People have not been as much at a Loſs to gueſs why they were done, as before, they were ignorant what was doing?

Could the Miniſtry of *France* carry on their Affairs with more profound *Secrecy?* I am ſure, at leaſt, they have not.—For upwards of fifty Years ago, it was notorious, that they drove at univerſal Monarchy, which was well known to K. *William*, who counter-ſchemed them. It muſt be own'd, indeed, that his Scheme, the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, was very obvious too, which perhaps is the Reaſon that it has not been better carry'd on.

Want of *Unanimity* is another darling Objection to a free State. This, to be ſure, would be a very weighty one, if it was true; for a Nation without Unanimity, cannot be able to defend itſelf againſt foreign or domeſtick Foes, againſt publick Invaſions, or private Treachery. Here again, it may be neceſſary to conſider, what may properly be call'd *Unanimity*. —I ſuppoſe it can't be expected to have every Individual in a Nation ſay *Aye!* —What I conceive may be call'd *Unanimity*, is, when a Majority is able to carry a Train of Reſolutions, without Lett, or Meleſtation.

If this is a right Definition of *Unanimety*, there certainly could not have been, in the moſt deſpotick Governments, greater Unanimity than has been in *England* for 20 Years paſt. —Indeed, there has been a ſtrong Oppoſition to many publick Proceedings. —But what Hurt did it do the *Miniſter?*—Or, which is a more melancholy Reflection, What Good did it do the Nation?

Has the Oppoſition had Force enough to prevent or alter any one Meaſure, but the *Exciſe-Scheme*, and the *Sailor's-Bill?*

Was not the Miniſter himſelf Judge of the Expences for the current Service? And has not all been comply'd with, that he propoſed?

We are peculiarly happy in *England* by our Conſtitution; for we have all the Advantages of monarchical Government for the executive Part, and the People have not only an undoubted Right, but a full Power likewiſe by their Repreſentatives to be watchful over the Actions of the Miniſters, that they don't exceed the Intereſts of the People. —This is our Conſtitution.—So that while our Repreſentatives are faithful, the People are ſafe; and this

Power

Power of Inquiry, is much more properly lodged, to anſwer the Intent of Government, with the People, than with the Prince, becauſe our Judgment is much eaſier impoſed on than our Senſes.—A Prince may eaſily be deceived, by the Miſrepreſentations of his Miniſters, of the Circumſtances of the People, and it may be the Intereſt of a Miniſter to miſrepreſent Facts, to ſcreen himſelf, and his ſubordinate Tools; but this is a Point, in which the People can't be miſtaken.—*Hunger* and *Cold* are Counſellors that won't lye, but never *go to Court*.

A *Britiſh* Parliament, that diſcharges the Truſt repos'd in them, won't take the Word of a Miniſter for his own Integrity, as a Prince may do; nor will a Miniſter have the Impudence to aſk it.—*Si negare ſufficiat, quis erit nocens?*

This Subject brings to my Mind the Speech, which the Man made to Don *Carlos* of *Spain*, when he came to ſtrangle him.—*Cailla, cailla, Senor Don Carlos, todo lo que ſe haxe es pur ſu bien*; which, in plain *Engliſh*, is, *Senior Don* Carlos, *be quiet, all this is for your Good*.—The Reader will obſerve that in *Spain*, Poiſoning and Strangling were as much the avow'd Meaſures of Miniſters, as Corruption has been ſo in other Countries.

Perhaps it may be objected to me, that I have, in ſome Places, been too light for the Importance of the Subject; to make amends for which, I will be more ſerious in the Concluſion.

No body can have a greater Deteſtation of Faction, properly ſo call'd, than I have; but God forbid that the Lamentations and Apprehenſions of a diſtreſs'd People ſhould be ever thought ſo by a *Britiſh* Parliament!—And as I am an Enemy to Faction, I am a Friend to Unanimity; but I would wiſh that Unanimity placed upon a juſt Subject; for to be unanimous upon improper Objects, is but going ſo much faſter out of the Way, and muſt end more fatally, than to have divided Councils.

There is one Point, I believe, all are agreed on; which is, that our political Situation carries but a melancholy Aſpect. How, indeed, we came into ſuch Circumſtances, is a Queſtion which, I believe, will not be ſo readily anſwer'd by the miniſterial Tribe; tho' I hope they will be ſoon obliged to give an Anſwer, and a ſtrict one too. Never was an Inquiry ſo much expected, nor were there ever ſtronger Preſumptions to excite an unanimous Attention in thoſe Places, where only Relief can be obtain'd.

Common Senſe, Jan. 9. N° 256.

BRITAIN's HOPE *in the preſent Conjuncture.*

THE moſt reviving Proſpect with which this Nation hath been flatter'd for many Years paſt, is, what made its Appearance on the firſt of *December*.

To ſee ſo many Gentlemen of the beſt Families and largeſt Fortunes in the Kingdom meet in a Place where, according to the avow'd Scheme of our Corruptor, Perſons of their Character were to be excluded for ever, in order to make Way for Brokers and Placemen (which in plainer *Engliſh*, is as much as to ſay, Brokers and Brokers) is an Event that hath diſpers'd Gladneſs all over the Nation.

Methinks it looks like the firſt Sight of Land to a Crew of half-ſtarv'd Mariners, after a long Voyage, who having been thrown out of their Courſe by Tempeſts, deſpair'd of ever ſeeing their native Country more.

There cannot be a greater Pleaſure to a good Mind, than to be able to relieve the Diſtreſs'd; this is a

Pleaſure which the Gentlemen of whom we are ſpeaking now enjoy.—Such a formidable Body, with the whole Nation on their Side, may not only prevent infinite Miſchiefs, but redreſs Grievances already felt:—The Corruptor cannot conceal his Apprehenſions that it will be ſo; his Countenance betrays his Fears;—his very Inſolence begins to forſake him:—We ſee ſuch an Alteration in the Looks of all his Tools, that we thought could never happen to Perſons of their Complexion;—they begin to look civil, and give me Leave to obſerve, that to look civil is a moſt melancholy Symptom on their Side.

We hear indeed, that the Corruptor ſtill depends on the Negligence on the other Side, as his Anchor of Hope:—We think he will be deceiv'd:—We have already obſerv'd, that the old Excuſe which Gentlemen formerly gave for being abſent, that they could do no Good if they were preſent, is now no more; it is demonſtrable, that with Unanimity and Attendance they may do what Good they pleaſe.

Conſider what a Pleaſure they ought to take in attending, who have the kind Wiſhes of all Mankind for their Succeſs, and who are ſure to meet with Approbation and Applauſe.

There is no Inſtance in Hiſtory, of any Subject having uſurp'd ſuch an exorbitant Power as we have ſeen engroſs'd by one Man; yet in the Midſt of this over-grown Power he hath been gradually loſing Ground for ſeven or eight Years; it is near that Time ſince the Tide hath been turning againſt him, nor is it poſſible in the Nature of human Affairs, that he ſhould ever be able to ſtem a Current, that muſt increaſe in Strength the longer it runs; the Genius of the Nation is viſibly prevailing, and Providence will not ſuffer it to be ruin'd by ſuch mean and bungling Hands.

The Freeholders and other middling People have done their Part towards mending publick Affairs, by electing Perſons of the beſt Characters to repreſent them; the Buſineſs is now in the Hands of the Truſtees, there can be no Reaſon to doubt but they will anſwer the Expectations of thoſe who ſent them.

All the low Tricks and ſilly Expedients uſually practiſed in a bad Cauſe, have been tried by this Man over and over to recover his loſt Ground, but to no Purpoſe:—He hath brib'd, and he hath menac'd; nay, he hath menac'd the whole Nation, but what then? The Sea when it is made angry by a Tempeſt, foams and ſwells like this Man, it threatens to overwhelm the whole Earth, yet is its Fury ſtopp'd by a little Bank of Sand; but it muſt be obſerv'd, that the Bank of Sand never quits its Poſt, it never ſtirs from that Spot aſſign'd it by Providence for guarding the Land, and checking the Fury of the Waters; therefore the Sea cannot prevail: On the contrary, in the Height of its Rage, its proud Waves are forc'd back within their proper Bounds.—By this we are taught what Perſeverance and Attendance will do, and it is a juſt Emblem of a ſteady and wiſe Oppoſition.

Craftſman, Jan. 16. N° 811.

Of the Authority of SHERIFFS, *and the Importance of putting proper Perſons into that high Office.*

THE *High Sheriff of a County* is an Officer of great Antiquity, Dignity, and Authority, both *Judicial* and *Miniſterial*, in the reſpective County, over which he preſides. In former Times, he was choſen in the County-Court by the Suffrages of the *People*, like Juſtices or Conſervators of the Peace, as Members of Parliament now are; ſo that even then he was a *Royal Officer*, or *Vice-*

Roy,

Roy, tho' choſen by the People. But, in Proceſs of Time, ſome Inconveniencies being found, or pretended to be found, in this Method of Election, it was given by Statute to the *King*. He therefore ſtill continues a *Royal Officer*, and of the higheſt Diſtinction; being created by Letters Patent, and having, beſides his Patent of Office, a Writ directed to all Biſhops, Lords, Knights, Freemen, and others, to be watchful and aſſiſtant to him in all Things appertaining to his Office and the Diſcharge of his Duty. He likewiſe takes Place of every Nobleman in the County, of what Rank or Degree ſoever, during the Time of his Shrievalty.—It is his Office and Duty to proclaim Statutes, and make Returns of the Writs for electing Members of Parliament, *viz.* Knights of the Shire, Citizens and Burgeſſes; as alſo to preſerve the Rights of the King; collect his Rents; ſeize the Profits of Lands forfeited, and the Goods of Felons; to levy the King's Debts, Fines, Amerciaments, and be accountable to the King for the Iſſues and Profits of his County; for which he is obliged to give his Acconnt in the Exchequer. He is to take Care that Criminals are executed, and to obſerve the Order of Law in putting them to Death. Laſtly, to give no more Inſtances, among a thouſand others, of his great Power, Dignity, and Authority, an *High Sheriff* muſt have *ſufficient Lands*, to anſwer the King and his People. So that, in every Reſpect, he may be properly denominated the *King's Repreſentative*, or the *next Perſon under the King*, in his reſpective County, during the Time of his Shrievalty.

The Authority of the *Sheriff* being ſo very great, and almoſt abſolute, within his particular Diſtrict, the greateſt Care ought to be taken that it ſhould never be confer'd upon an *indigent* or *mean Perſon*; and whoſoever deceives his Prince, and abuſes his Country in this Reſpect, is certainly guilty of the higheſt Crime and Miſdemeanor.

The principal Motives of a wicked Miniſter to proſtitute this high Office, are one of theſe; either to return *Pack'd Juries*, when they are determined to ſupport a forged or ſuſpected Plot, and to deſtroy or harraſs ſome of their Enemies by illegal Convictions; or to procure a *Pack'd Parliament* by arbitrary and illegal Returns, which is much more frequently the Inducement to this criminal Abuſe of Power, as Elections return periodically, tho' not ſo often as might be wiſh'd; and as an Houſe of Commons faſtly attach'd to the Intereſts of a Miniſter is ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the Preſervation of his Power, upon which only the Safety of his own dear Perſon depends.

But if it ſhould ever happen, in Times to come, that *a very low Fellow*, even ſo low as a *menial Servant*, ſhould be thruſt into this Royal Office, eſpecially for a *County of the firſt Rank, as to Wealth and Taxes*, it certainly deſerves the ſtricteſt Inquiry, by whoſe Recommendation, or Influence, ſuch an high Dignity was degraded; and if the Perſon guilty of ſo flagitious a Fact ſhould appear to be a *Demi-Sovereign Miniſter*, he ought to be puniſh'd in the moſt exemplary Manner; becauſe ſuch a County as I am here ſuppoſing, can never want a ſufficient Number of wealthy, able, and reputable Gentlemen to repreſent the King, and do Honour to his County.

But the ſame Arguments will hold equally good as to any other inferior Counties, with regard to Wealth and Taxes, as well as to Cities, Towns and Boroughs, which have a Right to be repreſented in Parliament; for if any Returning Officer, by whatever Name call'd, ſhould be found guilty of making a *falſe Re-*

turn, or of any other unwarrantable Practices in the Diſcharge of his Duty, no Rigour of Puniſhment can be too ſevere for him; becauſe, in that Caſe, the County, City, or Borough, cannot be juſtly ſaid to be repreſented at all, unleſs by the Returning Officer; and if any Candidate for a Seat in the Houſe of Commons, the chief Support of our Liberties and Properties, ſhould ever preſume to proſtitute and abandon himſelf in ſuch a Manner, in order to be return'd, for vile and mercenary Ends, as to forge or counterfeit any *Corporation Seal*, I will not take upon myſelf to determine how far the Rules of Law may extend againſt him; but ſure I am, that he ought to be hooted out of that auguſt Aſſembly.

The Juſtice of the preſent Houſe of Commons, already inflicted upon ſuch notorious Delinquents and Violators of all Laws, both human and divine, give us the utmoſt Reaſon to hope, believe, and expect that none of them will be able to eſcape, without due Examination and Puniſhment, according to their reſpective Offences.

I need not inforce the Doctrine of Attendance in Parliament, at this critical Conjuncture; ſince it hath been ſo well explain'd by ſeveral excellent Hands, and ſo fully anſwer'd by our Repreſentatives already, that it would be juſtly thought impertinent in me to ſay any farther upon that Head.

Common Senſe, Jan. 16. N° 257.

Of the Adminiſtration in free States, and its Abuſes.

IN free States, when any that are entruſted with the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs deſign to exerciſe a more arbitrary Degree of Power than is conſiſtent with the Nature of the Government, they always ſet out with ſpecious Pretences to publick Good.

In limited Monarchies, the executive Part muſt be divided into different Offices, which ought to be intirely independent of each other.

If a Man who is intruſted in Conjunction with others over a ſingle Branch, deſigns to uſurp not only the ſole Power of that, but of all the other Offices of the Government, leaving to thoſe who ought to be his Equals, the honourable Name of his Tools, he ought to conceal his Game till he is ſure that nothing can ſhake him with ——.

Nothing can contribute more to ſuch a Man's Deſigns, than Parties in the Country. A pretended Zeal for a Party covers a Multitude of Sins, in the Opinions of all thoſe that are Bigots to that Party: People of this Character will ſupport a Miniſter in Things the moſt prejudical to the Commonwealth, provided you can but make them believe, that it is for the Good of the Party: They will become the Slaves of ſuch a Man, without knowing that they are ſo.——Bigots of all Kinds are the weakeſt Creatures of the human Species.

There is a ſecond Sort who act with this or that Party, without examining into the Merits of either, for no Reaſon, but becauſe it happen'd at the Beginning of their Lives that their Acquaintance lay among People on that Side of the Queſtion; their Principle is only a Kind of Complaiſance to do as their Company does:——Theſe will go ſome Lengths.

There is a third Sort who think, that if Government be wiſely and honeſtly adminiſtred, it is indifferent which Side is uppermoſt; theſe will act with either as long as the publick Intereſt is purſued, they will even forgive ſome ſmall Errors tho' they will not approve of them; like ſome good-natured Creditors, they will take a Miniſter's Word once or twice more, altho' he hath deceived them

them before; but when they find no Amendment, when they ſee nothing but a Mixture of Ignorance and Knavery in all publick Meaſures, they will truſt no longer:—They conſider the Country, they conſider their own Reputation, and from a right Principle oppoſe thoſe they had before ſupported.

Our Man in Power finding himſelf left and oppoſed by all ſuch whoſe Reputations were before of Uſe to him, and ſerv'd to give a Kind of Sanction to his bad Meaſures, is forc'd to pick up People without Name, without Intereſt, without Character to ſupply their Places,——People ſo obſcure, that they never had Fathers or Mothers, and had they not been drawn out to diſgrace the Nation, the People would not have known by what Names to have call'd them; and thus is ſuch a Miniſter left at laſt, with the Rump, the Tail, the Refuſe, the rotten End of a deſpicable Faction.

I hope nothing like this will ever happen in this Nation;——we may pronounce we are in no Danger of it; for ſince the Nation's future Proſperity depends upon the Attendance of a few Gentlemen, we are very ſure they will attend;——the ſtrongeſt Excuſes that any Gentleman can make for being abſent, muſt appear Trifles light as Air in Compariſon of what is now depending.

If ſomething dangerous to the Conſtitution ſhould paſs by the Abſence of a ſingle Man one Day, how would it ſound if he ſhould plead in his Excuſe, that his Lady lay in, as if he was to play the Midwife; or that his Brother or Child was dead, as if he was the Undertaker.

For the Nation's Friends to be abſent as Things now ſtand, would be like a Man's throwing up the Cards when the Game is ſure in his Hand, which muſt bring him under the Suſpicion of confederating with Sharpers to cheat his own Friends who had engaged on his Side.

There is a Circumſtance, ſufficient of itſelf to deter a Man from liſting under the Banners of him who is the Object of univerſal Hatred; which is, to be looked upon as an Enemy wherever he comes,——When a Man knows that nothing but Decency to the reſt of the Company, can hinder ſome one from telling him his own wherever he appears, what an uneaſy State of Life muſt it be to one who hath any Senſe of Feeling? If this be the Caſe while they are under the Protection of Power, what will it be when that Protection is withdrawn, and they are upon a Level with the Loweſt? I believe the Time is not far off, when theſe People will think themſelves extremely obliged to a Man that will ſo much as return their Bow.

I ſhall agree, that it is ſtill in the Power of many to obtain Quarter.——All that have kept their Hands clean in their Offices will be well receiv'd;——thoſe indeed that have been concern'd in the Jobb-Work muſt hold out to the laſt, they muſt ſink or ſwim with him; but it is not too late for the others to repent and fall into the true Intereſt of their Country.

Craftſman, Jan. 23. N° 812.

To the Worſhipful George Trueman, *Eſq; Lord of the Manor of* Whitecliff.

May it pleaſe your Worſhip,

TO permit us, the whole Body of your Tenants, to lay before you a general Complaint of the manifold Hardſhips we now lie under, and have ſuffered upwards of 14 Years, from the iniquitous and treacherous Practices of your wicked Steward, *Mr. Robert Blackſkin*. Your Worſhip may be aſſured, it is under the deepeſt Senſe of your Juſtice, Good-nature, and other excellent Virtues, that we preſume to trouble you with this Remon-

Remonſtrance, and flatter ourſelves, that we ſhall find a ſpeedy Redreſs of all our Grievances. We are fully convinced, how much it is your Worſhip's Reſolution to defend us in a quiet Occupation of all our Tenures; that we ſhould have the free Uſe of all the *Commons*, and of the Ways which lie thro' them, within your Worſhip's ancient and accuſtomed Manor; and when, not without ſome Difficulty, we found a Way to acquaint your Worſhip how injuriouſly we were treated by Sir *Philip Strut*'s People, who would never ſuffer us to carry any Thing acroſs the *Weſt Common*, without ſtopping the Teams, and unloading and ſearching them, upon a ſham Pretence, that we had ſtolen Things out of their Grounds; and would ſometimes take Horſes, Carriages, and the whole Load, away to one of Sir *Philip*'s Farms, and there keep them, contrary to all Law and Equity: When your Worſhip, after ſome Years, came to the Knowledge of it, a juſt Senſe of your own Honour, join'd to a compaſſionate Regard for your abuſed Tenants, ſoon made your Worſhip reſolve to call Sir *Philip* to Account, and to authorize and impower your Tenants thenceforward to make what Reprizals they could, to aſſemble in a Body, and, by Force, recover from any of the Farms of the ſaid Sir *Philip*, whatever Goods or Chattels ſhould come firſt to Hand, till we had obtain'd full Satisfaction for all our Loſſes. Notwithſtanding which your Worſhip's good Intention, we muſt yet again beg Leave to put your Worſhip in Mind, that we ſtill labour under as great Hardſhips as ever; not for Want of either Courage or Strength to do ourſelves Juſtice, but from the unparallel'd Management of your Worſhip's Steward aforeſaid, whoſe daily Actions give us but too much Reaſon to ſuſpect that he is under-hand ſerving the Intereſt, not only of Sir *Philip*, but of others, your Worſhip's inveterate Enemies, and particularly 'Squire *Baboon*, the Parſon of whoſe Pariſh, 'tis generally believed, knows enough to hang him, whenever he pleaſes. Your Worſhip's Tenants (with Submiſſion be it ſpoken) want neither good Hearts, able Bodies, or willing Minds, and verily think they could play their Parts with Sir *Philip*'s Folks, and 'Squire *Baboon*'s both together, upon any Spot of the *Commons*; yet ſuch are Mr. *Blueſkin*'s Contrivances, that hitherto we have had few or no Opportunities of coming up with them, or making ourſelves the leaſt Amends, according to your Worſhip's moſt gracious Intention. For, under Pretence that nothing could be attempted without ſpecial Directions from your Worſhip, he would ſummon us to meet at the *Ship and Caſtle* Alehouſe in the Village, with good Clubs and Quarterſtaffs, and there keep us, our Sons, and our Servants, from our Work, Day after Day, and never let us know what we are to do. Sometimes he would ſay, we muſt ſtay till the Change of the Moon; but the Moon changed and changed again, and we never ſtir'd. Then, forſooth, we muſt tarry for *Newbury* Fair, and fall upon them as they were returning home with their Money in their Pockets. Then he would ſay, we muſt not be all in one Place, but ſome here, ſome there; under this Pretence we were divided; one Parcel of us were ſent into the *Weſt Common*, another into *Midland Common*, and the reſt kept loitering in the Village; all of us eating and drinking, and wearing out our Apparel all the While, partly at your Worſhip's, and partly at our own Expence, to our Loſs of Time, Neglect of all Manner of Buſineſs, and thereby Impoveriſhment and Ruin of our Families; and, what was worſt of all, Sir *Philip*'s Tenants, in the mean Time, with better Colour than ever, entering our Folds, and carrying off whatever they could lay their Hands on. Indeed he was ſomewhat diſappointed by the Company he ſent to the *Weſt Common*; for theſe (as your Worſhip may remember) being headed by *James Green* the *Threſher*, as clever and as ſtout a Fellow as ever handled a Flail, whom Mr. *Blueſkin* fancy'd was only a Prater, and would not dare to fall upon them with ſo few as he had with him, (Mr. *Blueſkin* having taken Care to ſend, as he thought, few enough:) But what does honeſt *James* do, as ſoon as ever he got there, before the Steward could countermand the firſt Orders, (as he had Reaſon to ſuſpect he would) but fall to work upon the tighteſt little Hamlet Sir *Philip* has belonging to him, broke down all the Fences, and drove off the Premiſes all their Beaſts that were worth taking; and if he had had but a few Hands more, would have gone to the next Hamlet, tho' twice as big, and no Doubt have done the ſame Execution there. This we know was welcome News to your Worſhip, and agreeable to that juſt Reſentment to which you had been ſo long and ſo often provoked by the inſolent Behaviour of the *Struts*; but it was far otherwiſe with your Steward; he and his vile mercenary Crew curſed poor *James* to the Pit of Hell, call'd him a hot-brain'd, conceited Puppy, and ſwore he ſhould pay for his Raſhneſs.—And ſo, the Company that he ſent to the *Midland Common*, what have they done, beſide ſpending your Worſhip a World of Money, and loſing their own Time and Labour?—Then, as to the *leſſer* of the three *Tumpy Cloſes* that lie a little Way up in that *Common*, and the old *Roman* Camp commonly call'd *Fairy Rudges*, that lies on the left Hand, juſt as you come out of the *narrow Lane* that leads from the *Great Common* into *Midland Common*, (both of them now Part of your Worſhip's Eſtate, but which

which were formerly in the Poſſeſſion of the *Struts*, and of which your Worſhip's Anceſtors having, by a forcible Entry, diſpoſſeſs'd Sir *Philip*, did afterwards become legally inveſted by a Decree in Chancery:) It is well known the *Strut* Family have always pretended a Claim to them; *my Lady* has given out, that ſhe will never let Sir *Philip* reſt till he has recover'd them; and it is generally thought, by your Worſhip's Tenants and all the Country, that your Worſhip's own Steward, Mr. *Blueſkin*, has given Aſſurances both to my *Lady Strut* and to the *old Parſon* of 'Squire *Baboon*'s Pariſh, that he will do all that lies in his Power to perſuade your Worſhip to yield them up quietly, in order to pacify Sir *Philip*, and prevent his People from committing ſuch unjuſt Outrages upon your Tenants. But, as we are confident, from your Worſhip's known Senſe of Honour, that you will ſcorn any ſuch cowardly Compliance, ſo on the other hand your Worſhip may be aſſured that we, your Tenants, would ſacrifice all we are worth, rather than the *Struts* ſhould have Poſſeſſion of that *Cloſe* and the *Ridges* again; for the *Midland Common*, which is now ſo convenient to us on account of our Sheep, would not only be of no Uſe, but exceeding dangerous to our People in their paſſing too and fro, if it were not for our being poſſeſs'd of thoſe two Cots, which are ſtanding one in the *Cloſe* and the other in the *Ridges*. To one or the other of theſe our Shepherds retire upon Occaſion, and are ſhelter'd from the Inclemencies of the Weather. Here, they ſometimes barricade themſelves when like to be overpow'd by your Worſhip's ſworn Enemies, the *Struts* and the *Baboons*; and ſometimes ſally out, as they have Opportunity, and take a little Revenge. By what we now do, we know what may be done by them. A few Lads of Metal, with other Weapons than the Stones which the old Gravel-Pits may furniſh them with, one in *leſſer Tumpy*, and the other in the *Ridges*, might eaſily hinder any from coming out of the *narrow Lane* into the *Midland Common*, or after from paſſing by the *Hedgy Cloſes* on either Side.—We further preſume, your Worſhip would be far from countenancing the corrupt Practices of Mr. *Blue-* at his keeping of your Worſhip's annual *Courts Leet* and *Baron*; and that you little think, in how bare-faced and avowed a Manner, at ſuch Times, he packs and bribes the *Jury*, in order to get ſuch Preſentments made as may beſt ſerve his own vile Purpoſes. The Sums which he thus ſquanders away on theſe Occaſions, and are for the moſt part unjuſtly extorted from us, your Worſhip may partly judge of by this Article in his Account: *Neceſſary Expences at the Times of Court-Keeping.* And no longer ago than the *Leet*, believing he had got a Jury to his Mind, he had the Impudence in his Charge publickly to aſſure all the Tenants in your Worſhip's Name, that you had done every Thing, and taken all ſuch Steps as *they* deſired, againſt Sir *Philip Strut*; that you had begun a *Law-Suit* with him purely at *their* Requeſt; and had order'd *James* the *Threſher* to fall upon the Hamlets in the *Weſt Common*, merely becauſe you found *they* were inclinable to it. For which Kind of Diſcourſe we can ſcarce think he has any Authority from your Worſhip; but only wants to make my *Lady Strut* and the *old Parſon* believe, that himſelf and your Worſhip, thro' his Influence, were againſt giving them any Moleſtation at all, and compell'd, as it were, to ſuffer ſome Things to be done, only to ſtop the Mouths of ſome of your unreaſonable, clamorous Tenants. For the Truth is this; had our Inclination been made known to your Worſhip, you would have found it in our Wiſhes, that you had taken the *Struts* to Taſk from the Time that you firſt came to the Eſtate, upwards of 14 Years ago; and that, (not only *James* the *Threſher*, with half a Dozen or half a Score Hands to lie idle in a daily Expectation of more Company and further Inſtructions, but) all of us ſhould have been ſent in a Body into the *Weſt Common*, where the beſt-ſtock'd of Sir *Philip*'s Farms lie; where we humbly preſume we ſhould ſoon have done ourſelves ample Juſtice, and have ſaved your Worſhip many a good Pound, which you have ſpent, and may yet be obliged to ſpend at Law with *him* and 'Squire *Baboon*, before you can obtain a full and honourable Satisfaction for yourſelf and Tenants. We conceive alſo, that the Steward, by *this Charge*, expected that the Jury, in Behalf of all your Worſhip's Tenants, would have deſired him to return your Worſhip their Thanks, for having ſo zealouſly endeavour'd to ſee they had Juſtice done them againſt the injurious Proceedings of the *Struts*; by which they muſt have given a Kind of Sanction to his baſe Tranſactions, and precluded themſelves, in a great Meaſure, from making the Complaints againſt him, which they now preſume to lay before your Worſhip, which, tho' not the Tithe of what they could make, yet muſt be ſufficient, we conceive, to give your Worſhip ſuch a View of our deplorable State, as to induce you to commiſerate your poor diſtreſs'd Tenants, and no longer leave us at the Mercy of the inſolent *Struts* and *Baboons*, and their Confederate, your Worſhip's wicked Steward, Mr. *Robert Blueſkin*.

Common Senſe, Jan. 23. N° 258.

IT may be imagined, that, when one Man is the whole Government, the firſt Object of his Care will be to preſerve himſelf againſt his Enemies, *i. e.* againſt the whole

whole Nation, and that ſuch an unnatural Power cannot be ſupported, but by an unnatural Expence, wherein neither the Intereſt, the Honour, nor Safety of the Commonwealth are any Ways concern'd.

It is an old Obſervation, that thoſe who do the Injury are the firſt that hate. The Man who uſurps ſuch an exorbitant Power will certainly hate the whole People; he will look upon them all to be his Enemies, from a Conſciouſneſs that he hath given them Provocation enough to be ſo; and of Conſequence he muſt do his utmoſt to wreſt out of their Hands that Power of puniſhing State Delinquents, which by the Nature of all free Governments is lodg'd in them.

The continual Oppreſſions that muſt be laid upon the Subjects, in order to keep this Man upon his Legs, will be intolerable: Every Project which tends to impoveriſh the Gentry and common People will be encourag'd, becauſe Poverty ſinks Mens Spirits, and renders them fit for Servitude. Perhaps an arm'd Force may be kept up, which may ſerve two Purpoſes; to make the People poor, and keep them in Subjection. In fine, all the while ſuch an unnatural Power is building up, the People live under a Harrow.

I take this to be a plain and natural Deſcription of a free State, wherein ſome one bold Man attempts to graſp at the whole Government; and it may be imagined, that where the Parties are, a ſingle Man Maſter of the Wealth and Power of the Kingdom on the one Side, and the Conſtitution of a free Government on the other, the Struggle will be very great, and the Country, while it laſts, muſt ſuffer the Nature of a Civil War: But there is this Comfort however, that if, before the People are quite ſubdued, the Invader (for ſo I think I may call him) loſes an Inch of Ground, he is gone: He is under a Neceſſity of being always ſucceſsful, it is incumbent upon him to carry every Point; for if the Nation once riſes upon him, they muſt, they will follow the Blow, they cannot leave him till they cruſh him to Atoms; they know their own Danger, they muſt be ſenſible they are in the Condition of a ſingle Man attack'd by a Ruffian; every Thing they do againſt him is *ſe defendendo*.

It may be urg'd, that the ſingle Man hath many Advantages over the Conſtitution in this Struggle: He hath the Treaſure and the Preferments at his Diſpoſal;—he has white Staffs, and Ribbons and Titles (B——s) to pleaſe F—ls; he hath more ſubſtantial Temptations to gratify the Avaritious and Corrupt; beſides, when it is ſeen that he makes Uſe of his Power to protect Rogues, all Perſons of that Denomination will of courſe run in to him.

In the next Place, it may be urg'd, that his Party is a cloſe connected Body, a Kind of *Macedonian* Phalanx, that moves and acts as one Man: It is a Machine conſiſting of many Wheels, performing all its Operations by the Touch of one Hand. Whereas the Friends of the Publick conſiſt of Volunteers, every Man acting according to his own private Judgment, without Controul, without Reward; beſides, they may have private Piques and private Prejudices againſt each other, which ſometimes enter into publick Affairs, and diſconcert the beſt Deſigns. ——I will allow theſe are great Advantages.

Notwithſtanding all which, when the whole People are on the other Side, the whole People (I ſay) muſt carry ſuch Weight wherever they go, that, provided there be Unanimity and Induſtry among thoſe that act for them, one would think that nothing can reſiſt them.

Another Thing that muſt be conſider'd is, that when the Man and his Power begin to be hated, thoſe Temptations in his Hands begin to loſe their uſual Charms: When he is oppoſed by all Men of Honour, how low muſt that Creature be in Underſtanding that can be allured by a little Feather in his Cap to expoſe himſelf to Hatred and Contempt!

When the Oppoſition grows formidable, there are other Circumſtances which may turn in Favour of the Publick, and one is, that probably the Dictator will be as much embarraſs'd by his own Party as by the other Side. Broken Promiſes will now be reviv'd, and new Demands will be made: Nobody will wait when a general Opinion prevails, that in a little Time it will not be in his Power to make good his corrupt Bargains. To depend for Preferment upon a Man who is upon the Brink of Ruin himſelf, would be like putting your Money into the Hands of one whom you expected every Hour to be declar'd a Bankrupt: Whoever truſted him one Week, would be counted an Idiot even by his own Party.

What muſt he do, when every Man expects to be paid in Proportion to his Danger and the Neceſſity he is under for their Help, and when his Credit is ſo bad, that, like a Bankrupt, he muſt pay ready Money? How will he be able to go on? How long will Things laſt? I think, when a Man, univerſally hated, comes to be ſo puſh'd, it would be no Wonder if he ſhould ſuffer the Fate of *Actæon*, and we ſhould ſee him worried by his own Hounds.

N. B. *We have receiv'd a Letter from* New Bond-ſtreet, *and aſſure the Secretary of the Club, that we have already complyʼd with his Deſire as far as it is proper, and ſhall continue to do ſo.*

A YORKSHIRE PASTORAL.

BENEATH a hazle's unfrequented ſhade
The deſolate *Cloddilla* ſighing laid:
'Twas love that robb'd the ſilly maid of reſt,
Love, the worſt tyrant of a gentle breaſt!

Ah! well-a-day, ſhe cry'd, can *Cuddy* ſcorn
The girl to whom ſo oft he love has ſworn?
Can he recal thoſe melting am'rous vows,
Which he wou'd whiſper while I milk'd the cows,
And all the tender things which he wou'd ſay,
While we alone i'th' fields were making hay,
And now to his *Cloddilla* be ſo ſhy?
Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'ſe die.

What is there I to *Cuddy* e'er refus'd?
How often *Colin* for his ſake abus'd!
Colin! who on his pipe ſo ſweetly plays,
So many carols ſings, and rural lays,
And did not *Lucy*, *Colin* too approve?
Why ſhou'd not *Cuddy* then *Cloddilla* love?
But *Cuddy* to *Cloddilla* ſtill is ſhy,
Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'ſe die.

Ah! had I *Hobbinol* but haply lov'd,
I ſhou'd not now thoſe piteous plaints have mov'd;
Nor *Hobbinol* have run beſide his wits,
And raving, talk'd of love and ſcorn by fits.
But why do I accuſe my ſilly will,
For fate, they ſay, predeſtines weddings ſtill:
May *Cuddy*'s lot and mine this verify,
Elſe, woe is me! with pining grief I'ſe die.

What tho' I be not fair, but rather brown,
I've yet been prais'd by many a neighb'ring clown;
And tho' no flow'rs ſo white as lilies are,
Are none ſo beautiful, becauſe leſs fair?
As I've been told, I've no uncomely mien,
And in my ſhape is due proportion ſeen;
I ſing as ſweet as any nightingale,
And nose can trip more nimbly with a pail:
But *Cuddy*'s blind to what all others ſpy.
Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'ſe die.

Blithe *Marian* now receives his flatt'ring vows,
Marian who milks, they ſay, three milk-white cows;
But grant that this is true, as well 'tmay be,
Can *Marian* for this compare to me?
Is this enough to make her *Cuddy*'s bride?
For nothing muſt he e'er expect beſide,
Except old *Hodge* and goody *Tattle* lie.
Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'ſe die.

I've twenty ſheep, ten lambkins, and a farm,
Beſides a well-thatch'd houſe to keep us warm;
And feather-bed, as ſoft as any down;
All theſe, if *Cuddy* will, ſhall be his own:
But if all theſe my *Cuddy* cannot buy,
Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'ſe die.

Thus having ſaid, ſhe to her cot withdrew,
And wail'd, 'cauſe *Cuddy* was not there, a-new.

ÆNIGMA.

LADIES, I'm under hedges ſeen,
Near the bank-ſide I often lay,
Oft near your walks, or near a ſtile,
But oft'ner in the publick way.

Strange is my fate! forlorn I ſeem,
Unviſited in wintry weather;
But when bright *Phœbus* burns the plains,
Thouſands dance round me all together:

Yet ſtill I like my winter's life,
Leſs damag'd, when alone I lay;
I'm kiſs'd, 'tis true, all ſummer-time,
But kiſs'd and ſpit, till ſpit away.

There's not a creature wings the air,
That ſwims the ſea, or moves on earth;
Kings, princes, dukes, the meaneſt ſlaves,
Tinkers and fiddlers, give me birth.

Sometimes, when born, I cauſe no pain,
Sometimes diſtort the ſweeteſt faces:
It's ſeldom I confine the fair,
Or leſſen their diſtinguiſh'd graces.

The dame at fourſcore hears me well,
No male's concern'd in my production;
Sometimes I'm ſtill-born, oft'ner not:
The hind's enrich'd by my deſtruction.

What tho' my parents different are,
Some mean and low, ſome high and great,
Like are my features, like my form;
I'm not improv'd by wealth or ſtate.

My ſhape is conical, ſometimes
Cylindrical, or ſomewhat broader;
Sometimes all ſurface I appear,
But then my parent's out of order.

It's true, the rich for ſelfiſh ends
Build ſtately receptacles for me;
The peaſant drops me in a hole:
Yet rich and poor alike abhor me.

You've often read of me in *Martial*,
I much aſſiſt the witty joker;
Yet out of ev'ry room I'm thruſt
With bruſh and ſhovel, tongs and poker.

The artiſt forms me of ſoft wax,
To raiſe in company loud laughter;
Dropt near a chair, *Tim* burſts his ſides,
And *Cloe* ſcarce can hold her water.

I give riſe to a pack of knaves,
That drive me from the place I'm bid in,
Sport with the nightly taſk, and ſeem
As merry, as when at a wedding.

I pay no clerks, yet, wond'rous ſtrange!
Of offices I have great plenty,
Well-ſtock'd with papers of all ſorts;
You'll find my warehouſe ſeldom empty.

Hither fair *Cloe* oft reſorts,
Not hinder'd by the fouleſt weather;
If ſeen, the bluſhing nymph returns,
Stoops, and picks up a ſtraw or feather.

Old *Galen* handled me with glee,
Sanctorius weigh'd me very nicely;
And if philoſophers ſay true,
Sage *Helmont* knew my worth preciſely.
I'm not by *Æſculapius'* ſons,
Tho' now more ſqueamiſh, quite neglected;
A knight in *England*; but, hard fate!
Little, ah! little more reſpected.
Not more reſpected, did I ſay? [me;
There's no man but with awe comes near
Thief-like, at night I do moſt harm:
Ye *Edinburgh* lads then fear me!
Now, ladies, if by all theſe marks
You find it difficult to tell me,
Truſt to your —— now I've done;
For ſurely you begin to ſmell me.

Oxon. *DAVUS.*

To a young LADY, *with* Felton's *Diſſertation on Reading the* Claſſics, *and Forming a juſt Style.*

Dear MISS,

TO your fair hand I give *Felton*'s gay page,
Charg'd with proſaic ſenſe, big with poetic rage: [known,
To this great judge each writer's faults were
And ev'ry author's merit, but—his own.
O'er ev'ry age and claſs the cenſor ſits,
And candidly condemns, or acquits:
In proſe and poetry alike preſides;
And there each dubious work impartial guides.
In all the force of critic light and ſhade
Behold each author's portrait, here diſplay'd.
Whom to reject, hence learn, and whom retain; [*L—e**.
And which the ſtudy, which befits *D—ſ*,
Far-rais'd above the million's vulgar flight,
To *read*, in this fair page you'll learn, and *write*:
With their criteria either ſcience grac'd,
And in good ſenſe and criticiſm plac'd.
To laws ſtill bound, ſtrict as th' *Athenian* ſtage,
We enter here into each tortur'd page.
Smit with theſe rules, contemptuous throw aſide
Each low inclaſſic *ſecretary guide*;
And, form'd on better models, dare to find
The native riches of your growing mind.
With ſuch a guide to either ſtyle proceed,
And emulate the authors whom you read.
By laws like theſe politer *Felton* fir'd
Rutland's young mind, and a chaſte pen inſpir'd.
Nor wou'd the great præceptor frown to view
A preſent worthy *Ros*, transfer'd to you;
Nor *Manr*'s † ſelf with greater reaſon blame
This re-inſcription to my *T*——'s fair name.
O thou, my early care, and laſting hope!
Whoſe youth's a harveſt of no ſcanty crop;
In whoſe firſt dawn, and op'ning bloom, we find [join'd;
The *father*'s depth, and *mother*'s ſweetneſs
Accept this finiſh'd piece—Nor thou refuſe
The tend'reſt wiſhes of no venal muſe.
Wrapt into future times, the bard ſurveys
The elder bleſſings of your riper days:
In one fine woman fondly hopes to ſee
The faireſt tranſcripts of the faireſt three,
While *S*——, *C*——, *W*——‡ charm in thee.
(Thus, in *Timotheus'* name reſplendent ſhone
Eunice's worth and *Lois*'s, in one.)
Now he purſues you through bright *Hymen*'s flame; [name)
(Your beauties ONE through ev'ry change of
Thence promiſes a lovely line of heirs,
Worthy their ſires' and future *Felton*' cares.
Fir'd with that name, lay theſe rude ſketches by,
The courtly tutor's page demands your eye.
—No more—May ev'ry grace and joy abound,
And flow'ry years fill your long life's encircling round.

Jan. 1, 1741-2. *J. RHUDD.*

A HYMN.

LORD! in the ſolemn ſhades of night,
When I behold the ſkies,
In contemplation of thy works,
My thoughts to heaven riſe.
If I ſurvey the ſilver moon
Array'd in robes of light,
Who form'd her lucent orb, I cry,
Muſt be ſupremely bright.
But when I view ten thouſand ſtars
Shining with rival rays,
My ſoaring ſoul the ſky tranſcends,
And thinks ſhe ſees thy blaze:
Tranſported with extatic love,
Ingulph'd in bliſs I ſtand,
Gaze on thy dazzling beams, and taſte
The joys at thy right hand:
Celeſtial pleaſures thro' my veins
In floods of tranſport roll;
And thy amazing goodneſs, Lord!
With rapture melts my ſoul.

J. DINSDALE.

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

A CERTAIN extreamly-good Lady, and much-honour'd Friend of mine ‖, ſeem'd ſomewhat diverted, the other Day, with a very ſmall Part of the enſuing *Story*. This Incident has encourag'd me to turn the Whole into *Metre*; which (if you'll indulge me ſo far) may be ſpeedily communicated by your

* *See* Pope's Eſſay on Criticiſm. *Miſcell.* Vol. I. p. 85.
† *Family Name of* John, *Lord* Roos, *Duke of* Rutland, A. D. 1710.
‡ *Miſs*'s Grandmamma's *Maiden Name by both Sides, as alſo* Mamma's *Maiden Name.*
‖ *Lady* H**** *of* H*****.

your Means. I have purpoſely ſpun out the Thing to a conſiderable Length: A little poetical *Amplification*, methought, wou'd not be much amiſs. A *Tale*, (you know, Sir) when duly protracted, may not unfitly beguile the wonted Tediouſneſs of a *Winter's Evening*.—If the Triſle ſhould fortunately afford her Ladyſhip (with a few more Readers of the like Candour) ſome ſmall *Entertainment*, I ſhall, in that Caſe, forgive my Muſe her Officiouſneſs; and my Friends, I hope, will pardon likewiſe the Impertinence of,

Jan. 12, 1741-2. *SIR,*

Your very humble Servant.

The FRIGHTED FARMER.

A TALE.

LET modern *Sadducees* declaim on,
Nor care to own a *cacodæmon*;
Be *goblins*, *elves*, and *apparitions*
The ſport of infidel-phyſicians;
Let philoſophic pedants grin,
And, in preſumptuous ſort, begin
To muſter up whate'er they can ſay
Of mere *illuſion*,—ſtrength of *fancy*,—
Long *prejudice*,—and early *fears*,—
Notions imbib'd in younger years,—
And groſs *deception* of our ſenſes;
Theſe are, we know, the grand pretences:
But, ah!—how groundleſs, giddy, vain,
The following *ſtory* will explain.
'Tis certain fact, tho' coarſely told:
The matter, prithee, Muſe, unfold.

One day, an honeſt *farmer* went,
(*Roger* by name) to pay his rent:
The bumkin, in his very beſt,
As prim as any quaker dreſt,
Did, with a booriſh kind of pride,
Sure-footed, ſturdy *Brock* beſtride.
His fob replete with glitt'ring pence,
Gave him an air of confidence:
But yet it griev'd the gaffer ſore,
To think, how ſoon the precious ore
Muſt for his landlord be ſecur'd,
By that inſatiate leech, the ſteward:
The thought e'en pierc'd him to the heart;
But deareſt friends, alas! muſt part.
He jogg'd along, and ſhook his head;
And to himſelf thus ſighing ſaid.—
Relentleſs landlords!—ſure, O ſure,
If half the ills that we endure,
To you were once but rightly known,
To us ſome mercy wou'd be ſhewn:
You wou'd not ſeize upon the ſpoil,
The product of our endleſs toil;
Nor thus ingroſs the annual gains
Of all our great, inceſſant pains.
But, ah! ye little know the care,
The ſlaviſh life, the ſlender fare,
The coarſe conveniencies, the croſſes,
The vaſt expences, various loſſes,
To which poor farmers are expos'd:—
Were this but thoroughly diſcloſ'd,
You wou'd not, ſure, ſo ill requite us,
Nor with foul *petti-ſoggers* fright us.
But—we muſt ſtrive to be content;
Prove honeſt men,—and pay our rent:
Then ſhall we need to fear no evil,
Nor dread to *face* the very *devil*.

He ſpoke;—with harneſs'd heel then ſpur'd
Poor *Brock*, and made him grunt and gurd.
But hold,—to hinder raſh reflection,
I'll obviate here a ſmall objection.

You'll wonder, till you've been acquainted,
Why *Roger* ſeem'd ſo diſcontented:
But, let my courteous reader know,
This happen'd many years ago;—
When *lawyers*, an infernal band!
Like locuſts, overſpread the land;
When *pride* and *luxury* the realm,
And gen'ral *want*, did overwhelm;
When *trade* was low, and *taxes* high,
And *Britain* ſcarce had *one ally*.
'Tis odds (tho' not to one quite twenty)
That, had he ſeen theſe times of plenty,
And been our bleſt cotemporary,
Hodge had not ſeem'd in ſuch quandary.

At length, arriving at the *'ſquire's*,
He for his *landlord* ſtraight inquires,
Diſmounts, and gives the horſe ſome hay,
And tow'rds the houſe then takes his way.
Into the ſteward's hall he's led;
Where, tho' not o'er-genteely bred,
Hodge to the bailiff makes a bow,
As nicely as he well knew how.
(The cringing beau, and lawleſs rake,
To ruſtics ſhou'd allowance make.)
This done,—the fumbling, lab'ring lout
The loaded leathern-purſe lugs out;
Empties the glitt'ring, ſplendid ſtore,
Which with great care is counted o'er.—

The ſteward gives him a receipt;
The cook, his belly-full of meat:
Nor does the jolly butler fail
To bring in jugs of nappy ale.
Hodge ſmoak'd his pipe; and freely drinking,
Forgot his purſe had quite done chinking.

By fellow-farmers now beſet,
(Upon the like occaſion met)
With them he falls into diſcourſe,
Tells 'em, where *Beſs* and *Star* took horſe;
For ſeed-corn, what one made him pay;
And how he ſold laſt market-day:—
Talks of manuring, plowing, ſowing,
Of harrowing, rowling, reaping, mowing:—
What management does good,—what, harm;
And how he had improv'd his farm.

Quite merry, he proceeds to quaff,
And oft ſets up a loud horſe-laugh;
With roaring voice eſſays to ſing,
And grows as happy as a king.

Now,—now,—he's almoſt overcome!
'Tis now high time to think of home.
He riſes,—takes his leave of all;
And tries to ſtand,—but fears to fall:
Then, bending tow'rds the block his courſe,
From thence he mounts upon his horſe.

Alone he budg'd;—for, 'lack-a-day!
The reſt all gang'd a diff'rent way.
And yet he went not quite alone;
As in the ſequel ſhall be ſhewn:
For *one* got up,—you'll quickly find,—
(By him tho' unobſerv'd) *behind.*

[*To be continu'd.*]

To Sir JOHN TURNER, *Bart.*

HOR. Lib. II. Ode 3. *Æquam memento, &c.*

By Mr. WHALEY.

FRIEND, born to die; in *Fortune*'s ſhade,
Or plac'd beneath her beams;
Nor meanly dull, nor vainly glad,
Avoid all falſe extremes.

Whether alone in want you live,
Or ſpend your happy hour,
And jolly welcome friends receive,
With *Nuthal*'s thirty-four;

Where friendly trees on yonder hill
Abate the noon-tide ray,
Near which the glitt'ring, ſtruggling rill
Finds out its crooked way:

Call wine, and lo! yon fading flower,
This morn ſo freſhly blown,
Bids us enjoy the inſtant hour,
While life and youth's our own.

You, as Sir *Charles* well did, muſt leave
Your houſe, your ſtreams, your trees;
And what your prudent care ſhall ſave,
Your graſping heir ſhall ſeize.

Whether from kings you drew your breath,
Or from the peaſant came,
Little avails, ſince ruthleſs death
Treats clown and king the ſame.

One wheel determines all, one fate
Attends on ev'ry rank;
Come up their chances ſoon or late,
In death all meet a blank.

To Sir JOHN TURNER, *Bart.*
Member of the Houſe of Commons.

An ODE, *In Imitation of,*
Æquam memento, &c. HOR.

By W. BROWNE, *Doctor of Phyſick of both Univerſities, and Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians.*

SIR *John*, preſerve an equal mind,
Unmov'd; if ſhe be croſs or kind,
Scorn to be *Fortune*'s creature;
Nor own that ſhe has made you great
With title, lands, and ſenate ſeat:
To be yourſelf is greater.

Since you muſt die, your purſe will bear it,
Inſtead of port, indulge with claret;
Nor die without good living:

Were you in life's dull path to trudge,
As grave and ſober as a judge,
From death there's no reprieving.

Chuſe out ſome hoſpitable ſhade,
By the old knight's plantations made,
Trees cloſe with trees uniting;
Where the fine water's peaceful wave
Glides ſlowly, as if loth to leave
A landſkip ſo delighting.

There let the place be ſpread with roſes,
Whoſe ſhort lives warn to tope our noſes,
And ſeize each preſent minute;
That we may boaſt, as well as they,
The life we lead is ſweet and gay:
And more there's nothing in it.

As *Lynn* and *Warham* you muſt quit,
Your charming lake and ſhady ſeat,
Let them ſtill merry find you;
Nor plague your thoughts to raiſe a ſum,
For if you cou'd ſcrape up a plumb,
You muſt leave all behind you.

It differs nothing, if you are
A clown's, or rich Sir *Charles*'s heir,
As to the point of dying;
For death makes no more beds than one,
And tho' a friend may add a ſtone,
That alters not your lying.

Here we muſt all, or ſoon or late,
Pig in together, ſmall and great,
As each receives his ſummons;
Which life's great wheel decides by lot,
While *Charon*, in his ſcurvy boat,
Plies for king, lords and commons.

To CHLOE *wearing* PATCHES.

THE wrinkled *Flavia* patches wears,
To hide her furrow'd trace of years:
With patches pimpled *Phillis* covers
Her imperfections from her lovers:
But why? Ah! why ſhould they diſgrace,
And hide ſo much of *Chloe*'s face;
Where each a *Cupid* muſt diſarm,
And each conceal a native charm?
Chloe, for ſhame, all arts deſpiſe,
Miſtruſt not thoſe all-conqu'ring eyes;
No more thy angel beauty ſhroud,
But ſhine, like heav'n, without a cloud.

Epiſtola Latina, Mariæ, &c. *muſt be deferr'd to our next.*

The Letters from the Gentleman's Friend at Swatham *never came to Hand, that we know of: His Direction was right, and if any Thing proper to be inſerted ſhall be ſent, it ſhall not be neglected. We like the Verſion of* St. Oſyth *very well, but think the Lines beginning with* Eſt ſua *ſomewhat ambiguous, and deſire to know of our Correſpondent, whether he deſigns* ſua *to agree with* ſalus, *tho' even then it ſeems ſomewhat harſh. In the* Latin *Verſion of Pſalm* CXXXVII, *there are manifeſtly ſome Faults.*

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.

ON *Dec.* 31, his Majeſty appointed the following Sheriffs for the Year enſuing, *viz.* For *Berks*, Henry Lanoy Hunter, Eſq;—*Bedf.* John Lawſon the younger, Eſq;—*Bucks*, Charles Savage, Eſq;—*Cambr.* and *Hunt.* Dingley Aſkham, Eſq;—*Cheſh.* Peter Legh, Eſq;—*Camb.* Henry Fletcher, Eſq;—*Devon*, Robert Lucas, Eſq;—*Dorſet.* Robert Barber, Eſq;—*Eſſex*, Oſmond Beavoir, Eſq;—*Glouc.* Sam. Hawker, Eſq;—*Hertf.* George Carpenter the younger, Eſq;—*Kent*, John Maſon, Eſq;—*Leic.* John Wright, Eſq;—*Linc.* Francis Dayrell, Eſq;—*Monm.* Richard Clarke, Eſq;—*Northumb.* Anthony Iſaacſon, Eſq;—*Northamp.* Thomas Powys, Eſq;—*Norfolk*, John Thurſtone, Eſq;—*Nottingham.* William Cartwright, Eſq;—*Oxford.* John Nourſe, Eſq;—*Rutland.* John Brown, Eſq;—*Shrop.* Revel Moreton, Eſq;—*Somerſet.* Sir William Pynſent, Bart.—*Suffolk*, Alexander Bence, Eſq;—*Southamp.* Thomas Wyndham, Eſq;—*Surrey*, Tho. Bevois, Eſq;—*Warwick.* Charles Savage, Eſq;—*Worceſt.* Nicholas Bennet, Eſq;—*Wilts*, William Batt, Eſq;——For *South-Wales: Brecon*, Anthony Morgan, Eſq;—*Glamorgan*, Edward Popham, Eſq;—*Radnor.* Thomas Hughes, Eſq;——For *North-Wales: Angleſea*, Hugh Jones, Eſq;—*Carnarvon.* Hugh Williams, Eſq;—*Denbigh.* John Edwards, Eſq;—*Flint.* William Mydelton, Eſq;—*Merioneth.* Rob. Griffith, Eſq;—*Montgomery.* Rees Lloyd, Eſq;

On the ſame Day, the Right Hon. the Lord Viſc. *Percival* and *Charles Edwin*, Eſq; were, *without Oppoſition*, elected Members of Parliament for the City of *Weſtminſter*; on which Occaſion extraordinary Rejoicings were made by the Inhabitants, through the whole City and Liberties: And the Thanks of the two worthy Repreſentatives were publickly return'd, as follows.

To the Independent Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of Weſtminſter.

Gentlemen,

WE could have no Excuſe, after the great Honour we have received from you, by your diſintereſted and unanimous Choice of us, to be the Guardians of your Liberties in Parliament at this critical Conjuncture, if we did not take the firſt Opportunity to expreſs our Gratitude: We therefore now return our humble Thanks; but muſt leave it to Time to prove by our publick Conduct, how deeply and ſincerely we are affected by this Obligation.—In the mean while, you may reſt aſſured, that there ſhall be nothing wanting in our Power, to ſhew ourſelves deſerving of that Confidence you have repoſed in us: And that we value and eſteem the Favour you have conferred upon us, beyond the greateſt of thoſe Temptations which have corrupted, diverted, and deluded ſo great a Number from the Duty of that important Station, in which we have been ſo generouſly placed by you.

Gentlemen, we are with great Truth,
Your moſt faithful, obliged,
And humble Servants,

Dec. 31, 1741. PERCEVAL, CHA. EDWIN.

TUESDAY, *Jan.* 5.

At a general Meeting of the Electors of the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, held at the *Crown* and *Anchor* Tavern in the *Strand*, it was agreed, *nem. con.* to preſent Inſtructions to their Members; and a Committee being appointed, the following were drawn up, unanimouſly approved of, and afterwards preſented by the Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of the ſaid City and Liberty.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Viſcount PERCEVAL, *and* CHARLES EDWIN, *Eſq;*

WE the Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, being truly ſenſible of the impending Dangers that threaten *Europe* at this critical Conjuncture, cannot omit the Occaſion, which now offers, of communicating to you our Sentiments upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs, both at home and abroad, that ſo his Majeſty (as much as in us lies) may have the Satisfaction he propoſes to himſelf, by Means of the new Elections, an Opportunity of knowing the more immediate Senſe and Diſpoſition of his People in general.

And though your Regard for the Publick, and known Zeal for the preſent Royal Family, (under whom alone this Nation can be free and happy) leave us no Room to doubt but that you will diligently attend your Duty in Parliament; yet we crave Leave moſt earneſtly to recommend it to you, eſpecially at this Time, when the Poſture of Affairs makes your Counſel and Aſſiſtance ſo neceſſary.

We cannot but lament that the War with *Spain* (a War in itſelf juſt and neceſſary, entered

N. B. *Mr.* Emlyn's *Epitaph in our next.*

ter'd into by the repeated Advice of both Houſes of Parliament) ſhould have been carried on, during the whole Courſe of it, with ſo little Vigour and Succeſs: We therefore ſeriouſly recommend it to you to examine the Conduct of it, and to make ſtrict Inquiry into the Cauſe, why, after ſuch Profuſion of publick Treaſure, the Kingdom has received ſo little Reparation for the Injuries and Inſults it has ſo long ſuſtain'd.

As we are truly ſenſible of the Benefit we have received from the Juſtice of Parliament, in having the great Privilege reſtored to us, of being repreſented by Members of our own chuſing, ſo we cannot but earneſtly entreat you to be aſſiduous in doing the ſame Juſtice to all other Petitioners, who may have been deprived of their moſt valuable Birthright, by the *Iniquity* of their *Returning Officers*, and zealouſly to promote ſuch Bills as may be thought neceſſary for ſecuring the *Rights of Electors*, and the *Independency of the Elected*, and in particular for the reſtoring *Triennial Parliaments*.

The Experience of former Times evinces, how dangerous it is to the Conſtitution to have the Parliament fill'd with Numbers of *Placemen*, who may be too often at the arbitrary Beck of any Miniſter; and it is from the Freedom of our Repreſentatives that we can alone hope to be extricated from the Labyrinth of Misfortunes, in which we apprehend we are at preſent involved.

We earneſtly recommend to you to oppoſe the keeping up of ſtanding Armies in Time of Peace, as being burdenſome to the Subject, and dangerous to our Liberties, the ill Effects of which we have ſo lately felt.

We alſo recommend to you to oppoſe any Attempt that ſhall at any Time be made for extending the *Laws of Exciſe*, and to ſupport any Bill or Bills that may brought in for the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wool to any foreign Country.

FRIDAY, 8.

From the London Gazette.

A Letter from Capt. *Hervey*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Superbe*, dated in *Kinſale* Harbour, into which he had been driven by contrary Winds, gives the following Account: That in his Paſſage from the *Weſt-Indies*, in the Lat. of 33. 20. Long. 65. Weſt, he had taken a *Spaniſh* Ship call'd the *Conſtante*, of 24 Guns and 64 Men, between 3 and 400 Tons, who came from the *Caracca's*, bound for the *Canaries*, laden with Cocoa. Advice is likewiſe brought by the *Superbe*, that Capt. *Brodrick*, in the *Shoreham*, had, in his Cruiſe off *Carthagena*, taken a Champana, laden partly with Bale Goods, that were of the Cargo of the Galleons, going for *Mempox*, and partly Money, which together are computed at near 80,000 Pieces of Eight Value: Alſo, that the *Auguſta* had chaſed a *Spaniſh* Privateer into Port *Francois*, and retaken a Prize from her; and had likewiſe taken and ſent into *Jamaica*, a *Spaniſh Caracca* Ship of 300 Tons and 53 Men, which came from the *Havanna*, *Aug.* 5. N. S. bound to the Coaſt of *Caracca's*, but loſing her Maſt in her Paſſage, was going to Port *Francois* to refit; but the Governor of the *Havanna*, ſtraitened for Money, had taken out of her 80,000 Pieces of Eight for the Urgencies of the publick Service. There are likewiſe Letters by the *Superbe*, which mention the Death of Don *Blaſs de Lezo* at *Cartagena*, and give the following Account of what had happened ſome Time before at the *Havanna*, viz. That Don *Rodrigo de Torres*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, ſail'd from *Carthagena* in the *Santa Anna*, but that the Ship was run a-ground on the Rocks in their going into the *Havanna*, and had beat off half her Keel, for which they had been oblig'd to careen her: That the Admiral had then hoiſted his Flag on board the *Invincible*, a new Ship built at the *Havanna*, and never at Sea, which was ſoon after blown up by Lightning, and in her four Millions of Pieces of Eight; that the Ship having lain within Piſtol-Shot of the Walls, the Town was deſerted by every Body whilſt ſhe was burning; that two Churches had been extreamly damag'd by the Blaſt, and the Dome of the principal one muſt be taken down to repair it; that Don *Rodrigo de Torres* had himſelf narrowly eſcaped in his Boat, and that the next Ship in which he hoiſted his Flag had her Main-maſt carried away in a Thunder Storm in two Days after his coming aboard. Some Letters from *Jamaica* mention, that they had heard there from *Cartagena*, that Admiral *Spinola* in the *Europa*, who went from the *Havanna* for *La Vera Cruz*, to fetch Money from thence, was loſt in his Paſſage.

The following was omitted in our laſt for want of Room, being a Letter which Mr. Speaker receiv'd from Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, after the Diſſolution of the late Parliament, containing his Anſwer to the Thanks of the Houſe of Commons, tranſmitted to him, for his Services in the *Weſt-Indies*.

SIR, ——

THE ſingular Honour done me in being thought deſerving of the unanimous Thanks of the Houſe of Commons, for my Endeavours to diſcharge my Duty to his Majeſty in theſe Seas, is what I can't find Words ſufficiently to expreſs my grateful Senſe of; but I ſhall ever retain a juſt Acknowledgment of the great Honour done me by the Houſe, in their Approbation of my Services to his Majeſty and my Country, and thinking them deſerving of their Notice in this publick Manner.

As the publick Approbation of ſo auguſt an Aſſembly, is the higheſt Honour a Subject

can receive, I must beg the Favour of , Sir, to assure the House, that a grate- Sense of it will never be effaced out of Memory; and that I shall endeavour, in my future Conduct, by a continued Dili- e, and faithful Discharge of my Duty to Majesty, in the Execution of his Orders he Honour of the Crown and Service of Country, to study to preserve the Conti- ce of their Esteem.

I am, SIR,
Your most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
E. VERNON.

he Lord Chancellor also receiv'd a Letter the said Admiral, to the same Purpose, nswer to the Thanks transmitted to him the House of Lords.

SATURDAY, 9.

very fine Piece of Plate was finish'd, n'd to be presented to Capt. *Ambrose*, mander of the *Rupert*, on his Arrival on; (see our *Mag.* for *Dec.* last, p. On one Part is curiously wrought the of Capt. *Ambrose*, and opposite to it *Rupert* chasing a *Spanish* Privateer; and e Base on which it stands, the follow- Words are engrav'd,

To Captain John Ambrose,
In grateful Remembrance
Of the signal and singular Services
his Country against Spanish Privateers,
in 1741,
This Piece of Plate is presented
by the private Insurers
of London.

THURSDAY, 14.

e 12 following Malefactors, condemn'd ast Sessions, (*London Mag.* for *Oct.* p. 515, and *Dec.* p. 618.) were execu- Tyburn, viz. *James Duquis*, *Joseph Robert Ramsey*, *John Cullisford*, *John an*, *William Warner*, *Samuel Shuffle*, *Laycock*, *Dominick Fitzgerald*, *James Mary Dutton*, and *Margaret Watson*.

TUESDAY, 19.

7 following Persons receiv'd Sentence th at the *Old Bailey*, viz. *Thomas Pinks ephen Jenkins*, for robbing a Higgler of n of Fowls and 4*l.* on the Highway. *ner Brown*, for picking a Person's Poc- a Silk Purse, 16*s.* and a Steel Seal. *Pigg*, for Sheep-stealing.—*Marga- ret*, for stealing a Silver Tankard.— *Valden*, for Burglary.—And *Christopher* for robbing *Mr. Colt* of a Hat and Guinea, *&c.*

WEDNESDAY, 20.

Merchants of *London* went up to Par- with their Petitions, and presented both Houses; when that deliver'd ouse of Lords was order'd to be heard , and that to the House of Com- the 27th Instant, by themselves or

The Petitions set forth, as follows: "We your Petitioners, with the utmost Concern, have found ourselves under the Necessity of representing to this House, that the Naviga- tion and Commerce of these Kingdoms have been continually exposed to the growing Insolence of the *Spanish* Privateers, from the Commencement of this just and necessary War; that during its whole Progress and Continuance, notwithstanding the repeated Applications of the suffering Merchants for Protection and Redress, their Losses and Misfortunes have considerably increased of late, to the Impoverishing of many of his Majesty's Subjects, the great Detriment of Trade in general, the Diminution of his Ma- jesty's Revenue, and the Dishonour of the Nation; that upwards of 300 Ships and Ves- sels have been already taken, (the greatest Part of them in or near the *British* Channel and Soundings) and carried into *St. Sebastian*, and other adjacent Ports; by which, Num- bers of his Majesty's most useful Subjects have been reduced to Want and Imprison- ment; or, compelled by inhuman Treat- ment, and despairing of a Cartel for the Ex- change of Prisoners, have inlisted in the Service of *Spain*. Your Petitioners appre- hend, that most of these Misfortunes might have been prevented, considering the Weak- ness of our Enemy at Sea, had a few of his Majesty's Ships of War been properly sta- tioned, and the Commanders kept strictly to their Duty; a Neglect which appears the more surprizing, as there was a Precedent of an Act of Parliament in 1707, expressly made for those Purposes, intitled, *An Act for the better securing the Trade of this Kingdom, by Cruizers and Convoys*; that by means of this Neglect, and the many valuable Prizes the *Spaniards* have made, they have been encouraged and enabled to fit out such Num- bers of Privateers from St. *Sebastian* and *Bil- boa*, exclusive of other Ports, as to render the Navigation to and from these Kingdoms every Day more and more dangerous; and the present great and unexpected Power of the Enemy in the *Mediterranean*, gives your Petitioners Reason to apprehend, that our Trade is become extremely precarious in those Parts; that there have been various Neglects and Delays in the Appointment and sending out of Convoys; and that out of those few, which have been granted, some of the Commanders have paid so little Re- gard to the Ships under their Care, that they have deserted them at Sea, and left them as a Prey to the Enemy: And we pray Leave further to represent, that the Navigation to and from several of his Majesty's Colonies has often been much exposed to the Enemy; and that many Ships have been taken in the *American* Seas by their Privateers, principally owing, as we presume, to a Want of a suffi-

cient Number of Ships, or of proper Care in some of his Majesty's Commanders, stationed in those Parts; that many Ships have been brought into Danger, by the arbitrary impressing of their ablest Hands out of the homeward bound Ships before they had made the Land, or arrived to a Place of Safety, and out of the outward bound Ships in the Prosecution of their Voyages: And we pray Leave to assure this House, that we do not complain of such Captures as are the unavoidable Consequence of a War, but of such only as have been occasioned by a Want of due Care for the Protection of Trade, which has, during the whole War, laboured under an apparent Neglect and Disregard; nor shall we ever be induced, either by our past Misfortunes, or future Apprehensions, so far to forget our Duty to his Majesty and the Legislature, as once to repine or murmur at the present War with *Spain*, which his Majesty and these Kingdoms are so necessarily engaged in, and upon the vigorous Prosecution of which the Interest of the *British* Trade and the Freedom of Navigation so evidently depend."

Petitions of the same Nature were likewise presented from *Bideford*, *Southampton*, *Liverpool*, *Lancaster*, &c.

The Anniversary of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* was celebrated, who then enter'd into the 36th Year of his Age.

The Number of those that died last Year at *Amsterdam* were 9864, and of the Marriages 2166.

TUESDAY, 26.

The Sheriffs of *London* went up to Parliament with the Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the said City, to the following Effect:

"At a Time when a feeble Enemy holds our Naval Power in Derision, and the Conduct and Distribution of our Ships of War, are the Subject of universal Censure, to remain unconcerned and silent, would ill become the representative Body of this great Metropolis, which so sensibly shares in every publick Misfortune: Your Petitioners therefore beg Leave humbly to represent, that it is with the utmost Grief we have seen the Navigation and Commerce of these Kingdoms so constantly interrupted, on our own Coasts, and almost in Sight of our late powerful naval Armaments, by the Privateers of *Spain*, to the Ruin of our Trade, the enriching of the Enemy, and the Disgrace of the *British* Name; that the Losses hereby sustained, the Manner in which Applications for Redress have been often evaded, and other numerous Instances of Negligence and Disregard of the commercial Interest of these Kingdoms, (whilst a neighbouring Nation is every Day converting these Errors to their own Advantage) have given us the most dreadful Apprehensions, lest our Trade, the Foundation of our Wealth and Power, and which has formerly enabled us to maintain the Liberties of *Europe*, should be transferred into the Hands of our potent and dangerous Rival; that we cannot but observe with Concern, that those Ships of War, which we might reasonably have expected, would have been employed in protecting our Trade, have not contributed either thereto, or to the Interest or Honour of this Nation; and that we have seen a powerful and well-provided Fleet remaining inactive in our own Ports, or more ingloriously putting to Sea, without the Appearance of any Enterprize in View, or even the Possibility of meeting an Enemy worthy of its Attention, whilst our trading Vessels have been daily exposed in the *British* Channel and Soundings, to the Privateers of a Place so inconsiderable as *St. Sebastians*.—Notwithstanding these various Subjects of Complaint, your Petitioners do not hereby intend to signify the least Desire of a Peace with *Spain*, until his Majesty shall, by a vigorous Prosecution of the War, have obtained from the Enemy an ample Acknowledgment of his People's just Rights, and the Possession of such a Pledge, as may effectually secure the Freedom of Navigation to our latest Posterity."

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

CAPT. *Fox*, a *West-India* Commander, to Miss *Ellwood*.

Rev. Mr. *Borton*, Rector of St. *Andrew's*, *Holbourn*, to Miss *Gardner*.

Rev. Dr. *Tovey*, Principal of *New-Inn* Hall in *Oxford*, to Mrs. *Tharp*.

Charles Penruddock, of *Compton-Chamberlain*, in *Wilts*, Esq; to Miss *Fanny Windham*.

—— *Fox*, Esq; to Miss *Cuthbert*, only Daughter and Heiress to *James Cuthbert*, of *Carlisle*, Esq;

Ephraim Miller, Esq; of *Hartingfordbury*, to the Hon. Miss *Belendine*, Sister to Lord *Belendine*.

Rev. Mr. *Jackson*, Prebendary of *Litchfield*, to Miss *Anne Smallbroke*, youngest Daughter of the Ld. Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

Samuel Burroughs, Esq; one of the Masters in Chancery, to Miss *Hurst*, a 20,000*l*. Fortune.

James Comberbatch, of *Yorkshire*, Esq; to Mrs. *Leadger* of *Leeds*, a 20,000*l*. Fortune.

William Baker, Esq; Alderman of *Bassishaw* Ward, to Miss *Tonson*, eldest Daughter of the late *Jacob Tonson*, Esq; Bookseller in the *Strand*, a 20,000*l*. Fortune.

The Lady of the Lord *Vere Bertie*, safely deliver'd of a Son.

DEATHS.

REV. Mr. *Whittingham*, Archdeacon of *Dublin*.

Sir *Matthew Dean*, Bart. in *Ireland*.

In *France*, Father *Bernard de Montfaucon*, a *Benedictine* of the Congregation of *St. Maur*,

...r, a Friar of the Abbey of *St. Germain ...rez*, honorary Member of the Academy ...scriptions and Belles Lettres, and the E... of those learned Tomes which are such ...rious Representation and Explanation of ...ity. He died suddenly, in the 88th ... of his Age.

...r *William Norwich*, Bart. at *Market-...borough* in *Leicestershire*.

...on. *Charles Hamilton*, Esq; youngest Son ...he Lord Viscount *Limerick*.

...q. *Marsh*, in *Charterhouse-Square*, re... to have died worth 100,000*l*.

... *Alexander Murray*, of *Blackbarony* in ...*nd*, Bart.

...r *William Pole*, Bart. at *Shute* in *Devon...*, sometime Master of the Household to ...*nne*.

... *above mention'd died in* December *last*.

...he most noble *Peregrine Bertie*, Duke of ...*ster* and *Kesteven*, Marquess and Earl of ..., Baron *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Lord ... Chamberlain of *England*, &c. one of ...ords of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy ...il, and F. R. S. His Grace died on ...1. and left Issue 3 Sons and 5 Daugh... and is succeeded in Dignity and Estate ... eldest Son, *Peregrine*, Marquess of ..., now Duke of *Ancaster*, &c.

... *Sundon*, Wife of Lord *Sundon*, one of ...ords of the Treasury.

...drew *Archer*, Esq; in *Warwickshire*, Fa... of *Thomas* and *Henry Archer*, Esqrs. ...bers in the late and present Parliament: ...as six Times elected Knight of the ... for the County of *Warwick*.

... *Anne Harvey*, Relict of Lieut. Gen. ... *Harvey*, eldest Daughter of *Ralph* late ... of *Montague*, and eldest Sister to *John* ...esent Duke.

... Grace the Duke of *Montrose*, who was ...r of the Great Seal in *Scotland*, but re... from thence in 1734. for opposing the ...s of the M———r. He is succeeded ... eldest Son, the Marquess of *Graham* ...rl of *Wakefield*.

... *Edward Littleton*, Bart. at *Pillaton* in ...*dshire*.

...ht Hon. the Lord Visc. *Mayo*, of the ...om of *Ireland*.

... Col. *Foley*, of the Horse Guards.

... *Marmaduke Gresham*, of *Limpsfield* in ..., Bart. descended from the famous Sir ... *Gresham*, Knt. who built the *Royal ...nge*.

... *Skipwith*, aged 104.

...*abeth* Lady *Cotterell*, second Wife of ...*arles Cotterell*, Master of the Ceremo... Father of Sir *Clement*, whose Family ... enjoy'd that honourable Post ever since ...eation.

...ht Rev. Dr. *Stephen Weston*, Lord Bishop ...*ster*.

... Mr. *Bradley*, aged 82, Canon Resi... ...y of *York* Cathedral.

At *Thorner*, near *Leeds*, Mr. *John Philips*, in the 112th Year of his Age. He was born at *Clifton*, near *Stockby*, *July* 8, 1625, the first Year of K. *Charles* I. and lived in 8 Kings and Queens Reigns. He walk'd about to his dying Day; his Teeth were good, as was also his Hearing; his Sight tolerable, and was so brisk and active as to resolve to have gone to *York*, and poll for Mr. *Fox* at the Election.

Right Hon. the Lord *Sherard Manners*, Memb. of Parl. for *Tavistocke* in *Devonshire*.

Thomas Watts, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Tregony* in *Cornwall*, and one of the Directors of the *Sun-Fire Office*.

The Lady of Sir *Edmund Halley*, Bart. one of the Physicians to his Majesty.

Thomas Pindar, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

Hon. *Charles Campbell*, Esq; Representative for the Shire of *Argyle* in *Scotland*.

Duncan Urquhart, jun. Esq; of *Burdsyeards*, Col. of the third Reg. of Foot Guards.

Hon. Mrs. *Eliz. Baldwyn*, Sister to the Lord *Onslow*.

Her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of St. *Alban's*, Mother of the present Duke: She was one of the Daughters and Coheiresses of the late *Aubrey de Vere*, the last Earl of *Oxford* of that antient Line.

Dr. *Edmund Halley*, Astronomy Professor to his Majesty, aged 86, at the Observatory in *Greenwich* Park.

Right Hon. *William* Lord *Stawell*, succeeded by his Brother, now *Edw.* Ld. *Stawell*.

Hon. *Albemarle Bertie*, Uncle to the late Duke of *Ancaster*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

DR. *Josiah Hort*, Bishop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*, translated to the Archbishoprick of *Tuam*, &c. in *Ireland*, in the Room of Dr. *Synge*, deceas'd, and to hold the Bishoprick of *Ardagh* in Commendam.—Dr. *John Whetcombe*, Bishop of *Clonfert* and *Kilmacduagh*, made Bishop of *Kilfenora*, alias *Tuamboir*, in the Room of the said Dr. *Synge*.—Dr. *Joseph Stopford*, Bishop of *Killaloe*, translated to the See of *Kilmore*.—*John Ryder*, D. D. made Bishop of *Killaloe* in his Room.—Mr. *Joseph Brecas* made Dean of St. *Patrick* in *Killaloe*.—Mr. *Kenrick Prescot*, B. D. chosen Master of *Catherine-Hall*, *Cambridge*, in the Room of Dr. *Hubbard*, deceas'd.—*Joseph Forby*, M. A. presented to the Rectory of *Barton St. Andrew's* in *Norfolk*.—Mr. *Matt. Hayrick*, to the Rectory of *Laddington* in *Northamptonshire*.—*Daniel Griffith*, L. L. B. to the Rectory of *South-Stoke* in *Sussex*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

HON. *John Ponsonby*, Esq; second Son to the Earl of *Bessborough*, made Secretary

to the Commissioners of the Revenue in *Ireland*.—Sir *Charles Hardy*, Knt. made Commander in Chief of all the Ships of War in the *Thames* and *Medway*, and at the *Buoy in the Nore*.—*Walter Warburton*, Gent. made Constable of *Chester* Castle.—*Henry Compton*, Esq; appointed Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of *Portugal*; and *Abraham Castres*, Esq; Consul General at *Lisbon* in his Room.—*Tho. Marley*, Esq; made Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench* in *Ireland*, *John Bowes*, Esq; Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer there, *Arthur Dawson*, Esq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer, *St. George Caufield*, Esq; Attorney General, and *Warren Pland*, Esq; Solicitor General.—Sir *Tho. Robinson*, Bart. made Governor of *Barbadoes*.—*Tho. Medlycott*, Esq; a Commissioner of Hawkers and Pedlars.—*John Rutherford*, Esq; Capt. of an Independant Comp. at *Jamaica*.

New Members chosen.

Albert Nesbitt, Esq; for *Huntingdon*, in the Room of the Hon. Mr. *Hill*, who made his Election for *Warwick*.—Earl of *Middlesex*, for the County of *Sussex*.—Lord *George Bentinck*, for *Droitwich* in *Worcestershire*.—*Joseph Wyndham Ashe*, Esq; for *Downton* in *Wilts*.—*James Grenville*, Esq; for *Old Sarum* in *Wilts*, in the Room of Mr. *Lyttleton*, who made his Election for *Okehampton* in *Devonshire*.—*Thomas Foley*, of *Stoke*, Esq; for *Herefordshire*.—Sir *Charles Wyndham*, Bart. for *Appleby* in *Westmorland*, in the Room of Mr. *Doddington*, who made his Election for *Bridgwater*.—*William Sloper*, Esq; for *Winchester* in *Hampshire*, in the Room of Mr. *Wallop*, who made his Election for *Andover*.—Hon. —— *Conway*, Esq; for *Thetford* in *Norfolk*.—Sir *Thomas Mostyn*, Bart. for *Highamferrers* in *Northamptonshire*, in the Room of Mr. *Finch*, who made his Election for *Malton* in *Yorkshire*.—*John Butler*, Esq; for *East-Grinsted* in *Sussex*.—*Cholmondley Turner*, Esq; for *Yorkshire*, by a Majority of 956 against *Henry Fox*, Esq; the Number for the former being 3005, and for the latter 7049.—L. V. *Limerick*, for *Tavistock*.—Hon. *Alex. Hume Campbell*, Esq; declar'd duly elected for the Shire of *Berwick*. *See the List in our* Mag. *for* Nov. *last*.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

WILL. *Smith*, late of *Bristol*, Stuff-Maker.—*Tho. Hatton*, of *Lombard-street*, Lacemen.—*Will. Smith* the younger, of *Winchester*, Ironmonger.—*Will. House*, of St. *Martin in the Fields*, Tire-Smith.—*James Corrie*, now or late of *Stroud*, Linen-draper.—*Kemp Bowman*, of *Bristol*, Distiller and Merchant.—*John Harvey* the younger, now or late of *Great Yarmouth*, Ship-Carpenter.—*John Tolet*, of St. *Stephen*, *Walbrook*, Merchant.—*John Read*, of *Bristol*, Meal-Factor.—*Will. Carmalt*, late of St. *Paul*, *Covent-Garden*, Broker.—*Kelland Heath*, of *Mark-Lane*, *London*, Dealer in Sugars.—*James King*, of *Winchester*, Woollen-draper and Mercer.—*John Cafwall* and *John Mount*, of *London*, Bankers and Partners.—*William Dodson*, late of St. *Olave*, *Southwark*, Hosier.—*Tho. Lloyd*, of *Long-Acre*, Carpenter and Builder.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	104 ⅜	*African*	10
—*Ann.*	112 ⅜ 2 ¼	*Royal Ass.*	87
Bank	136 ½	*Lon. ditto*	11 ¼
—*Circ.*	3l 2s 6d	3 *p. C. Ann.*	98 ⅛
M. Bank	113	*Salt Tallies*	Par
India	156 ¼ 2 ¼	*Emp. Loan*	Nothing
—*Bonds*	4l 2 3l 19s	*Equiv.*	110

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 2 2 ⅛	*Bilboa*	38 ¼
D. Sight	34 8	*Leghorn*	49 2 ⅛
Rotter.	35 2	*Genoa*	52 ⅞
Hamb.	33 7	*Venice*	50 ½
Paris	31 ½	*Lisbon*	5l 5d 2 ⅛
Bourdx.	30 ⅞	*Porto*	5l 4d ¼ 2 ⅞
Cadiz	40	*Antw.*	35 8 2 9
Madrid	39 ½	*Dublin*	11

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	28	30		*Peafe*	25	27	
Rye	19	21		*H. Peafe*	21	22	
Barley	18	19		*H. Beans*	21	24	
Oats	11	14	6	*B. Malt*	22	23	
Tares	29	33		*P. Malt*	23	24	6

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Dec.* 22. to *Jan.* 26.

Christned	Males 701	Females 684	1385
Buried	Males 1922	Females 1983	3905
Died under 2 Years old			1080
Between 2 and 5			278
5 10			119
10 20			122
20 30			359
30 40			454
40 50			493
50 60			383
60 70			276
70 80			210
80 90			105
90 and upwards			26
			3905

Hay 54 to 63*s*. a Load.

PRE-

RESENTLY after the Revolution in *Ruſſia*, of which we gave an Account in laſt, the Perſons and Papers of Count ...nan, Veldt Marſhal Count *Munich*, and ...ral of their Adherents, were ſeized, and ...miſſaries were appointed to examine ...; ſince which all their Eſtates, Effects, Dignities have been declared to be forfeit- and they are ſtill detained in cloſe Cuſto- but no corporal Puniſhment has, as yet, inflicted upon any of them. The Grand ...heſs, her Huſband, and Son, were im- ...ately ſent away, upon their Return to ...lenburg, without the leaſt Indignity's offered to any of them; and the new ...reſs has declared, that ſhe will allow a Penſion for their Support.

...e *French* and *Bavarians* having made ...ſelves Maſters of *Prague*, before the ...an Army could come to its Relief, the thereupon retired towards *Budweis*, but ...ce, in different Parties, gained ſeveral ...ages over the former, the moſt re- ...ble of which are as follows: About ...th of laſt Month, Veldt Marſhal *Ka-* ..., with a Part of the *Auſtrian* Army ...is Command, happily paſſed the River ...d drove the Confederates from that and likewiſe from *Styr*. Upon this, *French* and *Bavarian* Troops in that ...nhood retired into *Lintz*, to the ... of 6 or 7000 Men, where they were ...tely ſurrounded and block'd up by the ...; and as they had no Store of Pro- ...long with them, it is thought they ...render at Diſcretion; for, by the ...unts, they were reduced to live upon ...ſh, and had been unſucceſsful in all ...lies. The Marſhal having thus in- ...ll the Confederate Troops in that ...rhood, in the Town of *Lintz*, M. ... was ſent with a Detachment to- ...varia, and having ſurprized *Reidt* ...rding, he opened a Way for the ... make Incurſions very far into the ...s of *Bavaria*. In order to diſlodge ...ans from *Scharding*, the *Bavarians* ...ered together a Body of 8000 Men, ...made an Attempt to ſurprize that the Night-time, but being diſap- ...y the Vigilance of M. *Berenclau*, ... Companies of Grenadiers, with a Horſe, which they had ſent upon ...n, being next Day defeated, M. *Be-* ...oon after, marched with all the ... had in *Scharding*, excepting only ...s were neceſſary for the Guard of ... and having joined M. *Mentzel* and ... under his Command, they march- ... to the Village of *Wittick*, where ... were poſted, and having attacked ... obtained an entire Victory.

... an Account from *Frankfort*, that ...h of this Month, the Electoral College unanimouſly choſe *Charles Albert Cajetan* Elector of *Bavaria*, King of the *Romans*, and Emperor of *Germany*; and that he was to be crowned the 19th Inſtant by his Brother the Elector of *Cologne*, in whoſe Favour the Elector of *Mentz*, whoſe ſole Right it is to crown the Emperor, was, for this Time, pleaſed to diſpenſe with it.

To balance the Advantages the Queen of *Hungary* has obtained in *Auſtria*, the *Pruſſian* Army, commanded by Count *Schwerin*, has entered *Moravia*, and ſeems to be carrying every Thing before them without Oppoſition; for on the 15th of laſt Month, the City of *Olmutz* was ſurrendered to them by Capitulation; and the King of *Pruſſia* is himſelf ſet out for his Army, in order to begin the Campaign early in the Spring, having in his Way thither, paid a Viſit to the King of *Poland* at *Dreſden*, where he arrived the 8th of this Month, and departed next Day.

But of all our late Pieces of Intelligence, the News from *Spain* and *Italy* are the moſt myſterious and ſurprizing. In our *Magazine for November* we gave an Account of the *Spaniſh* Fleet's ſailing, without Interruption, to *Italy*. Since that, we have an Account that their Squadron ſailed from *Cadiz*, and paſſed thro' the *Streights*, whilſt our Squadron was lying at *Gibraltar*; and tho' they paſſed thro' in the Night-time, yet Fate, it ſeems, reſolved, they ſhould not paſs unobſerved by us; for next Morning, *Nov.* 25, a briſk Eaſt Wind came on, which drove them ſo far back, that they continued almoſt two Days in Sight of our Squadron, which was, as 'tis ſaid, then repairing. On the 2d of *December* our Admiral ſailed, and in a few Days came up with the *Spaniſh* Squadron, in a Line of Battle: But when he was bearing down upon them, and ready to fall on, the *French Toulon* Squadron, ſtood in between, and ſent a Meſſage to our Admiral, *That as the* Spaniards *and he were engaged in one and the ſame Expedition, he muſt obey his Orders, and could not avoid taking them into his Protection.* Whatever Orders our Admiral had, he had not Force enough to attack both, and was therefore obliged to turn Tail, and from thence proceed to *Portmahon*, to wait for a Reinforcement of Ships, and, perhaps, of Orders. But before he, it ſeems, received either, the *French* and *Spaniſh* Squadrons in Conjunction ſailed to *Barcelona*; and from thence they ſet ſail again on the 24th of laſt Month, with a ſecond Embarkation for *Italy*.

Since the *French* Troops left the Iſland of *Corſica*, the brave Natives ſeem reſolved to have another Struggle for freeing themſelves from the Yoke of the *Genoeſe*; for ſeveral of their baniſhed Chiefs are returned, and the Inhabitants are providing themſelves with Arms, and other Utenſils of War.

ENTER-

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

1. TEMPLUM Libertatis. Liber primus. Printed for *C. Bathurſt* and *G. Hawkins*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

2. Field-Sports. A Poem. By *W. Somervile*, Eſq; Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.*

3. Liber Jobi in Verſiculos metrice diviſus. Per R. Grey, S. T. P. Printed for *J. Stagg*.

4. *Perſian* Eclogues. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

5. Odes on various Subjects. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.*

6. Fatal Neceſſity. A Tragedy. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

7. A Poetical Epiſtle. Printed for *C. Marſh*, price 1*s.*

8. A Poem on the War in the *Weſt-Indies* under Admiral *Vernon*. Printed for *T. Aſtley*; and ſold by *B. Collins* in *Saliſbury*, price 6*d.*

9. The ſixteenth Ode of *Horace*, Book III. imitated. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

HISTORICAL.

10. The *Engliſh* Baronettage. A new Edition. In five Volumes in 8vo. Printed for *T. Wotton*, price 1*l.* 15*s.*

11. An Hiſtorical Character of the Right Hon. the Lady *Elizabeth Haſtings*. By *T. Barnard*, M. A. Sold by *S. Birt*, pr. 2*s.* 6*d.*

12. The Hiſtory of *Nadir Shah*. Sold by the Booksellers, price 4*s.*

LAW, POLITICAL.

13. The Landlord's Companion: Or, Ways and Means to raiſe the Value of Land. Containing, 1. Conſiderations on the Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity of advancing the Farming Intereſt. 2. Conſiderations on the Cattle-Trade, and the Methods of raiſing the *Britiſh* Rents. 3. Conſiderations on other Methods of relieving our Landholders. With political Diſcourſes on the Land Tax, War, and other Subjects, occaſionally intermixed. By *William Allen*, of *Fobſon* in *Pembrokeſhire*, Eſq; Printed for *T. Aſtley*, price 1*s.*

14. A Key to the Buſineſs of the preſent S———. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

15. A Letter concerning the Conduct of the War with *Spain*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

16. The Expediency of one Man's dying to ſave a Nation from periſhing. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

17. A Hint upon the Inſtructions from the Electors. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

18. A new and eaſy Introduction to the Study of Geography, by Way of Queſtion and Anſwer. Principally deſign'd for the Uſe of Schools: (Adapted to Mr. *Locke*'s Notions of initiating Children into the Knowledge of the Science,) with 41 curious Maps originally deſign'd and engrav'd for this ſecond Edition. In two Parts. Containing, 1. An Explication of the Sphere; or of all ſuch Terms as are any Ways requiſite for the right Underſtanding of the terraqueous Globe. 2. A general Deſcription of all the moſt remarkable Countries throughout the World; their reſpective Situations, Extents, Diviſions, Cities, Rivers, Soils, Commodities, Curioſities, Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Univerſities, Cuſtoms, Forms of Government and Religion, *&c.* To which is added, a compendious Dictionary of the moſt common Names of ancient Geography, explain'd by thoſe which they now bear: As alſo, an alphabetical Index of the principal Places that are mentioned throughout the Work. Written originally in *High Dutch* by the late celebrated Mr. *Hubner*, and now carefully reviſ'd and corrected. By *J. Cowley*, Geographer to his Majeſty. In a neat Pocket Volume. Printed for *T. Cox*, and *J. Hodges*, pr. bound [illegible] —*The Author of the* Works of the Learned *in Art.* 28, *for* October 1737, *ſpeaks thus of it.* 'The Title Page of this Work is a 'compendious and very juſt Account of it. 'It is undoubtedly more copious and inſtruc- 'tive than any Thing of its Nature, that 'has hitherto appeared in our Tongue.' And thus goes on with many other Encomiums too long to be inſerted here.—Note, About 30,000 of the ſaid Book have been ſold of the Original.

19. Two Eſſays on the antient [illegible] Chronology and Language. By *S. Sym*, M. A. Sold by *J. Bucroft*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

20. An Eſſay on Honour. Printed for *[illegible] Minors*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

21. The Honourableneſs of Marriage [illegible] juſted and defended. Printed for *J. Robe*, price 1*s.*

22. The City and Country Builders [illegible] Workman's Treaſury of Deſigns. Printed for *S. Harding*, *S. Birt*, and *B. Dod*, price 10*s.* 6*d.* in Sheets.

PHYSICAL.

23. The natural Method of curing [illegible] Diſeaſes of the Body, *&c.* By *Geo. Cheyne*, M. D. Printed for *Geo. Strahan* and *W. Knapton*, 8vo, price 5*s.*

24. Dr. *Boerhaave*'s Academical Lectures on the Theory of Phyſick. Vol. I. Printed for *W. Innys*, 8vo, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

25. Natural Sagacity the principal Seat if not the Whole in Phyſick. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

26. An Eſſay on Blood-letting. By *[illegible] Butler*, M.D. Printed for *C. Corbet*, pr. 1*s.*

SERMONS.

27. A Sermon preach'd at *Hereford*, [illegible] 2, 1741. By *S. Croxall*, D. D. Sold by *Dodd*, price 6*d.*

28. A Sermon preach'd at *Oxford*, [illegible] 1741. By *W. Romaine*, A. M. Printed for *F. Goſling*, price 6*d.*

29. A Sermon on the Death of the [illegible] Mr. *J. Collett*. By *J. Stennett*. Printed for *A. Ward*, price 6*d.*

30. A Sermon on the Death of [illegible] *Ward*. By *S. Wilſon*. Printed for *A. [illegible]* price 6*d.*

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 21.

The Debate begun in our Appendix *to laſt Year, and continued in our* Magazine *for laſt Month, the next that ſpoke was* Celſus Albinovanus, *whoſe Speech was to this Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

I SHALL not pretend to tell you what is now the Law, with regard to the Quartering of Soldiers. I have carefully read over the Act ſubſiſting for that Purpoſe; but muſt confeſs, I am a little doubtful in my Opinion, and I have no Reaſon to be aſhamed of ſaying ſo, ſince ſo great a Lawyer, as Judge [illegible], declared himſelf doubtful, as the honourable Gentleman has been pleaſed to inform us. I have a very great Regard for the two learned Gentlemen, who have given their Opinions upon the Queſtion; but as I am converſant among Lawyers, I have known Lawyers give Opinions in this Houſe, which were contrary to the Opinion of the moſt Noted of the Profeſſion; and therefore, the Opinions that have been given, can be no Authority for declaring what is the Law at preſent.

The honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, Sir, has told us, that whatever may be the Meaning of the Law, it has for near forty Years paſt been a prevailing Opinion, that the Owners of Publick-houſes were by Law obliged to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer. That this, Sir, has been the general Practice, may be true; I believe the Owners of ſuch Houſes have generally done ſo; but this is no Proof of its having been the general Opinion, that they were by Law obliged to do ſo. A Man will ſubmit to a ſmall Hardſhip, rather than conteſt a doubtful Point in Law; but when that Hardſhip becomes grievous, he thinks it worth his while to conteſt it, rather than ſubmit to it any longer. The Doubt that has been lately ſtarted, does not, therefore, proceed from People's having altered their Opinion, but from your having kept up

such a numerous Army for such a Number of Years. The People grew at last tir'd of submitting to a Hardship, which they doubted if they were obliged to submit to, and which, instead of being removed or lightened, they found to be growing almost every Year more heavy than it was before.

This, Sir, is the true Reason of the Doubt that has been lately started, in relation to the furnishing of Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer, or with Hay and Straw for their Horses, at the Prices allow'd by the Government; and we have now such a very great Number of Land Forces within the Kingdom, that I am not at all surprized at the People's being generally resolved to have this Question determined one Way or other. What Use was designed, or what Use will be made of this great Land Army, I shall not pretend to guess; but I am afraid, no Use, at least no military Use, will be made of them. As we are in course to have next Summer a new Parliament chosen, the great Augmentation we have made, and the expensive Manner in which we have made that Augmentation, gives Occasion to very ugly Suspicions. People know what an Use may be made of Commissions for Officers to serve in the Army, with regard to Elections for Members to serve in Parliament: A Commission, or the Promise of a Commission in the Army, may engage a Man and his Friends to vote for a weak or wicked Minister, who would otherwise most certainly vote against him: The Terrors of having a Regiment of Foot, or a Regiment of Dragoons sent to quarter upon a Borough, may engage the Magistrates, some of whom are often Inn-keepers, to vote for a Court Candidate, whose Face they had never the Pleasure to behold, in Opposition to the most hospitable and honest Gentleman in their Neighbourhood.

These, Sir, are some of the illegal Uses that may be made of an Army; and every illegal Use that can be made of an Army, will receive new Strength from the Amendment now proposed. If you lay Inn-keepers, and other Owners of Publick-houses, under a legal Obligation to furnish the Soldiers with necessary Provisions for themselves and Horses, at certain Rates to be appointed by Law, as you cannot ascertain either the Quantity or the Kind of such Provisions, the Owners of such Houses will never be able to satisfy the Soldiers quartered upon them. The Soldier will insist upon having more for a Groat, than the Inn-keeper can buy for Sixpence, which, it must be allowed, would be a very great Oppression upon the latter; and how is he to be relieved? Why, by the Civility and Good-nature of the commanding Officer. Sir, the Officer may be good-natured and humane, I believe many of them are so; but it is hardly possible to prevent a Man being a little partial to one of his own Cloth; and therefore, I must think, a Law for subjecting the People to such an Oppression, without any other Remedy, could neither be called good-natur'd nor humane, especially if we consider, that when a Regiment is sent to correct an obstinate Borough or County, the commanding Officer, without so much as a Hint, will know, that his Preferment depends upon his giving a Ear to the Complaints of the Inhabitants.

Our passing such a Law as this at this Time, will therefore very much increase those Suspicions that have been already raised by the Augmentation we have lately made to our Army, and the expensive Manner in which that Augmentation has been made; and in those Suspicions most People will be confirmed, if the greatest Part of the

Army

rmy is not very ſoon ſent out of
e Kingdom, to carry on with Vi-
ur the War we are now engaged
If any Thing like this be de-
ned, we have no Occaſion for at-
ing or explaining the Law; be-
uſe the People will then have but
v Soldiers quartered upon them,
d will therefore continue to do,
they have done for almoſt forty
ars paſt. The Owners of Pub-
k-houſes will continue to furniſh
Soldiers with neceſſary Provi-
ns, when the Soldier contents
nſelf with ſuch Proviſions, as his
ndlord can furniſh at the Price
owed by the Government: Nay,
y will furniſh the Soldiers, I be-
e, with better Proviſions, and
h more Good-will, than they
e done for twenty Years paſt;
when a Part of the Army is
oloyed in fighting victoriouſly,
I hope they will, againſt the
mies of their Country, the
ne of a Soldier will then again
n to be reſpected and beloved
he People.

his, Sir, will be the Conſequence
ending a great Part of our Ar-
abroad to fight againſt the Ene-
of their Country, inſtead of
ing them at home to oppreſs
People, and influence the next
eral Elections. But really, Sir,
Propoſition now made to us gives
ſome Reaſon to apprehend, that
is not ſo much as a Deſign to
any great Part of our Army a-
d; and this makes me the more
illing to agree to what the Hon.
tleman has been pleaſed to pro-
; for if ſuch a Number of re-
Forces be kept within the
dom, but for a few Years, and
a Law as is now propoſed kept
orce, the Number of Publick-
s will decreaſe ſo much, that
ll be impoſſible to find Quar-
for the Army in ſuch Houſes,
this will of courſe make Bar-
abſolutely neceſſary, which
will ſoon put an End to our happy
Conſtitution. We muſt always have
in this Kingdom a great Number of
Travellers upon our publick Roads:
If we had no Trade, which may be
the Conſequence of our late Mea-
ſures, if not ſoon altered, yet the
very Nature of our Conſtitution oc-
caſions a greater Number of Tra-
vellers in this Kingdom, than in any
neighbouring Country: The Mem-
bers both of this and the other
Houſe of Parliament muſt be ac-
commodated with Lodgings and
Stabling, in their Journies to and
from Parliament; but how ſhall
they be accommodated, if every
Inn they come to be full of Soldi-
ers? Will they lie in the Streets to
make Room for a Lord or Member
of Parliament? Will they be com-
monly civil to any Traveller that
comes to hamper them in their
Quarters? On the contrary, they
do not always behave in the moſt
civil Manner to Travellers, even of
the firſt Rank; for lately at *North-
allerton* they ſeized on and carried
off a Reverend Prelate's Dinner,
upon Pretence, that the Landlord
had not provided ſufficiently for
them. What Redreſs the Reverend
Prelate met with, or whether he
applied for any, I do not know;
but he could not recover his Din-
ner; and this ſhews, what Incon-
veniencies we, as well as other Tra-
vellers, may be put to, if all the
Inns of any little Town we may
come to upon the Road, ſhould be
ſo crammed with Soldiers, as not to
be able to furniſh Accommodation
or Entertainment for any Traveller.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that whilſt we
keep ſuch a numerous Army within
the Kingdom, and continue the mo-
dern *French* Practice of having ſome
Part of that Army always marching
and counter-marching from one End
of the Kingdom to the other, under
Pretence of what is called Chang-
ing of Gariſons: I ſay, whilſt we

do ſo, the Soldiers may often be under great Difficulties with regard to Proviſions, both upon their March, and in their ſettled Quarters, unleſs we oblige their Quarters to furniſh them at ſuch Prices, as they can afford to pay; but the moſt proper Expedient for avoiding this Inconvenience, is, in my Opinion, very obvious, which is, to ſend the greateſt Part of your Army againſt the Enemy in Time of War, and never to keep a greater Number of Troops within the Kingdom, than are abſolutely neceſſary for the juſt Ends of Government. I will undertake, that when the People know, that any Part of your Army is marching thro' the Kingdom, in order to go and fight the Enemies of their Country, they will freely and voluntarily furniſh the Soldiers with every Thing neceſſary upon their March; but they are ſenſible of what is meant by Changing of Gariſons, which in abſolute Governments is intended chiefly to prevent the Soldiers from acquiring any Sort of Attachment to the People amongſt whom they live, and to make them look upon themſelves, as a Body of Men quite diſtinct from the People, I cannot ſay, amongſt whom they live, but amongſt whom they ſojourn; and therefore, the People of this Kingdom moſt reaſonably complain, and reſent their being oppreſſed or incommoded with the Marching or Counter-marching of regular Troops, when they know, or at leaſt imagine it to be intended for ſuch a dangerous and arbitrary Purpoſe.

Having thus, Sir, mentioned one Expedient, and I think the only proper Expedient, for preventing the Inconvenience complained of, I hope the Hon. Gentleman will not hereafter ſay, that there are any Gentlemen in this Houſe, who are always ſtarting Objections againſt every Expedient they hear propoſed, but never offer any Remedy or Pr
vention of their own. Gentlem
have Reaſon to object againſt
medies that are apparently wo
than the Diſeaſe, eſpecially wh
the true Remedy is obvious; but
A I am ſuſpicious, that the Remedy
have now offered, will not be
proved of by our chief State Ph
cians, and am for ſeeing any
medy applied rather than that
propoſed, I muſt obſerve, that
other Remedy has already been m
B tioned in this Debate, which
think leſs oppreſſive than what
now propoſed, and which I the
ther approve of, becauſe it was m
uſe of ſoon after the Revolution.
that was a Time, Sir, which
highly approve of, I am for go
C as near it as poſſible, and there
if we muſt keep up ſuch a numer
ſtanding Army as we have at
ſent, and muſt keep them all
home too, I am for doing ſometh
like what was done in the Y
1696-7. In that Year, as an H
D Gentleman has already told u
Clauſe was inſerted in the Mu
Act, by which it was provided,
no Inn-holder ſhould be obliged
provide Victuals for any Soldier,
he ſhould give him 4*d.* a Day,
ſides Candle and the Uſe of his
E for dreſſing his Meat. As our
my is now regularly paid, we
no Occaſion for obliging the
holders to advance any Money
the Soldiers quartered upon th
but if there be now an abſolute
ceſſity for any Thing like wha
F now propoſed, I think we ough
give an Option to Inn-holders,
ther to provide Victuals for ſuch
diers, at the Rate of a Groat a
or otherwiſe to furniſh them
Lodging, Candle, Utenſils for d
ing their Meat, and the Uſe
G their Fire, for nothing.

Even this, Sir, will be a
great Hardſhip upon the Owner
our Publick-houſes; but, I think

ill be a leſs Hardſhip than that of bjecting them to the arbitrary De- ands of the Soldiers quartered upon em, for what they may be pleaſed call neceſſary Proviſions. How is Expedient will do, or whether may appear to be ſufficient for re- oving the Evil complained of, I not know; but as it is a Matter the utmoſt Importance, I think, ither this, nor any other Expedi- t ought to be raſhly gone into; which Reaſon, I think, we ght to take ſome Days to conſider it, and for that Purpoſe to ad- rn the Committee. There is no ceſſity for immediately commen- g a Law Suit, in order to de- mine the Queſtion lately ſtarted n this Subject. If the Neceſ- for this Determination cannot removed, by a Diminution of Army, I hope, we ſhall in this uſe fall upon ſome Method for rmining the Queſtion, without ding it into *Weſtminſter-Hall*; tho' I belong to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, I ſhall always be againſt Peo- s being brought there for deci- g any Queſtion. I wiſh they e not ſo apt to come there, as I they are: It might be a Loſs me, but it would be a Gain to Nation; and I ſhall never de- to increaſe my Profits at the Ex- e of my Country.

rius Lævinus *ſtood up next, and ſpoke in Subſtance thus.*

r. Preſident,

I R,

VE are now about reviving an expiring Law: The Mean- of that Law, as it ſtands at pre- , appears to be doubtful, as has acknowledged by moſt Gentle- who have ſpoke in this Debate. it admit of a Diſpute, whether ought to remove that Doubt, by explanatory Words in the Bill before us? Would it not be a moſt egregious Soleciſm for a legiſla- tive Aſſembly to enact a Law which they know to be doubtful? Let us conſider, what a Number of Law Suits may be occaſioned before this Time Twelvemonth. You cannot, at leaſt you ought not, I think, to make a Law with a Retroſpect, and therefore you cannot put an End to theſe Law Suits, by any new Law to be paſſed a Year hence. Tho' you are the Makers, yet you are not by our Conſtitution the Interpre- ters of the Law: His Majeſty's Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall* are the Interpreters; and they are ſworn to give Judgment in every Caſe that comes before them, according to the Laws which were in Being when that Caſe happened. Suppoſe now, you ſhould put off the explaining of this Law till next Year, and 500 Actions ſhould before then be com- menced upon the Doubt now ac- knowledged to be in the Law, the Explanation you then put upon the Law, would not put a Stop to any of theſe Law Suits; becauſe the Judges might be of Opinion, that the Words of the Law could not bear the Explanation you had put upon them by a new Law. In all Caſes that might happen afterwards, they would be obliged to determine according to your Explanation; but in Caſes that had before occurred, they would in Conſcience be obliged to determine according to their own Opinion, even tho' contrary to what you, *ex poſt facto*, declared to be yours.

From hence, Sir, you may ſee, what a Multitude of Law Suits may be occaſioned, and what a monſtrous Expence may be brought upon the Subject, by your delaying to explain and remove the Doubt that hath ariſen, but for one Year longer. Surely it is our Duty to prevent Law Suits, and to do ſo as ſoon as we can. The Trade of a Lawyer, no wiſe Nation will ever encou-

rage; and the Trade too, of Inn-keeping, Alehouſe-keeping, or retailing of ſpiritous Liquors, does not, I think, deſerve all that Regard which ſeems to be ſhewn to it in this Debate. But ſhould we ſuppoſe, that they will always be at a great Loſs by furniſhing the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at the Rate of a Groat a Day, the Loſs will not fall upon them; for by the Prices they charge they will oblige their other Cuſtomers to make it good; and therefore, if this Loſs were to be look'd on as a Tax, it could not be conſidered as a partial, or unequal Tax, but a Tax laid upon the whole People; and it muſt either be no Tax at all, or a Tax as neceſſary as any one that was ever impoſed.

Gentlemen may cry, how! how! and ſeem ſurprized at what I have ſaid; but if they will have a little Patience, I ſhall make it good. I repeat it again, Sir, that the obliging of Inn-keepers and ſuch like to furniſh Diet and Small Beer to the Soldiers quartered upon them, muſt either be no Loſs to, or Tax upon them, or upon any one elſe, or otherwiſe it muſt be as neceſſary a Tax as ever was impoſed in this Kingdom; and my Reaſon for ſaying ſo is this: If Proviſions are ſo cheap, as they generally are, that an Inn-keeper may furniſh Diet and Small Beer to the Soldiers quartered upon him for a Groat a Day, and have a reaſonable Profit to himſelf, then the obliging him to do ſo, can be no Tax upon him or any Man elſe: On the other hand, if Proviſions ſhould happen at any particular Time, or in any particular Place, to be ſo dear, that the Inn-keeper cannot furniſh Diet and Small Beer for the Soldiers quartered upon him, at the Rate of a Groat a Day, I am very ſure, the Soldier will not be able to furniſh Diet and Small Beer for himſelf at near that Rate; becauſe an Inn-keeper who brews his own Small Beer, and buys great Quantities of Meat at a Time, will always be able to ſell it at a much cheaper Rate than the Soldier can purchaſe it in the ſmall Quantities he has Occaſion for, or can afford to buy at a Time. But the Soldier has no more than a Groat a Day to beſtow upon himſelf for Diet and Small Beer, what then can he do? He muſt either ſtarve or ſteal. The former we cannot ſuppoſe he will do, and if a great Part of the Army ſhould be brought under the Neceſſity of living by Theft or Plunder, ing, not only our Conſtitution, but the Property of every Man in the Kingdom would then be in the utmoſt Danger.

It has been ſaid in this Debate that if our Soldiers cannot live upon a Groat a Day, we muſt augment their Pay; but let us conſider, Sir, that in moſt Parts of the Kingdom and at moſt Times, a Soldier can live upon a Groat a Day; and if it ſhould be propoſed to proportion their Pay, according to the Times, and according to the Places in which they may be quartered, this cannot be done by Parliament: It muſt be left to Miniſters, and this, in my Opinion, would be a more extenſive and a more dangerous Power, than any now lodged in the Crown. There is, therefore, no other Way of ſubſiſting your Army, in Times of Scarcity, which is ſeldom general, and never laſts long, than by obliging the Owners of Publick houſes to furniſh them with Diet and Small Beer, at ſuch a Rate as their Pay will admit of. This I ſhall allow is, in Times of Scarcity, a Sort of Tax upon the Owners of ſuch Houſes, or rather, as I have ſaid, upon their Cuſtomers; but as there is no other Way of ſubſiſting your Army, at ſuch Times, it is abſolutely neceſſary, and will therefore, I hope, be always patiently ſubmitted to.

s for the Expedient found out
he Year 1696-7, it was then
e uſe of, becauſe our Troops
at home neither were, nor
d be regularly paid; for ſurely,
it will not be thought, that the
ier was to have 4*d.* a Day from
Inn-keeper, beſides his Pay from
Government; but as the Army
w regularly paid both their Sub-
ce Money and Arrears, we have
ccaſion for ſuch an Expedient;
what the Hon. Gentleman who
laſt, has been pleaſed to pro-
in purſuance of this Expedient,
be far from removing the Dif-
y now under Conſideration; for
l ſignify nothing to provide Fire
tenſils for a Soldier to dreſs his
with, when he can get no
to dreſs, or none at the Price
able to pay for it, which will
be the Caſe upon a March,
herefore, in the Year 1696-7,
oviſion in Favour of Inn-hol-
was not extended to Soldiers
a March; nor ought it, I
now to be extended to Soldi-
ven in the Places where they
pointed to reſide; becauſe an
lder, Alehouſe-keeper, or Vic-
can always furniſh a Soldier
Diet and Small Beer at a
Rate than he can furniſh
. If he refuſes to do ſo, it
roceed from mere Obſtinacy,
an uncommon Dearth of
ns: In the former Caſe, he
o be compelled; and in the
he muſt be compelled, be-
here is no other Way of pro-
for the Soldier's Subſiſtence,
very Gentleman will admit,
hile we have Soldiers, we muſt
for their Subſiſtence, in
of Scarcity as well as in
of Plenty. In Times of Scar-
may be a Loſs to the Inn-
but, like many others, it is
which, for the Sake of the
, muſt neceſſarily attend the
s he follows, and at no Time
it can be a Hardſhip, becauſe, as the Soldier is ſubject to martial Law, that Law will always make him not only reaſonable, but civil in his Quarters.

A *The next that ſpoke was* Q. Fabius Vibulanus, *whoſe Speech was to the Effect as follows.*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

B I AM ſurprized to hear Gentlemen ſo much as ſuppoſe, that any Multitude of Law Suits can enſue from leaving this Act in the very Words it ſtands at preſent, and has ſtood for ſome Years. For my own Part, I do not pretend to any deep Learning in the Law, eſpecially in C the practical Part of it; and therefore I ſhould be glad to know, from ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who make that Study their Profeſſion, how any more than one Law Suit could be the Conſequence of our not explaining that Part of this Law, D which is now ſaid to be doubtful. If any Suit be commenced for having this Queſtion determined, it muſt be brought, either by the Government, by way of Information, or by a Soldier, by way of Action of the Caſe upon the Statute, againſt E an Inn-keeper who had refuſed to furniſh him Diet and Small Beer, at the Rate of a Groat a Day; and can we ſuppoſe, that our Government, or rather our moſt excellent Miniſters, would be ſo vexatious, as to bring ſeveral Informations, or to F allow the Soldiers to bring ſeveral Actions, when one would be as ſufficient as five hundred, for deciding the Queſtion in Diſpute, and for preventing all farther Doubt. Whatever Opinion the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt may have of our G Miniſters, I am far from having ſo bad an Opinion of them; and therefore, if we ſhould leave this Queſtion undecided, and the Army ſhould

inſiſt

inſiſt upon its being decided by a Suit at Law, I am convinced, no more than one Law Suit could from thence enſue; and the Event of that Suit, I believe, our Inn-keepers have no Reaſon to be afraid of, becauſe I cannot think, that a Law which ſimply obliges me to receive a Man into my Houſe, can be ſuppoſed, by any impartial Man in the Kingdom, to mean, that I ſhould be obliged likewiſe to maintain him.

But, Sir, if it ſhould be determined otherwiſe; if our Judges ſhould be of Opinion, that the Law, as it now ſtands, obliges Inn-keepers and others to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at the Rate of a Groat a Day, I ſhould then be for altering the Law as ſoon as poſſible; becauſe, I think, it would lay a moſt grievous Tax upon the Owners of all our Publick-houſes, a Tax which they could not recover from their Cuſtomers, and a Tax which I think abſolutely unneceſſary. The furniſhing of Soldiers with Lodging and Houſe-room is of itſelf ſo troubleſome to Inn-keepers, that many of them give the Soldiers *a Shilling* or *eighteen Pence* a Week, to be intirely rid of their Company; and if you ſhould further oblige Inn-keepers to furniſh the Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer, I am perſuaded, moſt of our Inns would be glad to give the Soldiers *Half a Crown* or *three Shillings* a Week, to provide themſelves ſome where elſe, rather than have Cuſtomers and Travellers baniſhed away from their Houſe, by ſeeing it always full of Soldiers.

This, Sir, would be a moſt inſufferible Burden upon all Publick-houſes; and to ſuppoſe, that this Loſs would be made good by their raiſing their Prices to their Cuſtomers, is ſuppoſing againſt Reaſon and Experience: They cannot raiſe the Price of any Liquors they ſell, which is the principal Part of their Pro- fits; and if they ſhould make them worſe, no Man would come to pur- chaſe or drink them. Even as to Eatables, the Market Price is ſo well known, that they would be look'd upon as Extortioners, if they de- manded a greater Profit than uſual, which would of courſe make all o- ther Cuſtomers forſake the Houſe; and I believe it will not be ſaid, that, even in the Times of greate Plenty, a Publick-houſe could ſup- port itſelf upon the Profits made by the Soldiers quartered upon it.

Now, Sir, with regard to the Neceſſity of impoſing this Burden or Tax upon the Owners of thoſe Houſes, where Soldiers are by Law allowed to be quartered, the Hon. Gentleman has, I think, given us but two Reaſons for it, and both of them I take to be without any Foundation. He ſays, That the Owners of ſuch Houſes may buy cheaper than Soldiers can: Is there any Foundation for ſaying ſo? May not a Soldier buy as cheap at Mar- ket as his Landlord can? And why five or ſix of them join together, as they uſually do, may not they buy as large a Joint of Meat, or as great a Quantity of Proviſions, as a com- mon Houſe-keeper does for his Fa- mily? Sir, they will buy cheaper for themſelves, than their Landlord can for them: We know what Difference there is between the Pri- ces of different Joints of the ſame Sort of Meat, or between the ſeve- ral Species of the ſame Kind of Pro- viſions. When Soldiers buy for them- ſelves, they will be contented with the coarſeſt and cheapeſt Sort; but their Landlord buys for them, they will inſiſt upon having the fineſt and deareſt.

The other Reaſon aſſigned by the Hon. Gentleman for the Neceſſity he pleads for, is, that in Times of Scarcity, a Soldier cannot ſubſiſt upon a Groat a Day, and must

refore be subsisted by his Land-
l at that Price, because he can
rd no more. Both these Facts,
I deny. There has never been,
I know of, such a Scarcity in
land, as to make it impossible
a Man to subsist upon a Groat a
y, if he contented himself with
coarsest Sort of Provisions; but
Truth of the Matter, I believe,
the Hon. Gentleman and his
nds have a Mind, that in Times
carcity Soldiers should feed as
cately, and fare as well, as they
do in Times of the greatest
ty; whereas I am, for their be-
made sensible of the Distresses
eir Country. I likewise deny,
that a Soldier can afford no
than a Groat a Day for Diet
Small Beer. It is very well
n, that the Soldiers in our
hing Regiments are paid Six-
a Day by the Government;
hy Two-pence a Day should
th-held from a poor Soldier's
I can find no Reason, unless it
hat the Colonel should make
a profitable Contract, as to get
or 1500*l.* by Cloathing his
ment, and that all the poor
s should appear clean shaved,
well powdered at a Review.
y Part, I think a Man with-
y Powder in his Hair, and
with a long Beard, may look
e a Soldier, and do his Busi-
well, as a Man with a Smock
and powdered Locks; and
ore I must think, that of late
our Army has been designed ra-
o kill the Ladies, than to kill
nemies of their Country: For
eason, I am of Opinion, that if
ldiers were put to no greater
ce than is absolutely necessary
eir appearing like Soldiers, and
ke Beaus, a Soldier even of a
ing Regiment might spare 5*d.*
for Diet and Small Beer; and
respect to the Soldiers of the
Guards, as they are paid 8*d.* a
Day by the Government, I am sur-
prized to hear it so much as insi-
nuated, that they cannot spare a-
bove 4*d.* a Day for Diet and Small
Beer; yet no Difference is, I find,
to be made between the Soldiers of
marching Regiments, and those of
the Foot Guards, tho' the latter can
certainly afford to pay more for
Diet and Small Beer, than the for-
mer, and tho' the latter are gene-
rally quartered in *Westminster*, and
about *London*, where House-rent and
Provisions are always dearer than in
Country Places, or Cities remote
from *London*.

Thus, Sir, I hope I have shewn,
that by the Clause now offered, a
most heavy additional Tax would
be laid upon the Owners of our Pub-
lick-houses; that it is a Tax which
they could not oblige their Custom-
ers to bear any Part of; and that it
is a most unnecessary Tax, because
Soldiers may provide for themselves
not only in Times of Plenty, but
even Times of Scarcity, unless that
Scarcity should be so very extraor-
dinary, as has seldom or never hap-
pened, and ought not therefore to
be made a Foundation for a general
and standing Regulation, which will
at all Times be a Grievance upon
a great Part of the People, and
which may probably diminish the
Number of our Publick-houses, so
as to make the Building of Bar-
racks, or the Quartering of Soldiers
upon private Houses, absolutely ne-
cessary.

The next Speaker in this Debate was Arrianus Maturius, *the Purport of whose Speech was as follows*, viz.

Mr. President,
SIR,

AS most of the Arguments made use of against the Clause now offered to you, have been founded upon a Supposition, that the Law, as it stands at present, does not ob-

lige Inn-keepers and others, upon whom Soldiers may be lawfully quartered, to furniſh them with Diet and Small Beer, I ſhall beg Leave to ſhew you, that the Law is otherwiſe, and that what is now offered, is nothing but an Explanation and Enforcement of what has been Law ever ſince we had ſuch an Act as a Mutiny Act in this Kingdom?

Sir, in order to find out the Meaning of the Law as it now ſtands, we muſt not look to the Clauſe for obliging the Owners of Publick-houſes to receive the Soldiers lawfully quartered upon them, becauſe that Clauſe was but lately introduced, and muſt be explained by the other Clauſes in the Bill; but we muſt conſider what was anciently meant by the Term Quartering; and if we conſider what was anciently meant by Quartering, we muſt conclude, that the Owners of private Houſes, as well as publick, were obliged to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them with every Thing neceſſary, according to thoſe Rules which were preſcribed by the Commanders of the Troops ſo quartered. Before the Reſtoration, we had no ſuch Thing as an Army, or any regular Troops, but in Time of War; and then, I believe, it will be allowed, that the Commanders were the only Judges, how their Soldiers were to be treated, by thoſe upon whom they were quartered. If they had ready Money wherewithal to pay their Soldiers, they generally ordered them to pay ready Money for what they had; but if they could not pay their Soldiers, the Perſons upon whom they were quartered, were then obliged to furniſh them not only with Lodging, but alſo with Diet and Small Beer, and to bring their Accounts in to the Publick, in order to receive Satisfaction. This was the Practice in Time of War, before the Reſtoration; but as we began ſoon after that Period to keep regular Troops in continual Pay, and as the Officers of theſe Troops began to practiſe in Time of Peace what had been formerly practiſed in Time of War, therefore, towards the latter End of King *Charles* IIds Reign, that Law which has been mentioned, was made, by which it was enacted, "That Soldiers ſhould not be quartered upon any Houſe whatſoever, without the Conſent of the Owner." From the Revolution to the Year 1692, the Nation was in a State of War, and probably this Law was not obſerved; but the Tranquillity of the Nation being intirely reſtored, a new Law was made for regulating the Quartering of Soldiers, and for confining them within certain legal Bounds, without leaving it to the Diſcretion of any military Officer whatſoever.

By that Law, Sir, the Conſtables and other Civil Officers were impowered to quarter or billet Soldiers upon Publick-houſes, and upon them only, and therefore, as the ſame Power granted them by Law, which the Commanding Officers of the Troops had formerly aſſumed againſt Law, that is to ſay, by their Billetting the Soldiers upon Publick-houſes, that gave them a Right to inſiſt not only upon Lodging, but upon Diet and Small Beer, for what they could afford for it out of their Pay; and if they received no Pay, then the Houſes upon which they were quartered were to keep an Account, and to bring their Accounts in to the Publick, in order to receive Satisfaction; and to prevent all Diſputes between the Soldiers and their Landlords, the Juſtices of the Peace were ordered and impowered to ſettle the Rates of all ſuch Proviſions, as were to be furniſhed by the Landlords. This was the Meaning of thoſe, who firſt gave the Conſtables a legal Power to quarter Soldiers: That Quartering they intended, that the Soldiers ſhould have Entertainment

well as Lodging, at the Houſes where they were ſo quartered, is, I think, plain, from their limiting that Power to Publick-houſes only; for if they had intended, that Soldiers ſhould have nothing but Lodging, at the Houſes where they were quartered, they would certainly have given the Conſtables a Power to quarter Soldiers upon all Houſes that let Lodgings, as well as upon Inn-keepers, Victuallers, and other ſuch Houſes. And the Clauſe inſerted in the Mutiny Act paſſed in the Year 1696, makes it evident, that it was then ſuppoſed, that the Owners of Publick-houſes were by the Law, as it ſtood before, obliged to furniſh the Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer; for if this had not been ſuppoſed, there would have been no Occaſion for inſerting a Clauſe, "That Inn-keepers ſhould not be obliged to provide Meat, or any other Victuals, for any Soldiers legally quartered upon them, if they ſhould give or tender to ſuch Soldiers 4d. a Day for their Subſiſtence in Meat only, beſides Candle and the Uſe of their Fire for dreſſing their Meat."

How that 4d. a Day was to be paid to the Inn-keepers, who did advance it to the Soldiers, I do not know, for there is no Clauſe in the Act for ordering or regulating the Repayment of it; but even ſuppoſe it was duly and regularly repaid, it was harder upon Inn-keepers, than what is now propoſed; and yet I never heard, that it diminiſhed the Number of our Publick-houſes, or that any Inn-keeper or Victualler gave up his Buſineſs upon that Account; and therefore, if the ſame Clauſe were to be revived, we ſhould have no Reaſon to apprehend any ſuch Conſequence from it. But as our Army is now regularly paid, we have no Occaſion to oblige the Owners of Publick-houſes to advance any Money to the Soldiers quartered upon them, or to give any long Credit to ſuch Soldiers. They are now, they have for ſeveral Years been obliged to receive the Soldiers lawfully quartered upon them. In this Clauſe, the Word *receive* muſt certainly relate to, and be explained by the Word *quartered*; and if by Quartering be meant the Furniſhing of a Soldier with Diet and Small Beer, as well as Lodging, the Owners of the Houſes where Soldiers are lawfully quartered, are already by Law obliged to do ſo. In this Senſe the Law has been always, till very lately, interpreted; it has for many Years been the Cuſtom to furniſh the Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer, as well as Lodging, at the Houſes where they were quartered, and at ſuch Rates as they were able to pay. This, I ſay, has for many Years been a continued Cuſtom; and a Cuſtom founded on Law makes Law: At leaſt, Cuſtom is the beſt Interpreter of Law, and ſometimes puts a Meaning upon the Words of a Law different from what at firſt View they ſeem to bear.

This being the Caſe, Sir, what are we now to do? We are not to alter the Law, or to eſtabliſh any new Regulation; we are only to explain and inforce what has been Law for almoſt theſe forty Years; and this we are obliged to do, by a Doubt which ſome People have been lately pleaſed to raiſe, I think, without any Foundation, in order to prevent People's expoſing themſelves to Law Suits and Penalties; for by the Law, as it ſtands now, the Owner of a Publick-houſe that refuſes to receive any Soldier lawfully quartered upon him, is to be fined by the Juſtices, in a Sum not exceeding 5*l.* nor under 40*s.* and conſequently, if by Receiving be meant the Furniſhing of ſuch Soldier with Lodging, Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat a Day, every Inn-keeper that ſhall refuſe to do ſo, ſubjects himſelf to this Penalty, and the Juſtices

must fine him, if the Soldier or any other Person comes to make the Complaint.

I shall grant, Sir, that this Doubt which has been so groundlesly raised, might be determined by one single Law Suit; but in the mean Time, a great Number of People would subject themselves to the Penalties of the Law, and the Determination of the Question in Dispute would not free them from those Penalties, but on the contrary, would encourage People to prosecute. Suppose a Law Suit were commenced against some Inn-keeper that had refused to furnish the Soldiers lawfully quartered upon him, with Diet and Small Beer at a Groat a Day; that Law Suit could not in several Months be brought to a Conclusion; in the mean Time many other Inn-keepers would refuse in the same Manner; for most Men are apt to think themselves in the right, and to hope that the Question in Dispute will be determined in their Favour. Then suppose, that upon the Event of this Law Suit it should be determined, that Inn-keepers and others are by the Law, as it stands at present, obliged to furnish the Soldiers lawfully quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer at a Groat a Day, and that every Man who refuses, subjects himself to the Penalty of the Law, which, as I have said, is a Fine to be imposed by any one Justice of the Peace, before whom the Complaint is made, of 40*s.* or some greater Sum, not exceeding 5*l.* In this Case, every Inn-keeper who, during the Controversy, had refused to furnish the Soldiers lawfully quartered upon him, with Diet and Small Beer, would be liable to the Penalty, and to be prosecuted for it before the next Justice of Peace.

We may from hence see, Sir, what a Number of Prosecutions this would occasion; for as this Complaint might be made either by the Soldier, or by any other Person whatsoever; and as the Justice of Peace, upon full Proof, must fine him at least 40*s.* a Prosecution would certainly be brought against every Man that had incurred the Penalty either by the Soldier that had been refused what he had by Law a Right to demand, or by some envious Neighbour or Rival Tradesman. I therefore think, that what is now offered cannot in Charity be refused, in order to prevent People exposing themselves to Penalties which, in my Opinion, would certainly be recovered against them.

The next that rose up was M. Valerius Corvus, *who spoke to this Effect.*

Mr. President,

SIR,

THE Hon. Gentlemen who have appeared as Advocates for this Clause, seem to shew a great Concern for preventing the People involving themselves in Law Suits; and I must say, they are taking a very effectual Method for doing it; for if what they propose should pass into a Law, the People that are to be affected by it, will soon have no thing to contend for, which, I shall grant, is a most effectual Method for preventing their being involved in any Law Suit whatever. When the People are utterly undone, I shall admit, that this Clause will have the Effect of preventing their being afterwards involved in any Law Suit; but till then, it will have a quite contrary Effect; for if you oblige the Owners of Publick-houses to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them with reasonable Provisions, or with Diet and Small Beer, under any Penalty to be recovered before one or more Justices of Peace, there will be perpetual Disputes between them about what is to be called reasonable Provisions, or reasonable Diet and

Small

all Beer. The Soldier will carry Complaint before ſome Juſtice om he knows to be in his In-eſt: The Juſtice will probably the Landlord; and the latter l certainly ſeek Relief againſt at he thinks an unjuſt Sentence, her by Appeal to the Quarter Seſ-ns, or ſome more expenſive Me-d. Thus, Sir, the Owners of Publick-houſes will all at laſt be up, either by the Soldiers or the wyers; and till then, the Clauſe w propoſed will create inſtead of venting Law Suits.

This, Sir, will certainly be the nſequence, if you lay Inn-keep-and others under an expreſs Obli-ion to furniſh the Soldiers quar-ed upon them with Diet and Small r at a Groat a Day. Without ſuch Obligation, they will al-ys do ſo, when the Soldiers are tented with what can be furniſh-at that Price: They will even niſh a little more, or better than t can be afforded at that Price, rder to make the Soldiers eaſy their Quarters; and the Soldier be ſatisfied with what his Land-provides for him, becauſe he w, his Landlord lies under no igation to provide for him, and he cannot provide for himſelf well; but if you lay the Land-under an expreſs Obligation, he never be able to ſatisfy the Sol-quartered upon him, unleſs he himſelf by providing for them reat deal better than can be af-d for the Price they are able to If he does not, there will be inual Complaints againſt him, thus he muſt be ruined either iving the Soldiers much more he can afford, in order to pre-their Complaints, or by giving Money to Lawyers for defending againſt theſe Complaints. It ot therefore be ſaid, that this ſe is calculated for preventing Suits, and it is ſomething very ſtrange to ſay, that what is now propoſed is not ſo great a Hardſhip as the Clauſe enacted in the Year 1696-7. I hope the learned Gentleman does not think, that the Money then advanced by Inn-keepers was never repaid: If this be inſiſted on, the whole Act muſt be read, in order to ſee whether there was any, and what Proviſion for the Repayment of that Money; but it will not, I believe, be inſiſted on: The Whole was certainly repaid by the Government as ſoon as poſſible, and deducted out of the Pay due to the reſpective Regiments. By that Law, therefore, the Landlord only lay out of his Money for a ſhort While, but loſt no Part of the Principal: By what is now propoſed, he is to be obliged to furniſh Proviſions to the Soldiers for a Groat a Day, which coſt him perhaps 6*d.* or 8*d.* ſo that he will certainly loſe 50 or 100 *per Cent.* of his principal Money; and that without ſo much as a Hope of reaping the leaſt Advantage. Can this, Sir, be ſaid to be the leaſt Hardſhip? Is it poſſible for any Man to think ſo?

I ſhall grant, Sir, that Inn-keepers have generally provided for the Soldiers quartered upon them, at ſuch Prices as they were able to pay; but I was ſurprized to hear the learned Gentleman ſay, that this Practice made Law. The Practice in Courts of Record may ſometimes make Law: I know it is generally look'd upon as ſuch when it has continued the ſame for a very long Time; but will it be ſaid, that the Practice between a Landlord and his Soldier can ever make Law? It is at preſent a Practice, and it has long been a Cuſtom in *Southwark*, among thoſe who keep Livery Stables, to give the Dragoons quartered upon them ſo much a Week, to provide Stabling for their Horſes ſomewhere elſe. Will any one ſay, that this Practice has made Law, or that the

Owners

Owners of these Stables are now obliged to do so? The furnishing of Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer, has been practised by the Inn-keepers, because they were able to do so; but by this Clause you will put an End to the Practice, because you will render it impossible for them to do so without ruining themselves.

I do not pretend, Sir, to be a Lawyer, but I have conversed with some that are, and from them I have often heard, that penal Statutes are to be strictly interpreted: If so, I am sure no Court in the Kingdom would think itself impowered to fine an Inn-keeper, for not furnishing Diet and Small Beer to the Soldiers quartered in his House, by Virtue of that Clause which inflicts a Penalty upon those that shall refuse to receive a Soldier lawfully quartered or billeted upon him. Even suppose it should be hereafter determined, upon the Event of a Law Suit, that, receiving, means, furnishing with Diet and Small Beer, which I am persuaded it never will, yet no Judge, I believe, would venture to fine a Man upon such a forced and far-fetched Construction, especially if the Refusal had preceded that Construction's being put upon the Word by any proper Authority. We have therefore no Cause to fear, that a Multiplicity of Law Suits or Prosecutions will be the Consequence of our refusing the Clause now offered; and if the Law should be left standing as it is at present, I believe, the Inn-keepers have as little Reason to fear, that upon the Event of a Law Suit, the Question will be determined against them. But if it should, it would then be high Time to alter the Law; for it would certainly be very hard to give the Soldier a Power of obliging his Landlord to furnish him at a Groat a Day when Provisions happen to be dear, and a Liberty to furnish himself when Provisions happen to be cheap.

I shall admit, Sir, that it may sometimes be very hard for Soldiers to live upon a Groat a Day, and as Things are managed, I believe, they have very little more to spend. In such Times they must content themselves with coarse Fare. But at other Times they may subsist upon a Groat a Day. They generally do so at a much cheaper Rate, because half a Dozen or a Dozen of them usually mess together, and buy their Quantities of Provisions at a Time. The Marines did so at *Southampton*, and there, I know, they subsisted themselves plentifully for less than a Groat a Day, tho' that County is far from being the cheapest in the Kingdom, nor was that a Time of any extraordinary Plenty. I therefore see no Necessity for this Clause proposed, which I take to be a new and a very extraordinary Regulation; and as I think it would subject the Publick-houses in the Kingdom to great Hardships, and might be made a Handle for destroying the Liberties of the People, I must give my Negative to its being made a Part of this Bill.

Manius Acilius Glabrio *stood up and spoke in Substance thus.*

Mr. President,

SIR,

AS I was in the Service in King *William*'s Reign, and very well remember the Circumstances the Army was in when the Mutiny Bill, which has been so often mentioned in this Debate, was passed, I think it incumbent upon me to give the Reason for inserting that Clause which gave an Option to Inn-keepers to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, or to pay them a Groat a Day. In that Reign, Sir, the Government was far from being in the flush of Money as it has been since. The Revolution being in its

there was but very little pub-
Credit; for People had not for-
the ſhutting up of the Exchequer
King *Charles's* Reign; and there-
, even after the Parliament had
ted a Fund, it was very difficult
borrow Money upon it, ſo that A
Government was very often
hout Money, and our Troops
e at home were ſometimes ſe-
ral Months without Pay. I re-
mber the Regiment I was in,
called up to *London* upon the
ſſination Plot in the Year 1696, B
we had been for eight Months
hout any Pay, and at laſt we
e paid in Exchequer Bills, which
was very difficult to get changed
Money, in order to divide it
ng the Soldiers.

I do not know, Sir, what the C
aning of the Law was at that
e, or what it is now, for the
ſes relating to the Quartering of
liers are now pretty much the
e they were then; but I very
l remember, that the Houſes
which we were quartered, re-
refuſed to furniſh the Soldiers
h Diet and Small Beer, and it
then abſolutely neceſſary they
ld do ſo, becauſe the Soldiers,
even many of the Officers, had
Money to go to Market with,
could not therefore provide for B
ſelves. But as many of the
holders found great Inconveni-
in furniſhing and dreſſing Vic-
for the Soldiers, eſpecially when
had their Houſes crowded with
Company, and as this occa-
ed ſome Murmuring, the Parlia-
t reſolved to give them all poſ-
Relief, and for this Purpoſe
Clauſe was inſerted, which gave
Option to the Inn-holder, either
rovide Victuals for the Soldiers,
o give them a Groat a Day to
ide for themſelves. If they fur- G
ed Victuals, they brought in each
ective Man's Account; if they
Money, they brought in an

Account of what they had advan-
ced, and to whom; all which Ac-
counts were ſettled by the Com-
manding Officer, before the Regi-
ment, Troop, or Company left the
Place where they quartered, and
theſe Accounts became a Debt upon
the Government, and were reckoned
as Part of the Regiment's Pay. But
it cannot be ſaid, that the Inn-
holders loſt nothing by this Me-
thod; for the Money they advan-
ced was ſometimes a long While of
being repaid, and as the poor Inn-
holders could not always wait ſo
long for their Payment, they were
often obliged to ſell their Demands
upon the Government at a very great
Diſcount, which is far from being
the Caſe at preſent.

Having thus, Sir, given you an
Account of the Circumſtances of
the Army, and of the Practice in
King *William's* Time, I muſt deſire,
that Gentlemen would conſider what
an Inconvenience would inſue, if it
ſhould be ſuppoſed, that no Inn-
keeper is obliged to furniſh Diet
and Small Beer to the Soldiers quar-
tered upon him, and if at the ſame
Time we ſhould by any Misfortune
or Accident be reduced to the Cir-
cumſtances we were in during King
William's Reign: In that Reign, if
Inn-keepers had ſuppoſed they were
not obliged to furniſh Soldiers with
any Thing but Houſe-room and a
Bed, I am ſure, the Troops kept
here at home muſt either have ſtar-
ved, or lived by Plunder; and as
publick Credit is of a very precari-
ous Nature, we ſhould be extremely
cautious of eſtabliſhing or propaga-
ting any Maxim that would be at-
tended with great Inconveniencies,
and even Danger, in caſe our pub-
lick Credit ſhould fail ſo, as to make
it impoſſible for our Government to
pay the Troops kept at home punc-
tually and regularly.

What the Lawyers may mean,
Sir, by Quarters, I am no Judge of;

but among Soldiers we generally mean by Quarters, the Place where we are to have both Bed and Board for our Money, in caſe we find it neceſſary to inſiſt upon having both; and when we are ſent to live upon any Country, without being obliged to pay Money for what we have, we call it Free Quarters, which is certainly a very great Oppreſſion, and is ſeldom practiſed, but in an Enemy's Country; but I cannot think it any great Oppreſſion to oblige thoſe, who keep Houſes of Entertainment, to entertain Soldiers, upon their paying duly for what they have: It is really abſolutely neceſſary upon many Occaſions, becauſe Soldiers are often quartered round a Country, ſo that many of them are far from any Market-Town; and as they muſt be always at their Quarters, and ready at a Call, it is impoſſible for them to repair daily to the next Market Town, to buy Proviſions for themſelves. Upon a March too, it will often be impoſſible for the Soldiers to provide for themſelves; and therefore, the providing for Soldiers upon a March, was made an Exception to the Option allowed to Inn-keepers by the Law in 1696.

As to the Inconveniencies and Dangers we have been frightned with in this Debate, they do not at all affect me, becauſe I take them to be all chimerical. Even Barracks, which is here made ſuch a Bugbear of, is not in the leaſt frightful to me, tho' I have as great a Regard for the Liberties of my Country as any Gentleman in this Houſe. I could never yet conceive how Barracks can be thought inconſiſtent with the Liberties of the People; for an Army of true *Engliſh* will never be dangerous to Liberty, whether in Quarters or in Barracks; and an Army of Foreigners would be as dangerous to Liberty in Quarters as they could be in Barracks. The only Difference is, that an Army in Quarters is much more inconvenient and troubleſome to the People, and the Soldiers not ſo eaſily kept to their Duty, as when they are in Barracks; and therefore, not only as a Friend to Diſcipline in the Army, but as a Friend to the People, I ſhould chuſe to have our Troops always lodged in Barracks when there is no Occaſion for having them in a Camp. But the People of this Kingdom have been taught to aſſociate the Ideas of Barracks and Slavery ſo cloſe together, that, like Darkneſs and the Devil, tho' there be no Manner of Connexion between them, yet they can not ſeparate them, nor think of the one without thinking at the ſame Time of the other. In *Ireland* it was the ſame, when Barracks were firſt erected there: The People conſidered Barracks as the moſt hideous Things that could be thought of. They imagined they were all to be downright Slaves as ſoon as the Barracks were erected; yet now they are perfectly reconciled to them, becauſe they find they are rather more free than they were before, and the Troops much leſs troubleſome to them. And if Barracks were erected in this Kingdom I am convinced the Conſequence would be the ſame: The People might be ſtartled a little at firſt, but they would ſoon find themſelves as free as before, and much leſs encumbered with Soldiers than they were when the Army was quartered upon them; and they would ſoon thence learn to ſeparate thoſe two Ideas which are now, without any Reaſon, ſo cloſely connected in their Minds.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if the building of Barracks ſhould be the Effect of what is now propoſed, I ſhould think it no bad Effect: I am perſuaded the People would find it a very good one. But till Barra-

e built the Soldiers muſt be quar-
red, and as it often happens, and
hilſt they are in Quarters, muſt
ten happen, to be impoſſible for
em to provide for themſelves, they
uſt be provided for by thoſe upon
hom they are quartered, at ſuch
ices as they are able to pay. If
ey ſhould demand a greater Quan-
y, or a better Sort of Victuals
an can be afforded for what they
e able to pay, the Landlord is not
liged to comply with their De-
nds, nor is the Soldier, or his
ficer, but the Civil Magiſtrate to
the Judge; becauſe if the Sol-
er ſhould think himſelf not ſuffi-
ently ſupplied by his Landlord, he
s no Redreſs but by a Complaint
the neighbouring Juſtices of Peace,
d they only are to be Judges be-
een him and his Landlord. From
nce, I think, it is evident, that
s Clauſe can be attended with no
ppreſſion, Extortion, or Exaction;
d as it is in many Caſes abſolutely
ceſſary, I therefore hope it will
agreed to.

next and the laſt Speech I ſhall
give you upon this Subject, was
made by M. Cato, *the Purport of*
which was as follows, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

WE are obliged to the Hon. Gentleman for explaining to the Meaning and the Reaſon of Clauſe in King *William*'s Time, ereby Landlords were obliged to iſh the Soldiers with Meat and r Victuals, or to give them 4*d.* ay to furniſh themſelves. The ceſſities of our Government, the eneſs of our Exchequer, the low e of publick Credit, made it olutely neceſſary for our Parlia-t at that Time to agree to ſuch ppreſſive Expedient: But that Expedient ſhews, that we ought to agree to what is now propoſed; it ſhews, that when Soldiers have ready Money, they may provide for themſelves; and therefore, now they have ready Money, we ought not to oblige their Landlords to provide for them. We may, it is true, Sir, be again reduced to the ſame Neceſſities we laboured under in King *William*'s Reign: A waſteful Miniſter, who thinks of nothing but the Period of his own Adminiſtration, may ſweep the *Exchequer* clean; and if we take no Care to pay off, in Time of Peace, the Debts we were obliged to contract in Time of War, our publick Credit muſt at laſt ſink as low as ever. If Miniſters in Time of Peace convert to the current Service, thoſe Funds that were ſet apart for paying off our Debts, in order to conceal from the People their Prodigality, or the needleſs Expences they put the Nation to, People will begin to foreſee the Diſtreſs we muſt be drove to, as ſoon as a heavy War happens; and thoſe that are wiſe, will begin in Time to draw their Fortunes out of our publick Funds: This will diminiſh by Degrees our publick Credit, and at laſt, when we have the greateſt Occaſion for it, we ſhall probably have none left. Theſe fatal Circumſtances we ſhould take care to prevent by our good Conduct; but ſurely, the Danger of our falling into theſe Circumſtances can be no Reaſon for ſubjecting any Part of the People to ſuch Hardſhips, as can be juſtified by nothing but ſuch Neceſſities.

I ſay, Sir, ſuch Hardſhips as can be juſtified by nothing but ſuch Neceſſities: But in the preſent Caſe I muſt go farther; I muſt ſay, that what is now propoſed, can be juſtified by no Neceſſity. It is a Hardſhip to oblige a free-born Subject to receive a Lodger into his Houſe, whether he will or no; but it is an inſufferable Hardſhip to oblige him to provide and dreſs Victuals for his

Lodger, whether he will or no, and at a Price too, which he does not approve of. This, Sir, is a Hardſhip, which the Parliament would not, we find, agree to, even in the Year 1696, notwithſtanding the Neceſſities our Government was then under; and the Exception then made, with regard to Soldiers upon a March, was not becauſe the Soldiers could not provide for themſelves, if they had been furniſhed with ready Money, but becauſe they were to breakfaſt at one Place, dine at another, and ſup at a third, and the Proportion to be advanced in ready Money for each Meal, rather than furniſh them with it, could not be adjuſted by Parliament.

But this of providing and dreſſing Victuals for the Soldiers, we are told, cannot be ſuppoſed to be a Hardſhip, becauſe it has been practiſed, and Inn-keepers have ſubmitted to it for forty Years paſt. Sir, whilſt we had but 10 or 12,000 Men of regular Troops in the Kingdom, moſt of our Inn-keepers ſubmitted willingly to this Hardſhip, becauſe they were but ſeldom expoſed to it, and when they happened to be ſo, they could bear the Expence and Trouble, becauſe they had but few Soldiers quartered upon them; but now we have near 40,000 regular Troops within the Kingdom, the Hardſhip is ſo frequent and ſo heavy, that it is impoſſible for them to bear it. The moſt proper Method, therefore, for having this Practice continued, is to diminiſh the Number of your Troops kept at home, and this, I hope, will very ſoon be done; for if the War continues, I hope a great Part of our Land Army will be ſent out to attack the Enemy; and if the War ſhould be ended by an honourable Treaty, for by no other Sort of Treaty it can be ended, however it may be ſuſpended, I hope his Majeſty, out of his paternal Affection to his People, will diſband a great Part of his Army, even tho' the Parliament ſhould not deſire it; for I little expect, in my Time, to ſee a Parliament deſiring any Thing that may ſeem to be diſagreeable to a Miniſter.

The Practice in Times paſt is therefore, Sir, no Proof, that the providing and dreſſing Victuals for Soldiers is no Hardſhip upon thoſe who ſubmitted to it, whilſt it was no heavier than they could bear; and as little is it a Proof, that the Meaning of the Law is ſuch, as the learned Gentleman has been pleaſed to repreſent; or that the obliging Inn-keepers by Law to do what they have done without Law, would be attended with no Inconvenience. It is this very Thing, that has made it poſſible for them to do it. It is their not being obliged to provide Victuals for the Soldiers quartered upon them, that has enabled them to provide; becauſe the Soldiers contented themſelves with a little more than they could afford for the Money: If you lay them under a legal Obligation to do it, the Soldiers will not be ſo eaſily ſatisfied. They are not now eaſily ſatisfied: I myſelf ſaw once, in travelling, a very good Dinner dreſſed at an Inn in the Country, which, I was told, was for five or ſix Dragoons quartered there; I thought ſufficient for much better Company, and yet the Dragoons, I was told, were not ſatisfied with it. They do not always complain, when they are not pleaſed, but they grow miſchievous, they cut the Linen, mark the Plates and the Diſhes, and play many other Tricks by which the Landlord ſuffers: Theſe Tricks they would practiſe in a more extravagant Degree, and much oftner, if you ſhould agree to this Clauſe. They would not go to a Juſtice to complain,

omplain for want of Victuals; but by uch Methods they would force their Landlord to complain of them, and e could complain to none but their Officers. Whilſt they know, that heir Landlord is not obliged to furniſh them Victuals, they will generally keep within ſome Bounds; but f you remove this Check, they will xceed all, which will of courſe raiſe ſuch Diſcontents, as may endanger our Government.

As I am a Friend to our preſent Eſtabliſhment, I ſhall be for any Expedient, which I think the Subject can bear: As ſuch, I ſhall always be for preventing as much as poſſible, any Occaſion for Mutiny in the Army, or for Diſcontents among the People; but I ſhall never be for raiſing the latter for the Sake of preventing the former, becauſe it will endanger our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, or nail down upon us a numerous ſtanding Army. Let us conſider, Sir, that we are not now upon a Bill for raiſing Money for the publick Service: Againſt ſuch Bills, I think, you have laid it down as a Rule, that no Petitions are to be received; but I hope you will not ſay, that no Petitions are to be received againſt any Clauſe in this Bill. The Clauſe now propoſed will certainly have Petitions againſt it from moſt Parts of the Kingdom: The Petitioners muſt be heard: By this Means, the Bill may be loſt, or delayed till after the Mutiny Act now ſubſiſting be expired. What Confuſion would this breed in your Army? The Regiment muſt all diſband; it would be a Sort of High Treaſon to keep them together, or to exerciſe any martial Law in this Kingdom.

Is this, Sir, a Riſk to be run, for the Sake of making an Alteration in the Law, which Experience has ſhewn the Army may ſubſiſt well enough without? I ſay, an Alteration in the Law; for notwithſtanding the Meaning put upon the Word Quarters, by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, and by the learned Gentleman who ſpoke ſome Time before him, I muſt inſiſt, that in this Country, the Word Quarters ſignifies no more than a Lodging as convenient as the Owner of the Houſe can afford. The Soldiers may, perhaps, think, that it likewiſe implies all neceſſary Proviſions at ſuch Prices as they can pay for them; but Soldiers often form Notions, and annex Ideas to Words, that are very inconſiſtent with the Laws of this Country, or with the Conſtitution of any free Government. In this Country however, even the Soldiers have not yet formed ſuch a Notion of Quarters: At leaſt here in *Weſtminſter*, they have not; for they never deſire any Thing more than a Lodging at the Place where they are quartered; nor has any of our Mutiny Acts given them Encouragement to expect more, except that in 1696; and as that Law was the Effect of Neceſſity, it ceaſed as ſoon as the Neceſſity was over. It may, perhaps, be neceſſary, now you have ſo great an Army on foot, to oblige Landlords to furniſh the Soldiers quartered upon them with the Uſe of their Fire and Kitchen Utenſils, for dreſſing and eating the Proviſions they purchaſe for themſelves; but even this you ought to take Time to conſider of; for an Army is a dangerous Tool to play with: It ought not to be handled raſhly by thoſe who have a Regard for the Liberties of their Country.

I ſhall readily agree, Sir, with the Hon. Gentleman, that an Army of true *Engliſhmen* can never be dangerous to Liberty; becauſe they would diſband themſelves, when they found they could be of no Service

to their Country: They would ſcorn to put their Country to the Expence of maintaining them, when they knew it had no Occaſion for their Service. But when had we, when ſhall we have ſuch an Army? An Army of *Engliſhmen* has once already overturned the Liberties of this Country, and would probably have perpetuated the Tyranny they had ſet up, if their Generals could have agreed among themſelves; for it was not the Army, but the Diſagreement among *Cromwell*'s Generals, after his Death, that brought about the Reſtoration of our Government under King *Charles* II; and in the late King *James*'s Time, it was not ſo much the Army, as the mad Bigotry of that Prince, that brought about the Revolution; for if the Army had ſeen, that they were to have been the Miniſters of that tyrannical Government he had ſet up, they would probably have ſupported him in it; but they ſaw, that even they themſelves were to be the Slaves of his Prieſts, and therefore many of them joined in diveſting him of that arbitrary Power, which the Army in general had aſſiſted and encouraged him to aſſume.

I ſhall grant, Sir, we had at that Time the good Luck to have ſeveral great and eminent Patriots, who had conſiderable Intereſt and Commands in the Army: By their Means a Spirit of Liberty and Patriotiſm was preſerved in the Army; but if it had not been for the open and notorious Bigotry of the Prince, I am afraid, their Endeavours would have proved ineffectual. They would probably themſelves have joined the Prince of *Orange* at his landing; but they muſt have joined ſingle and alone; and in that Caſe they might, in all Probability, have fallen Victims to their own Honour and their Love for their Country. I hope, we have ſtill many ſuch Officers in our Army: I hope there is ſtill a Spirit of Liberty among the Soldiers; but whoever conſiders the inſatiable Thirſt of moſt Men after Power, the Effects of Company and Converſation upon a Man's Way of thinking, and the rapid Progreſs of martial Law, muſt conclude, that a numerous ſtanding Army, even of national Troops, whether in Quarters or in Barracks, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with a free Government, eſpecially where the modelling and commanding of that Army depends entirely, as it does in this Kingdom, upon the Will of one ſingle Man.

It muſt be admitted, Sir, that a ſtanding Army in Quarters will always be more troubleſome to the People, than a ſtanding Army in Barracks; but for this very Reaſon I ſhall always be for keeping our Army in Quarters, that the People may be ſenſible of the Fetters, which are preparing for them, before ſuch a Number can be forged, as may be ſufficient for ſhackling them cloſe down to the Ground. The People have ſtill a Power to prevent, or put an End to the keeping up of too numerous an Army; and I hope they will always think of exerciſing this Power before it be too late: That they may do ſo, I am for keeping our Army in their View, by having the Soldiers quartered among them. If the Soldiers were all kept in Barracks, the People would be inſenſible of their Numbers, and might not, perhaps, think of reducing them by Law, till the Army grew ſo numerous, and became ſo cloſely united, as to be able to ſupport itſelf againſt Law. Therefore, Sir, whatever Friend I may be to Diſcipline in the Army, which, barring Reviews, we have had no great Occaſion for, theſe twenty Years paſt, whilſt I am a Friend to the People, I ſhall think myſelf obliged to be againſt erecting Barracks, and every Thing that may in the leaſt contribute towards its being neceſſary for us to erect any ſuch; and conſequently I muſt be againſt the Clauſe now propoſed.

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

Having

ing, in our Magazine *for* December *laſt, p.* 600, *given from the* Craftſ-an *an Abſtract of a Pamphlet, intitled,* Hireling Artifice detected, *&c. e ſhall here give our Readers, from the ſame judicious Treatiſe, the follow-g* LIST, *improv'd according to the Additions and Corrections of the ingenious uthor in his* Appendix, *ſince publiſh'd with the ſaid Pamphlet.*

Correct LIST *of the* BRITISH *Ships taken by the* Spaniards *ſince the Be-ginning of the* WAR. Never before publiſh'd at one VIEW.

ces		*Ships Names*	*Maſters*	*Voyages*	*where carried*
9	N°				
12	1	Cheſterfield	Reynolds	Galipoli to Amſterdam	Malaga
24	2	Glead	Glead	Newfoundland to Bilboa	St. Sebaſtians
25	3	Port Merch.	Belgard	Naples to Holland	Oran
	4	Sarah	Dalton	St. Rhemo to London	Savona
	5	Adriatic	Hanway	——— Stopt at the Port of Malaga, but afterwards diſcharged conditionally	
	6	Charming Sally	Brown		
	7	Eltham	Mcnamara		
	8	Friendſhip	Lower		
	9	Thomas	Hayden		
	10	Eleonora	Phelan	Malaga to Briſtol — Stopt at Malaga, and diſcharged conditionally	
	11	St. John	Griffiths		
	12	Adventure	Geheen		
5	13	Wm. and John	Legget	Galipoli to Rotterdam	Alicant
8	14	Edin. Packet	Sutherland	Oporto to London, 70 Pipes of Wine	St. Sebaſtians
	15	Wm. and Mary	Cullender	Cork to Bourdeaux	
10	16	St. Anthony	Obrien	Ditto to Liſbon	
	17	Jam. and Lewis	Malcolm	Minton to Hamburgh	Cartagena
22	18	Hanna	Huſſey	New England to Bilboa	Lanes
	19	Leman	Leman	——— to the Morea, taken by a Maltese, afterwards reſtor'd	
	20	Jane	Mechran	Dublin to Marſeilles, ſeized at Barcelona	
27	21	St. Joſeph	White	London to Faro, a rich Ship	Huelva
29	22	Britannia	Bond	Briſtol to Philadelphia, loſt going in	St. Sebaſtians
	23	Mary	Maxwell	Weſtern Iſlands to Oporto	St. Ubes
	24	Wm. and Anne	Daman	Newfoundland to Leghorn	Alicant
5	25	Betty	Stevens	New England to Bilboa	Lequito
	26	Golden Fleece	Lee		
	27	———	Woodbury	Newfoundland to ———	Bilboa
	28	———	Calley		
	29	———	Leeras		
	30	John and Mary	Botley	Ditto to ———, 75 Tons, ſeized at	Gijon
6	31	St. John	Cheſtey	Bourdeaux to Dublin	
	32	Argyle	Luck	Sicily to Liſbon — 1300 Salm. of Wheat, 1000 Ditto, 130 Bales of Cotton	Majorca
	33	Pretty Pachy	Spark		
	34	Rachell	Rouſe		
13	35	Dolphin	Rymes	London to Barbadoes	St. Sebaſtians
14	36	Somerſet	Oliver	Sicily to Liſbon	Alicant
21	37	Enfield	Smith	London to Barbadoes	St. Sebaſtians
26	38	Johanna	Taylor	Cork to Gibraltar	Cadiz
	39	Friendſhip	Smith	Oporto to Southampton	St. Sebaſtians
	40	Pr. of Orange	Seers	Dublin to Venice	Ditto
	41	———	Wilkie	Scotland to Bourdeaux	
	42	———	Buckle		
	43	A ſmall Veſſel	———	——— to Madera, with Pilchards	St. Sebaſtians
	44	Anne Pink	———	Honduras to Briſtol	Havanna
	45	Mary	Fortune	Four-mile-water to Madera	St. Sebaſtians
3	46	St. Martin	Kirwan	Dublin to Faro, ſeized at	Cadiz
10	47	Ford Brig.	Tucker	Leghorn to London	Almeria
12	48	Neptune	Lynn	Scandaroon to Leghorn	Port Spezia
	49	Providence	Donaldſon	Naples to Liſbon	Majorca
14	50	Sturminſter	Hooper	Newfoundland to Portugal	St. Sebaſtians
16	51	Fellowſhip	Pincombe	Cheſter to Leghorn	Cartagena

Jan.

Advices 1740	N°	*Ships Names*	*Maſters*	*Voyages*	*where ta*
Jan. 8	52	Julian	Brame	Sicily to Liſbon	Carta
10	53	Peggy	Gault	Philadelphia to Liſbon, 120 Tons	
11	54	Sarah	Addis	Newfoundland to Viana, 120 Tons	C
13	55	Trelawny	Faris	New York to Jamaica	Ha
22	56	King George	French	Dublin to Rochfort	St. Sebaſ
	57	Bethulia	Collins	Liſbon to London, off the Bar	D
24	58	William	Love	Cork to Liſbon, ditto	
	59	Margaret	Michan	Amſterdam to Bilboa	St. Sebaſ
28	60	Totneſs	Burſell	Newfoundland to Portugal	D
	61	Polly	Norman	Ditto to Liſbon	Ri
	62	Expedition	Barker	From Oporto, ſeized in	Ga
	63	N. S. de Gracia	D. S. Rocha	London to Liſbon, 60 Tons, with Biſcuits for the King of Portugal	Fa
Feb. 18	64	Paz. Garden	Nutt	Canaries to London, by two Spaniſh Men of War	Am
	65	Diſpatch	Collins	Zant to London	M
	66	Suſanna	Denn	Waterford to Faro	G
19	67	City of Han.	——	Hamburgh to Oporto	
28	68	Springfield	Purnell	London to Genoa, unloaded 3 Fourths	Port S
Mar. 5	69	Induſtry	Whiting	New England, ſeized at	
10	70	Molly	Tape	Liſbon to Cork	St. Sebaſ
19	71	Harriſon	Hopſon	Virginia to London, 780 Hogſheads Tobacco	D
	72	Vigilance	Hill	Yarmouth to Civita Vecchia	Port S
	73	Eleanor	Swan	Exon to Genoa	D
	74	Prince Henry	Stamper	Zealand to the Streights	G
21	75	Four Brothers	Potberry	of Topſham	all taken off the Lizard — St. Sebaſ
	76	Mary	Lovering	——	
	77	Unity	Fell	of Lancaſter	
	78	Elizabeth	Nixon	Youghal to Rotterdam	
	79	Happy Return	Baſſet	of Penzance	
26	80	Ortava	Maxey	Canaries to Liſbon	Ca
27	81	Palma	Woodrop	—— to the Levant	Port M
31	82	Ja. and Chriſt.	Graham	Sicily to Amſterdam, 140 Tons	Ca
	83	Ann	Curling	New England to London	
	84	Ab. and Arth.	Bray	Weſt of England to ——, with Pilchards	
Apr. 21	85	Boſton Pink	Denn	Dartmouth to Newfound. 2d Day after ſailing	
22	86	Unity of Bid.	Phillips	Gibraltar to London, off Land's End	St. Sebaſ
	87	Drake	Upcot	Barnſtaple to Liſbon, but loſt after taken in the Bay of Biſcay	
30	88	——	Grimes	New England to London, in the Channel	
May 5	89	Unity	Henan	Jamaica to Liverpool	St. Sebaſ
	90	Mad. Merch.	Parker	Ditto to Briſtol	
	91	Wm. and Ann	Jobſon	Gibraltar to London	
	92	Han. and El.	White	Malaga to Amſterdam, 288 Pipes of Wine	St. S
22	93	Nativity	White	Ireland to Bourdeaux	
	94	Hanna	Deering	New England to Briſtol	
29	95	Hardwick	Offering	Malaga to London	
31	96	——	——	Biddeford to Liſbon, with Fiſh	St. Sebaſ
	97	Geo. and Ann	Fowler	Genoa to London, retaken by the Tiger	
	98	——	Bromart	Amſterdam to Santa Cruz, with Ammunition	
June 2	99	Richmond	Shewel	Gibraltar to London	St. S
	100	Bar. Packet	Deſon	Pool to Falmouth	M
	101	John Snow	Rowland	Guernſey to Caraccas	
4	102	Adv. of Exon	Watkins	Leghorn to Dublin	
	103	Suttel	Howard	Cheſter to London	Port P
	104	Cleland	Daws	Oporto to Cheſter, 60 Tons	
	105	Dorothy	Beſt	Portland to Dublin	Port P
	106	Diligence	Brown	Gallaway to Dunkirk	St. Sebaſ
	107	Elizabeth	Feilding	Dartmouth to Liſbon, by the Ferrol Squadron	
7	108	Biddeford	Fenney	Briſtol and Cork to Jamaica	St. Sebaſ
	109	Durſley	Wilſon		
	110	Pr. of Orange	Eames	Weymouth to ——, in the Channel	

	N°	*Ships Names*	*Maſters*	*Voyages*	*where carried*
13	111	Expedition	Niſbet	Madeira to Virginia	Galicia
	112	———	———	Cork to Gibraltar, with Proviſions	Old Gibraltar
	113	Rob. and Sarah	Darlow	Oporto to Lime, 50 Pipes of Wine	
	114	Two Siſters	Heſkins	St. Ives to Dublin	Port Paſſage
23	115	Vineyard	Griffey	——— to Morlaix	
26	116	Ham. Merch.	French	Genoa to Hamburgh	Genoa
	117	Barb. Factor	Copeland	Cut out of Santa Cruz Road	
	118	———	John Davis	Wales to Chicheſter, taken in the Channel	
	119	Anna Maria	Janſon	London and Falmouth to Leghorn	Cadiz
	120	Anne	Jobſon	Virginia to London	Ferrol
	121	Endeavour	Fox	Bourdeaux to Dublin	
2	122	Mar. and Mary	Wilcox	Virginia to Liverpool	St. Sebaſtians
	123	———	———	A ſmall Ship loaded with Coals	
	124	———	———	Another ditto	
7	125	Balt. Merch.	Holloway	Carolina to London, after an obſtinate Defence. *See our* Mag. *for* 1740, *p.* 350, 351	Ditto
	126	Endeavour	Cannavon	Gallaway to Nantz	
14	127	Townſ. Pack.	Cooper	Liſbon to Falmouth, with 11,000 Moid. &c.	Ditto
16	128	Dorothy	Douglas	Antego to London	
	129	Mary	Redman	Dublin to Nantz	
	130	Elizabeth	Feild	Newfoundland to Liſbon	Havanna
	131	Samuel	Skinner	Ditto to Weſt Iſlands	Canaries
19	132	Beaver	Webber	New England to Briſtol	
28	133	———	Loveling	Rotterdam to Neath	St. Sebaſtians
	134	———	Tracey	Tinmouth to Milford	
	135	Sarah Galley	Reed	Galipoli to Lond. after an obſtinate Defence	Cagliari
6	136	Wynniau	Bruce	Africa to Amſterdam	Havanna
11	137	———	P. Perchard	Jerſey	
	138	City of Roan	Pendal	Havre to Diep	St. Sebaſtians
24	139	———	———	——— Taken by a pretended French Fiſhing Boat, after ſelling Brandy to Squad. at Torbay	
	140	Welcome	Bell	Genoa to Cork	Corunna
27	141	Two Siſters	Burſel	Norway to Dartmouth	Havre
	142	Mitta Maria	Lingeſter	Galipoli to Rotterdam	Meſſina
	143	Amſterdam	Veering	France to Liſbon	Ditto
	144	Wint. Galley	Trueman	Newcaſtle to Gibraltar, retaken by the Sunderland	
	145	———	Mic. Reiby	Waterford, 45 Tons	C. Ortugal
	146	———	John Caſtle	Ditto to Liſbon, 60 Tons	Corunna
	147	Provid. Brig.	Dawkins	Penzance to Falmouth, 25 Tons	St. Sebaſtians
4	148	Jacoba Galley	Aguſtenburg	London to Leghorn	Cartagena
	149	Jane	Eahman	Dublin to Cette	Barcelona
8	150	Peggy	Nowell	London to Oporto, after 3 Hours Engagement	
15	151	Davie	Patten	Carolina to London	St. Sebaſtians
29	152	Charming Sally	Watſon	London to Havre	Havre
	153	Two Brothers	Rea	Cork to Liſbon	Corunna
	154	Dolphin	Dannacot	Philadelphia to Ditto, retaken by the Deal Caſtle	
1	155	Mary	Aylward	Dublin to Ditto	Paniche
14	156	Unicorn	Pulkinhorn	London to Falmouth, taken off Folkſtone	
23	157	Margarita	Le Conty	Ditto to Meſſina, with Woollen Goods, &c.	Tariffa
	158	Unity	Hunter	Peterſburgh to Liſbon	
	159	Laurel	Treſs	Philadelphia to Ditto	Paniche
	160	Hopegood	Seager		
29	161	Port Royal	Nicholſon	Jamaica to Briſtol	St. Sebaſtians
	162	Mary	Luſhington	Falmouth to Streights, with Pilchards	Almanucar
	163	Sarah	Duffey	Limmerik to Liſbon	St. Sebaſtians
4	164	Margaret	Taylor	Newfoundland to Leghorn	
	165	Olive Branch	Gaden	Ditto to Portugal	Galicia
10	166	Illuſtrious Pair	Wildey	Briſtol to ———	St. Sebaſtians
	167	Proſperity	Lawſon	Cut out of Santa Cruz Road	
24	168	Clement	Ketcher	Newfoundland to England	St. Sebaſtians

Advices		*Ships Names*	*Maſters*	*Voyages*	*where t*
1740	N°				
Nov. 24	169	Nancy	Man	} Liſbon to Philadelphia, by the Ferrol Squad	
	170	Freame	Green		
	171	Joſeph	Hamilton		
	172	Union	Leviſcount	Guernſey to Newfoundland	St. Sch
	173	Molly	Weſtcomb	Humble to Fowey, retaken by the Roſe	
	174	———	———	Newfoundland to Pool	St. Sch
	175	Diana	Donnelly	London to Havre	
Dec. 1	176	Plymouth	Oliver	Newfoundland to Portugal	
	177	Francis	Clark	St. Kitts to London	
	178	Nancy	Ruſſiter	Waterford to Oporto	
	179	Thomas	Buchanan	Scotland, going into	
	180	Wilhelmia	Backer	Amſterdam to Leghorn	
	181	Pr. Amelia	Murthland	Dublin cut out of Santa Cruz Road	
1741					
Jan. 19	182	Union	Scot	Falmouth to the Streights	St. Sch
24	183	Michael	Lanfety	Barbadoes to Guernſey	
28	184	Gothick Lion	Moreen	Leghorn to Marſeilles, blown up in the Action	
	185	Bee	Francis	Exon to Carolina	Port C
Feb. 3	186	Gibraltar	Bevan	Faro to London	
9	187	Ch. and Molly	Perier	Cork to Philadelphia	
16	188	Thomas	Murray	Liverpool to Oporto	St. Sch
18	189	Supply	Tobin	Cork to Gibraltar	
	190	Angola	Toman	Carolina to Cowes	
	191	———	Drummond	Ditto to Antigua	St. Au
	192	———	———	Ditto	
Mar. 9	193	Mary Snow	Beſt	} Carolina to London	St. Sch
16	194	Bolton	Walton		
	195	Swallow	Coppinger	Nantz to Cork	
	196	Providence	Garland	Oporto to Lynn	
	197	Molly	Murray	South Carolina to Providence	Ha
	198	———	Tiſden	Jamaica to Boſton	St. Au
20	199	John	Blomart	Briſtol to Genoa, after a ſtout Reſiſtance	
24	200	Polly	Parker	Newfoundland to Oporto	
	201	Paulus	*a Dutchman*	Mountſbay to Naples	
April 8	202	Wilmington	Bulmer	Turky to London, with Raiſins	
	203	Stamboline	Hays	Turky to Ditto, retaken by the Colcheſter	
	204	Induſtry	Cob	Lynn to Oporto	
15	205	Ellen	Roul	London to Ditto, after ſinking the Privateer	
	206	Carbonier	Pyke	Pool to Newfoundland	
	207	Elizabeth	Davis	Tinmouth to Ditto	
	208	———	Real of Fowy	Guernſey to ———, with Tobacco, Salt, &c.	
	209	Induſtry	Warner	London to New York	
	210	Britannia	Dent	Cork to Genoa	St. Sch
	211	Betty	Philips	Ditto to Leghorn	
May 4	212	Anne	Mitchel	Falmouth to Oporto	
	213	Telemachus	Auſten	Leghorn to London	St. Sch
6	214	Endeavour	Whaley	Liverpool to Liſbon	Po
11	215	———	Buck	Swanſey to Oporto	
	216	———	Murray	——— to New England	
	217	Katherine	Webb	Dublin to Liſbon	
	218	Mermaid	Ja. Lecatta	———	
	219	London Poſt	Ruſſel	Galipoli to ———, by 8 Spaniſh Men of Wa	
19	220	Dove	Lee	Liverpool to Africa	St. Sch
25	221	Two Brothers	Grantland	} Liſbon to Newfoundland	
	222	Naſſau	Spelman		
	223	Swallow	Blake	Briſtol to Africa	
	224	Cleeve	Damon	Liſbon to London	St. Sch
29	225	Speedwell	Wilſon	Ireland to Oporto	
	226	———	———	Barbary to ———, with Wool and Wax	St.
	227	———	———	New England to ——, with Pitch and Tar	
	228	Hannah	Tout	Ditto to Jamaica	Por
	229	De Witza Cath.	Mittina	London to Viana	

		Ships Names	*Maſters*	*Voyages*	*when carried*
41	N°				
c 8	230	Phœnix	Buckley	London to Port Mahon, with Recruits	Liſbon
	231	Priſcilla	Cullen	Liverpole to Antigua	St. Sebaſtians
	232	Mary	Sedlock	Nantz to Bourdeaux	Ferrol
	233	Jn. and Mary	Ryan	Dublin to Barbadoes	St. Sebaſtians
11	234	Suſanna	Partington	Carolina to Liſbon	Ferrol
	235	Chicheſter	Spriggs	Portſmouth to Liſbon	Vigo
12	236	Jenny	Ewell	Topſham to Oporto	Ditto
15	237	Jn. and Mary	Troy	Liſbon to Dublin	St. Sebaſtians
24	238	Induſtry	Smith	London to Madera and Virginia	
	239	America	Carr	Carolina to London	St. Sebaſtians
29	240	Catharine	Bryant	Cork to Liſbon	Paniche
	241	Nonpareil	Blackman	London to Gibraltar, by Cadiz Squadron	
	242	Mary	Wilkie	Newfoundland to Liſbon	Liſbon
	243	Santa Clara	Dafoy	England to Genoa, Pilchards	Barcelona
	244	Thomaſine	Richards	New England to Hull	St. Sebaſtians
y 6	245	Gale	Blackburn	Jamaica to London	
	246	Lancaſter	Walker	Ditto to Lancaſter	St. Auguſtine
	247	Indian Queen	Dolman	Ditto to Briſtol	
10	248	America	Ritchie	Glaſgow to Virginia	near the Capes
	249	Broaſdon	Sympſon	Virginia to Boſton	
14	250	Ranger	Johnſon	Virginia to New York	
	251	Lynn	Swimmerton	Jerſey to Liſbon	Paniche
20	252	Patuxen	Shaw	Virginia to ———	coming out of the Capes
	253	Argyle	Mac Conn	Virginia to ———	
	254	———	Johnſon	——— with Corn and Proviſions	Havanna
	255	Dolphin	Sol. Stranges	———	
	256	———	Ed. Morton	——— with Pitch and Tar	
	257	———	George	Rhode Iſland to ———	
	258	Crawford	Ford	London to Carolina, a rich Ship	
	259	William	Allen	Limerick to Wexford, ranſom'd for 1000 Guineas	
	260	Deſire	Deveral	Italy to Briſtol	Ceuta
	261	A Sloop of Mr.	Bullock's	Cut out of Crooked Iſland	Barracao
	262	Sarah and Eliz.	Everegen	Carolina to Boſton	St. Auguſtine
	263	Minion	———		
22	264	Elizabeth	Emmet	Dartmouth to Newfoundland	St. Sebaſtians
28	265	Sally	Mather	Exon to Carolina, retaken by a Man of War	
	266	Friendſhip	Wilſon	——— taken on Guinea Coaſt	Canaries
30	267	———	———	Briſtol to New England	
	268	Agnes and Mary	Pottle	Newfoundland to Pool	St. Sebaſtians
g. 3	269	Durham	Palmer	Barbadoes to London	
	270	Southal	Evans	Briſtol to Philadelphia	
10	271	Providence	Reſſau	Cork to Liſbon	Rochelle
	272	Mary	Hays	Waterford to Oporto	Ditto
	273	Hope	Burſell	Barbadoes to Lancaſter	St. Sebaſtians
	274	———	Burley	———	
	275	———	Card	———	all ſix taken in the Bay of Honduras
	276	———	Johnſon	———	
	277	———	Taylor	———	
	278	———	Davis	———	
	279	———	Bunker	———	
	280	———	Severy	Philadelphia to Jamaica	St. Jago de Cuba
	281	———	Lambert	Barbadoes to Guernſey	Martinico
	282	———	Turtell		
	283	Succeſs	Maſhiter	Lancaſter to Oporto	Galicia
	284	Flounder	Harwood	Philadelphia to Carolina	St. Auguſtine
	285	Induſtry	Warner	London to Boſton	
	286	———	T. Haddey	Boſton to Weſt-Indies	St. Auguſtine
	287	———	Dupey	Boſton to Carolina	Ditto
	288	A Sloop	Slockings	London to Weſt-Indies	Havanna
	289	A Schooner	Inuman	St. Euſtatia to North America	Ditto
	290	Cæſar	Clark	Virginia to North Carolina	St. Auguſtine
	291	———	Legal	Providence to South Carolina	Havanna

Advices 1741	N°	*Ships Names*	*Maſters*	*Voyages*	*where taken*
Aug. 10	292	James	Orr	Glaſgow to North Carolina, loſt after taken	
	293	A Schooner	Merrick	Santee to Wyayau	St. Auguſt
Sept. 17	294	———	———	——— with Wine and Oil	
	295	———	———	——— with Sugar	
	296	———	———	England to Newfoundland with Apparel, &c.	St. Schaſt
	297	———	———	——— with Naval Stores	
	298	———	———	——— in Ballaſt	
	299	Phil. and John	Lecras	Jerſey to Newfoundland	
	300	Mary	Abier	Ditto to Ditto	St. M
	301	Durell	Peircy	Pool to Ditto	St. Schaſt
	302	Diamond	Hoar	Briſtol to New England	D
	303	Sarah	Dupres	——— to Ditto, retaken by the Windſor	
22	304	Scudamore	Middleton	Briſtol to ———	Hava
Oct. 1	305	William	Ennis	Philadelphia to Jamaica	
	306	Geo. and Hen.	Harvay	Ditto to Ditto	
	307	Diſpatch	Lewen		
	308	Succeſs	Cockman	Boſton to Ditto	St. Jago de C
	309	Fortune	Wood		
	310	Elizabeth	Garriſon	New York to Ditto	
	311	Union	Thomas	Ditto to Ditto	
	312	Providence	Corvin	Philadelphia to Ditto, retaken	
6	313	Betty	Shaw	Jamaica to Virginia	St. Auguſt
7	314	James	May	New York to Gibraltar	Alg
	315	Fran. and Wm.	Howland	Carolina to Antigua	
	316	———	Ja. Rule	Cape Fear to Hull	
	317	———	Mitchel	Barbadoes to New York	Cape Fra
	318	Speedwell	Montgomery	Antigua to Virginia	
	319	———	Ja. Phenix	——— to Jamaica	
	320	Oldbury	Evans	Jamaica to Briſtol	
	321	Roebuck	Stoddard	St. Chriſtopher's to London	St. Schaſt
	322	Enterprize	Wood	London to Gibraltar with Stores	V
	323	Providence	Garland	Oporto to Lynn	St. Schaſt
	324	Northam	Hamman	Newfoundland to Portugal	V
	325	Chriſtian	Ure	Barbadoes to Philadelphia	St. Auguſt
	326	Ann	Smith	Newfoundland to Portugal	Bay
24	327	Robert	Parker	Virginia to Whitch, 214 Hhds. Tobacco	St. Sch
	328	Hannah	Holmes	Ditto to Liverpool, coming out of the Capes	
27	329	Mercury	Clack	London to Virginia, off the Capes	
Nov. 3	330	Elizabeth	Brown	Liſbon to Cork	
	331	3 Brothers	Lacuta	Newfoundland to Jerſey	
	332	Roſe Galley	Montgomery	Liſbon to Cork	
	333	Caref. Bridget	Brown	Cork to Liſbon	St. Schaſt
	334	Dolphin	Lucy	Newfoundland to Pool	
	335	Succeſs	Brooks	Liſbon to Cork	
	336	Ann and Eliz.	Cullnan	Cork to Liſbon	
	337	Swan	Falkener	St. Kit's to Philadelphia	
	338	Sarah	Brooks	Liſbon to Cork	St. Schaſt
	339	Hibernia	Ewer	Barbadoes to Virginia	
9	340	Lucy	Coffin	London to Boſton	St. Schaſt
10	341	Hiberaia	Carmody	Liſbon to Cork	D
	342	Reſolution	Ley	Newfoundland to	Bay
	343	Three Sifters	Gardwell	Jamaica to Liverpool	
	344	St. Michael	Dalton	Limerick to Rotterdam	
16	345	James	Aſkew	Jamaica to London	
	346	Anne	Doyle	Waterford to Barbadoes	St. Schaſt
	347	Amelia	Higgins	Virginia to London	
	348	Lively	Langton	Ditto to Whitehaven	
	349	John	Chivers	Limerick to Rotterdam	
	350	Mary-Joſeph	Richard	Cork to St. Kit's, ranſom'd 1600l.	
	351	Nottingham	Tilſon	Newfoundland to London	
	352	Antigua Mer.	Stanny	Antigua to London	

		Ships Names	*Maſters*	*Voyages*	*where carried*
41	N°				
.16	353	———	———	Newfoundland to Portugal	Bilboa
21	354	Induſtry	Bird	Biddeford to Virginia	St. Sebaſtians
	355	Hawk	Williams	Carolina to London	
	356	Martha	Marſden	Virginia to Liverpool	St. Auguſtine
	357	Polly	Henry	Ditto to Ditto	
23	358	Sea Nymph	Geare	Antigua to Ditto	Bilboa
25	359	Squirrel	Brown	Carol to Liſbon	St. Auguſtine
	360	Duke of Bolton	Strange	Oporto to Biddeford	St. Sebaſtians
26	361	Nancy	Lightwood	Barbadoes to Carolina	Havanna
28	362	Mary	Lynch	Montſerat to London	Ditto
30	363	Vernon	Sherburne	St. Kitt's to Ditto	St. Sebaſtians
. 1	364	Betty	Lang	Hull to Carolina	Bilboa
3	365	America	Manning	New England to Rotterdam	St. Sebaſtians
7	366	Sarah	Manning	St. Rhemo to London	Bilboa
	367	John and Alice	Roper	Newfoundland to England	Ditto
10	368	William	Vibert	Viana to Ditto off Viana	
	369	William	Cock	London to Gibraltar	Malaga
22	370	Rocheſter	Hewet	New England to London	St. Sebaſtians
28	371	Elizabeth	Douglas	London to Carolina	Bilboa
	372	Dorothy	Trounce	Leghorn to London	St. Sebaſtians
42					
. 1	373	Induſtry	Martin	London to Virginia	Bilboa
5	374	Jolliffe Advent.	Street	Pool to Carolina	Ditto
	375	Modbury	Grant	Newfoundland to Oporto, off Oporto Bar, retaken	
7	376	Ringwood	Chaffey	Sicily to Liſbon	Malaga
8	377	Halſey and Suttle	Saliſbury	London to Cork	St. Sebaſtians
21	378	Owner's Goodwill	Ouchterlony	Maryland to London	Ditto
	379	New Shoreham	Falkingham	Barbadoes to Ditto	Bilboa

N. B. *As the Author reckons each Ship and Cargo, one with another, to be worth* 3500 *l. the whole Amount is,* 1,326,500 *l.*

Liſt of Ships taken from the Spaniards *in our next.*

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the Entertainment of our Readers we have ſerved the following Perſonal Deſcription and Character of NADIR SHAH, *commonly call'd* THAMAS KULI KHAN, *which Mr. Fraſer, Author of his Hiſtory, and of the* Moghol *Emperors, had from a Gentleman now in* England, *who reſided ſeveral Years in* Perſia, *ſpeaks that Language, and has been frequently in Company with that Conqueror.*

NADIR SHAH is about fifty-five Years old, upwards of ſix Foot high, well-proportion'd, of a very robuſt Make and Conſtitution, his Complexion ſanguine, and inclining to be fat, but the Fatigue he undergoes prevents it; he has fine large black Eyes and Eye-brows; and, in ſhort, is one of the moſt comely Men I ever beheld. Notwithſtanding Injury the Sun and Weather have done to his Complexion only gives him a more martial Aſpect. His Voice is ſo uncommonly ſtrong and ſtrong, that he frequently, and without ſtraining it, gives Orders to his People at above a hundred Yards Diſtance. He drinks Wine with Moderation, but is extremely addicted to Women, in which he affects great Secrecy, and yet never neglects his Buſineſs on their Account; his Hours of Retirement among the Ladies are but few, ſeldom entering their Apartments before Eleven or Twelve at Night, and is up and in Publick by Five in the Morning. His Diet is ſimple, chiefly Pillaw and plain Diſhes; and, if publick Affairs require his Attendance, he neglects his Meals, and ſatisfies his Hunger with a few parched Peaſe (of which he always carries ſome in his Pockets) and a Draught of Water. In the Camp, or in the City, he is almoſt conſtantly in Publick, and if not, he may be ſent to, or ſpoke with by any Perſon. He muſters, pays and cloaths his Army himſelf, and will not ſuffer any Perquiſites to be taken from the Soldiers by his Officers, on any Pretence whatever. He has monthly Accounts tranſmitted to him of the State of Affairs in all Parts of his Dominions, and holds a Correſpondence with his ſeveral private Spies in every Place: Beſides, in every Province and City there is a Perſon called *Hum Caldm*, appointed to inſpect into the Governor's Actions, and keep a Regiſter of them; no Affair of any Conſequence can be tranſacted but in the Preſence of that Officer, who, beſides the Account the Governor

is obliged to ſend monthly, tranſmits his Journal by a ſeparate Conveyance whenever he thinks proper, without permitting the Governor to peruſe it; he has no ſettled Salary or Gratuity for his Trouble, but is rewarded or puniſhed juſt as *Nadir Shah* finds he deſerves. This extraordinary Caution in a great Meaſure prevents the Governor's oppreſſing the People, or entering into any Conſpiracies or Rebellions againſt him. He is extremely generous, particularly to his Soldiers, and bountifully rewards all in his Service, who behave well. He is, at the ſame Time, very ſevere and ſtrict in his Diſcipline, puniſhing with Death thoſe who commit a great Offence; and with the Loſs of their Ears, thoſe whoſe Tranſgreſſions are of a ſlighter Nature; he never pardons the Guilty of what Rank ſoever, and is highly diſpleaſed, if, after he has throughly examined the Affair, any Perſon preſumes to intercede in their Behalf, before which they may give their Sentiments with Freedom.

When on a March, or in the Field, he contents himſelf to eat, drink, and ſleep like a common Soldier, and enures all his Officers to the ſame ſevere Diſcipline. He is of ſo hardy a Conſtitution, that he has been often known, of a froſty Night to repoſe himſelf upon the Ground in the open Air, wrapt up in his Cloak, with only a Saddle for his Pillow, eſpecially when, upon an extraordinary Enterprize which required Expedition, he has been obliged to out-march his Baggage, by which Means he has fallen upon the Enemy when they leaſt expected him. He is never happy but when in the Field, and laments the Time he is obliged to ſtay in a City to refreſh his Troops, in which (as in all Things elſe) he uſes the utmoſt Diſpatch. His Meals are over in leſs than Half an Hour, after which he returns to Buſineſs; ſo that the Servants who attend him ſtanding are changed three or four Times a Day. He never indulges himſelf in any Kind of Pleaſure in the Day-time, but conſtantly at Sun-ſet retires to a private Apartment; where, unbending himſelf at once from Buſineſs, he ſups with three or four Favourites, and drinks a Quart, or at moſt three Pints of Wine, behaving all the Time in the freeſt and moſt facetious Manner. In this private Converſation no Perſon is allowed to mention any Thing relating to publick Buſineſs; nor, at other Times, muſt they preſume upon this Intimacy, to behave with more Familiarity than their Equals. Two of his Evening Companions happening to tranſgreſs in that Point, by taking the Liberty to adviſe him in Publick, he immediately ordered them to be ſtrangled, ſaying: 'Such Fools 'were not fit to live, who could not diſtinguiſh between *Nadir Shah* and *Nadir Kuli*.' He has been very kind to thoſe who pleaſe him in private Converſation, and behave with a becoming Decency and Deference in Publick, where they are taken no more Notice of, nor have they any more Influence over him than others of the ſame Rank.

His Mother, who was living in the Year 1737, (at the Requeſt of ſome who were attached to the Royal Family) intreated *Nadir Shah*, ſome Time after he had ſeized the King, to reſtore him, not doubting but his Majeſty would make him ſufficient Amends by creating him *Generaliſſimo* for Life. He aſk'd her 'whether ſhe really thought ſo?' She told him, 'She did.' Upon which he ſmil'd and ſaid, 'If I was an old Woman 'perhaps I might be inclined to think ſo 'too, and deſired her to give herſelf no 'Trouble about State Affairs.'

He was married to *Shah Thamas*'s Aunt the youngeſt Siſter of *Shah Sultan Huſſein*, by whom, I heard, he had one Daughter. He has ſeveral young Children by his Concubines, and two Sons by a Woman he married in his Obſcurity. The eldeſt, *Reza Kuli Mirza*, is about twenty-five Years of Age. He was trained up from his Childhood in the Army, where from a *Subaltern* he has been gradually advanced to the Rank of a General, and appointed Vice-Roy of *Perſia*, during his Father's Expedition to *India*. The ſecond Son *Nefr Allah Mirza*, who is about twenty-one Years of Age, is nominal Governor of *Muſhad* and the Province of *Khoraſan*, having a Perſon to direct and manage for him.

His eldeſt Son, when he ranked as a Lieutenant, had only that Pay to ſubſiſt on, as in all other Stations had no more than his Commiſſion entitled him to. His Father regarded him no more than he did the other Officers, and permitted him to aſſociate with them, giving him to know, that if he was guilty of any Crime or Breach of Duty, he ſhould be puniſhed with as great Rigour as any of the reſt. On his behaving well he not only promoted him, but increaſed his paternal Affection for him. They who know the young Man (for I never ſaw him) ſay he'll make full as great a Figure in the World as his Father; having given ſignal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct in ſeveral Battles, and of his great Abilities in other Reſpects while *Nadir Shah* was in *India*. By my private Advices from thence I'm inform'd, that he govern'd the Empire with great Skill, and kept every Thing quiet and eaſy until his Father's Return.

Among *Nadir Shah*'s extraordinary Faculties, his Memory is not the leaſt to be admired, there being few Things of Moment that he ever ſaid or did, but what he remembers; and can readily call all the principal Officers in his numerous Army by their Names. He knows moſt of the private

have ſerved under him any Time, and
ecollect when and for what he puniſhed
rewarded any of them. He dictates to
or two Secretaries, and gives Orders
other Affairs at the ſame Time,
all the Regularity and Promptneſs ima-
ble.

Time of Action, I'm told, he is e-
ſurprizing, it being ſcarce credible how
he is in diſcerning the Odds on either
and how active in ſuccouring his Troops.
of his General Officers give Ground
ut being greatly over-powered, he rides
d kills him with a Battle-ax (which he
s carries in his Hand) and then gives
Command to the next in Rank. In all
attles, Skirmiſhes, and Sieges he has
engaged in (altho' he generally charges
Head of his Troops) he never received
leaſt Wound or Scar, and yet ſeveral
s have been ſhot under him, and Bul-
ave grazed on his Armour.

could relate many other remarkable
gs that I have ſeen and heard of this
Hero, whoſe Actions already are ſuf-
t to convince the World, that few Ages
produced his Equal. As he has per-
d ſuch Wonders when he had hardly
y or Men, what may we not expect
him now he is poſſeſs'd of ſo immenſe
aſure? 'Tis probable he may live thirty
longer; and in that Space of Time,
Deſigns are attended with the ſame
ſs he has hitherto met with, to what
of Grandeur may not a Man of his
nded Ambition and Courage arrive?

ter the Battle of *Karnal*, in *Nadir*
Indian Expedition, till his Departure
Debli, the Loſs ſuſtain'd by the *Great*
and his People, in Jewels, Treaſure,
Effects, and deſtroying of Fields,
aſide the Loſs of the Buildings, a-
ted to very near 125,000,000 *l.*
t of which, the Particulars of what he
d away with him, are as follows:
els from the Emperor and *Omras*, va-
t 31,250,000 *l.*
nſils and Handles of Weapons ſet with
, with the *Peacock* Throne, and nine
ſet with precious Stones 11,250,000 *l.*
ney coined in Gold and Silver *Rupees*
0,000 *l.*
d and Silver Plate, which he melted
and coin'd 6,250,000 *l.*
e Cloths and rich Stuffs of all Kinds
,000 *l.*
ſhold Furniture, and other valuable
odities 3,750,000 *l.*
like Weapons, Cannon, *&c.* 1,250,000 *l.*
ried away by his Officers and Soldiers
0,000 *l.*
Charges of his Army, while he con-
there, the Arrears, Pay and Gratuity
advanced them, with what Goods were deſtroyed by Fire, and Fields laid waſte, made near 25,000,000 *l.* more.

Which makes in all 125,000,000 *l.* as above.

Since *Nadir Shah*'s entering this Country, until his getting to *Labor* in his March back, 200,000 of the Inhabitants of this Empire were deſtroyed, as follows:

From *Labor* to *Karnal* were killed on the Roads and in the Villages 8000.

Killed in the Battle of *Karnal* 17,000.

Thoſe killed during the Space of three Days after the Battle, in the Highways and round about the Camp, were 14,000.

Thoſe killed on their March to the City, in *Sonpat*, *Paniput*, and other Villages that were plundered 7000.

Thoſe killed in the general Maſſacre, by the exacteſt Computation 110,000.

After the general Maſſacre were killed in *Rough Allah Khan*'s *Serai*, and the Villages and Fields round about where they went a marrauding 25,000.

On their March back, in *Tanjeer* and other Villages 12,000.

Thoſe who had laid violent Hands upon themſelves, the Women who drown'd and burnt themſelves, as alſo thoſe who died of Famine and other Hardſhips, amounted to about 7000.

In all, 200,000, as above.

Common Senſe, Jan. 30. N° 259.

I Have peruſed the Pamphlet, entitled, *A Letter from a Member of the laſt Parliament, to a new Member of the preſent*, &c. and ſhall quote ſome Part of what the Author ſays with Relation to the Conduct of the preſent War; which is as follows.

Our Expedition (as it was call'd) to the *Weſt Indies* was the ſtanding Jeſt of every Court in *Europe*, as well as at home. To take up Tranſports in *Dec.* 1739 for 8000 Men, before the Troops deſign'd to be put on board were rais'd, even but juſt allow'd to be rais'd, was Matter of great Ridicule then, and the Effects of it have ſince been fatally felt; even now at laſt it is become, by Experiment only, a Self-Conviction of the Miniſters; for the Supply for this Year's Expedition conſiſts of old diſciplined Regiments, which is a Proof of their own bad Conduct before.

The General Officers appointed to command ſo conſiderable a Body of Men, as was reckon'd would be employ'd under them in this Expedition, it being computed they would amount to 11000 when aſſembled together, were too few, and not of ſufficient Experi-

ence

ence for the proper and happy conducting of any great Deſign.

The Gentlemen appointed to command them were very worthy and brave Men, and would certainly have behav'd like good Soldiers, as inferior Officers; but the Complaint was, that it was our and their Misfortune, that they had not more and better Experience than could be learn'd in our *Hyde Park* Camps and Reviews, whilſt we every Day ſaw in Parliament a great Number of old experienc'd Officers from whom more might have been reaſonably expected; but they (to be ſure) were thought to be more uſefully employ'd in the Aſſiſtance they gave the Publick in the Houſe, and therefore not one of them was ſent. But there ſtill remain'd ſome that had not the good Fortune to get into Parliament; and as no Nation (to be ſure) was ever ſo wiſely, and greatly General-Officer'd as we were, it was extreme ill Conduct, upon both theſe Accounts, not to have ſent ſome of more Experience, and many more in Number.

The very Excuſe allow'd to ſome (that, ſhould they be ſent, it was to almoſt certain Death) is a Proof how highly blameable it was to truſt the Whole in a Manner upon the Life of one Man, and the Fewneſs of the General Officers under him can only be juſtified by the Preſumption of their Immortality, altho' the Men were nevertheleſs to be looked upon as ſo many ſacrific'd to *an infatuated, poiſon'd, deluded Nation, that had forc'd the Miniſter into this War.*

This Want of old experienc'd Officers, as well as old-rais'd diſciplin'd Soldiers, appears very plainly in the Attempt againſt *Cartagena.*

The Loſs of the Lord *Cathcart*, who had ſeen ſomething, altho' perhaps very little Service abroad, devolv'd the Command upon another who had not had the ſame Advantages. The ill Succeſs that hath attended it will certainly occaſion, as it loudly calls for, the laying this Affair openly and intirely before the Parliament.

Our great Loſſes before *Cartagena*, chiefly occaſion'd too by the Forces going ſo late from *Europe* laſt Year, call'd loudly for, and demonſtrated the Neceſſity of a great and early Supply, as well as the Loſs of Lord *Cathcart*, and the ill Succeſs there, for another Chief, and more General Officers:——Inſtead of doing all theſe Things that were become ſo abſolutely neceſſary, only 3000 Soldiers are ſent to ſupply the Loſs of 7000; inſtead of ſailing earlier this Year, they did not ſo much as attempt it till as late as they went laſt Year, as if that would prove that they went ſoon enough then, but they were unfortunately even longer delay'd now; inſtead of any other, or more General Officers, to ſhew it is impoſſible for our Miniſters to err in thoſe they appoint to command and [g]
which with them is giving Capacity and [h]
tection even againſt the natural Effects [o]
might deprive us of ſuch Commanders, [t]
would permit only one Lieutenant Colon[el]
be ſent as the Head Officer with 3000 [M]

This Conduct and Management of [the]
War neceſſitates a full, open, and impar[tial]
Enquiry in Parliament, if Parliaments [are]
ever ſuffer'd to be of any future Uſe to [the]
Nation, and not employ'd for miniſte[rial]
Purpoſes only.

In all Times of Diſtreſs, and after ill [Suc]
ceſs in any of our Affairs, when the K[ing]
hath plac'd that Confidence and Suppor[t in]
the Adminiſtration, as to expect a ſuit[able]
Return either in Honour or Profit, as [it]
hitherto been uſual to enquire, whether [it]
were diſappointed by unavoidable Acci[dent]
or by ill Conduct, Baſeneſs and Treach[ery]
which hath been both for the Advantage [of]
the Nation, and Protection of the Innoc[ent]
and this in all Caſes that call'd for it, [and]
the Miniſters concern'd were for carrying [on]
into thoſe Meaſures, and intereſted in [the]
Succeſs of them, both as to their perſo[nal]
Preſervation and Glory;—how much [more]
fore, in that ſingle Inſtance in our Hiſ[tory]
of a Miniſter's being forc'd into a War [by]
what he calls an *infatuated, poiſon'd, [and]*
Nation, which could no longer bear the [Op]preſſion, Inſults and Ignominy of the [Ad]contemptible of Enemies, authoriz'd [and]
ſupported only by a long Courſe of ſcan[dalous]
and timid Negotiations; and who never[theleſs,]
when War became unavoidable from [his]
own Meaſures, had the Confidence to [urge]
againſt it his own ill Management of [the]
Treaſury for almoſt 20 Years, and the [natu]tural Conſequence of his own Negotia[tions]
and Meaſures in not leaving us an Ally!

Such a Miniſter ſtill preſiding over all [our]
Affairs, and governing in every Thing, [no]noſticated the ill Succeſs of a War, our [en]tering into which became the ſtrongeſt [Ar]ſure on his paſt Conduct, and was defen[ded]
of thoſe Meaſures, and that Application [to]
our Treaſure, by which he had hitherto [ſup]ported himſelf.

This Nation was never before reduc[ed to]
the Situation, that its Succeſs in War [muſt]
be ſhameful to its Miniſter; and its ill [Suc]ceſs or Misfortunes, which perhaps that [Miſ]Miniſter was the Cauſe of, ſhould be [to]
Advantage, and the only Juſtification [of]
paſt Conduct.

Theſe are ſtronger Reaſons for a ſtrict [Ex]amination than ever before exiſted in [the]
Nation. Shall this Parliament therefore [not]
examine, and ſee the whole Tranſ[action]
which they have always done, when [Par]mentary Enquiries became neceſſary, [in]
Times of the preſent Adminiſtration [have]
The Parliament's enquiring (if that [ſhou]

n) only into the Tranſactions of the ting Officers, and not into the Orders by thoſe that direct, will prove too its Concern for ſuch a Miniſter, and its of Regard for the Nation, by its pru- Interpoſition in his Behalf.

ſperſal Spectator, Jan. 30. *and* Feb. 6.

Indian's *Obſervations on the* MANNERS *of the* ENGLISH.

AVE long lamented, that my Predeceſ- did not deliver down to us the * re- g Part of the Manuſcript of that ſe- Monarch, *Sa Ga Yern Qua Roſh Tow*, one *Indian* Kings, who was here in the of Q. *Anne*. But I have at laſt luckily et with a Correſpondent, who, it has it in his Poſſeſſion, and is ſo kind, ommunicate ſome Part of it to me.—— *merican* Author proceeds thus:

Cuſtoms of this Country are ſo very nt from thoſe of ours, that I often myſelf in another World. The very of Nature is almoſt inverted here; nd Night are not the ſame as they are s; the People (whether out of Igno- r Perverſeneſs, I cannot tell) confound- e with the other. Their Day gene- egins at Noon, and ends at Midnight; they ſeldom taſte the Sweets of the g: Nay, I have been inform'd, that Numbers in this Town have never ſeen riſe. Thoſe, indeed, who get their ood by their Labour, are obliged to n to Nature's Laws in this Reſpect; y do it with great Unwillingneſs, and ſcon'd miſerable, by the better Sort, is Account.

e is a very odd Mixture of *Wiſdom* y in this People: It is ſurprizing to what curious Inventions, what Inge- evices they get Riches, and what ri- Methods they take to ſquander them ain. They have two little Pieces of about Half an Inch thick, exactly all Sides, and each Side mark'd with ecks of a different Number; theſe ke in a Wooden Box, (being vaſtly with the *Rattling*) and then throw t upon a Table, and, as far as I can d, he that has the good Fortune to e higheſt Number, wins the Money ſt. It is impoſſible to expreſs what xiety, Joy, Grief and Rage appear Countenances by Turns, according as t with good or bad Succeſs. I am will ſit up whole Nights together, ntly ruin themſelves at this Diver- t may be called ſo, when it gives much Uneaſineſs, and tortures them many violent Paſſions. It is wonderful, that Men of ſo much Ingenuity and Underſtanding in other Things, ſhould take ſuch Delight in ſuch a trifling, ſenſeleſs Amuſement: We have been very much puzzled to account for this Inconſiſtency. Our good Brother, *Ba Gee Quen Taden*, King of the *Six Nations*, is of Opinion, that though they ſhew themſelves to be reaſonable Creatures, and even diſcover an exquiſite Senſe of Things, at ſome particular Seaſons, yet they do not enjoy their Reaſon long at a Time, but have, every now and then, ſhort Intervals of Madneſs. For my Part, as I have obſerved, that Mothers give their Children little *Rattles* to pleaſe and quiet them, when they are froward, I am apt to believe, that thoſe Children ſtill retain their Inclination for them, and cannot leave off the Uſe of them, when they are grown up Men.

The Perſon at whoſe Houſe we lodg'd, carried us with him, about Midnight, to another of their Diverſions: He led us into a large Room, which was illuminated with a great Number of Candles; but we had no ſooner enter'd it, than we were ſeiz'd with a mortal Fright: We ſaw, on every Side of us, the moſt monſtrous, ghaſtly, horrible Figures that Imagination can form; they immediately gathered about us, which put us into ſuch a Panick, that we ſhould certainly have betaken ourſelves to our Heels, had we not heard them, on a ſudden, talking to one another, to our great Surprize, with Voices like thoſe of Men and Women. What gave us the more Courage was, that we ſaw ſeveral of our own Countrymen, (as we thought by their Dreſs) not in the leaſt terrified at theſe deform'd Figures, but walking amongſt them with great Intrepidity. We ſoon found, however, upon accoſting them in our Language, that they were not our Countrymen, but Cheats and Counterfeits, that had aſſum'd our Habit, and would have paſs'd upon the Company for us. We were going to lay Hands on them, in order to puniſh them for their Villany, when our Landlord ſtopp'd us, and told us, (as our Interpreter explain'd it) that they had no ill Deſign in it, but only choſe that Habit to diſguiſe their real Perſons, as it was always cuſtomary for thoſe to do, who frequented ſuch Aſſemblies. I then eaſily comprehended the Reaſons for all thoſe monſtrous Appearances, that ſtartled me at firſt; but I could not imagine, what End or Pleaſure they could propoſe to themſelves from their Meeting in this Manner, till I obſerv'd their Behaviour more narrowly, perceiv'd ſeveral little amorous Toyings that paſs'd between them, and ſaw one of the pretended *Indians* make a Sign to a Female, who follow'd him into a private Room. I preſently knew it to be a Place of Aſſignation for Lovers, who, I ſuppoſe, come there at that Time of Night, at once to gratify their Inclinations, keep one another

* *Spectator*, N° 50.

another in Countenance, and to avoid the Notice of the publick Magistrate.

But among all their Entertainments, none has given me so great an Insight into their Manners, as the following one: We were conducted into a huge House, full of People, who, upon seeing us enter, immediately rose up from their Seats, either to do us Honour, or the better to satisfy their Curiosity by staring upon us. Our Attention was wholly engag'd to the most exquisite Musick that ever was heard, that in our Country not being any Ways comparable to it; my Senses were quite ravish'd with its Sweetness, and I should have been very well pleas'd to have heard it all the Night; but I found this was not all the People expected, by their looking every now and then at a Curtain, which hung a-cross a Floor, rais'd about Breast-high from the Ground. I had scarce made this Observation, when the Musick ceased, the Curtain was drawn up, and discover'd the House to be much larger than I took it to be; for there was a great Room beyond it, very richly furnished; and what was most surprizing, that Room, during the Entertainment, often vanish'd, and as often made its Appearance again; nay, it would sometimes disappear for a long Time together, and leave in its Place Gardens, Meadows, Mountains, and even the Sea itself. There enter'd three Men, who talk'd together for a little while, and then went out again; presently after came in two Women, who, after a little Discourse, went out in the same Manner: In short, several Persons came in and went out, whose Countenances and Actions seem'd to express a great many different Passions. The People very often laugh'd heartily, and I suppose there was a great deal of *Wit* in what was said; but as I could not understand it, I amus'd myself with observing the Behaviour of the Company.——One might perceive in all the Women, notwithstanding their Endeavours to conceal their Inclinations, that their chief Pleasure consisted in being taken notice of by the Men; but those Men who seem'd to be most in their Favour were, in my Opinion, the most unworthy of it; they were the most tawdry, conceited, ridiculous Animals I ever saw; they did every Thing in Imitation of the Women, to whom they would recommend themselves; they affected a soft Smile, spoke in an effeminate Tone of Voice, and mimick'd their Airs; they shave their Beards as close as they possibly can, and will not suffer any Thing to be seen upon their Chins, if they can help it; for one of them being informed by his Friend, (as I guess'd by his whispering) that a single Hair appear'd, took a little Instrument out of his Pocket, and pluck'd it out by the Root. These Fellows had a great many comical Particularities in their Dress; they had too a great deal of borrow'd Hair upon their Heads, and to it was a long black Tail, reaching down to Rumps, which put me in mind of the cetious Inhabitant of our Country, the key. These People are called *Beaus*, in great Esteem by some Females, call *quets*.

A The next Place of publick Entertain we were carried to, was exactly in Form the last, but seem'd somewhat more spa We were told, this was esteem'd their elegant Amusement, because it was freq by the prime Nobility and Gentry; the mon People not resorting thither, the pence being above their Pocket, and the formance above their Taste. We waited B longer for Musick now than before: saw the Instruments all laid ready, I in the Reason, and the Interpreter told me, they play'd no Musick, till the Enter ment began, because it intirely confu Musick. At last it began, and seem'd more exquisite, than that we heard The Curtain was drawn up, and discov C much more spacious Prospect, than seen at the other House; but, like that, House often chang'd; and we now see be in a Royal Palace, now in a P Sometimes we saw all the Delights of sometimes all the chilling Horrors of W There came before us two Men rid bited, with high Plumes of Feathers Heads, higher and more grand than that D by *Te How Bash Ban Ka Koobee*, King *Nine Nations*; their Walk had Dignity their Appearance a Kind of Majesty: hence I long'd to hear their rough Voice, worthy their Mien and Figure; how was I surpriz'd to hear them sp Voices like young Girls! and my Ad ment was more rais'd, when, on lo found they had no other!——In short, E told they were an odd Species of Cr who had an outward human Form, bu not *Men*: They are not the Natives Island, but are imported from a foreig try, which breeds this singing Species incredible Expence.——When thes spoke, they seem'd to sing, and wh sang, I know not what to compare it was surprizing! it was like the Notes F Birds: But it would have been more had it been more natural. Tho' I wa greatly delighted with it, I observ'd dience in the most extravagant Ra imagin'd it was at the Meaning of w sung to them, which I could not but I was afterwards inform'd, that more understood the Language than ——I conclude my Observations on G *lish* Entertainments with this just Re the *English* in general, That they strange Love for Novelty, and wh whatever is Foreign, to that whic

uce of their own Nation, even tho' their is much more valuable.

ho' they cannot properly be called Places ntertainment, yet there are publick Pla- called *Coffee-houſes*, which Men only fre- ; to theſe they reſort on various Occa- ſome to do Buſineſs, ſome becauſe they nothing to do. The Humours of theſe A s are infinite, there being as many diffe- Humours, as there are Perſons: The particular Set of Men are thoſe called *cians*, who come to read certain Papers, fterwards talk, commend, or diſapprove, ng on the whole Subject with great Zeal ſeeming Sagacity. Every Coffee-houſe Set of theſe People; they ſettle the s of powerful and mighty Kings and B ns, they examine the Conduct of their s, they ſay how they ought to be go- d at home, and how govern others a- : Their Knowledge extends beyond the ty Ocean, even beyond the Nation of *ſe Gee*, King of the *Charokins*; but it happens, while they are ſettling the Po- of Kings, and the Affairs of Nations, C are running to Ruin, by neglecting their

he Government of theſe People is, by , ſaid to be intirely *Civil*; but *Sca Bal ſki*, our Warriour Chief, is of Opinion, it is partly *Military*, from the vaſt Ar- which is kept on Foot, when they have Wars with other Nations: And he ſaid, if a Force did not give a Kingdom Laws, if D uld attempt it, he could not ſee how it be reſiſted.—How far juſt *Oſki*'s Obſer- n may be, I don't know the People well gh to decide; but if it is not true, it is mpolitick; and I believe *Sca Bal Be Oſki*, he Head of forty thouſand Men, would our mighty Brother, King of the *Nine* , what Laws he pleas'd.——But to re- —The Government of this Kingdom, E Natives ſay, is the beſt in the World, yet are ſeldom pleas'd with their Governors. Legiſlature is alſo ſaid to make the beſt , and their Magiſtrates to execute them worſt of any People under the Sun.— ge! that a People who know how to ſo right, ſhould act ſo wrong.——If People have ſome of the beſt Laws, it F ſo very wonderful, ſince they have ſuch mber, as may ſurpaſs an *Indian*'s Belief. e is their Statute Law, their Com- Law, their Civil Law, and —— more than I could recount from Sun-riſe to . The Natives don't know a thou- Part of them: Almoſt one Quarter of People get their Livelihood by letting know what the Law is, and take the G of their Vocation from this Employ- ; yet theſe very *Men* of the *Law* diſ- with one another, what *is* or what *is* w: But however they diſagree about it, they live by it, and live the better, the more they do diſagree; for let which Party ſoever loſe, they are ſure to gain.——I cannot but think our *Indian* Law is better than theſe People's; ours is ſummary, and executed immediately; we do Juſtice on the Spot: If an *Indian* ſteals another's Rice, we hang the Thief on the firſt Tree we come to. I remember to have heard my Uncle *Tow Row Quen Yaden*, King of the *Six Nations*, tell a Story, how ſome *Britiſh* People had a Settlement on one of his Rivers: They liv'd long in all Peace and Quiet, trafficking with our People with all Juſtice and Harmony. It ſo happened, that a *Law-Man* at laſt came among them: They did not long after enjoy their former Felicity; there began Contention between Neighbour and Neighbour; they quarrel'd about the Limits of their Plantations, about their Rights of Inheritance, and the Bargains they made. The *Indians* who dealt with them were defrauded, and the League between our People and the White was ſcandalouſly broke; inſomuch, that *Quen Yaden* brought down his Warriours upon them, not to deſtroy his old Allies, but to inquire into the Cauſe of this Change. On Inquiry, he found this *Law-Man* had been the Occaſion of all, by ſetting himſelf up for a Judge of the Law, and then fomenting Quarrels, that he might become a Judge of them. Rice and Skins he frequently receiv'd to give wrong Judgment, not only againſt our *Indians*, but amongſt his own People. On Proof of theſe Things, *Quen Yaden* immediately order'd this *Man* of *Law* to be hang'd upon an adjacent Tree, and reſtor'd the People to their ancient Peace and Felicity.—— *Was* Quen Yaden, *our moſt juſt Uncle, in this Country, he would cauſe a great Number of Executions.*

The Commerce of this Country I find to be very great and extenſive, not only with the neighbouring Nations, but beyond the *Great Sea*, even to the farthermoſt Parts of the World; it is this which makes them ſo powerful a People, who have long been accounted *Maſters* of the *Great Waters*. There are particular Perſons who carry on this Buſineſs; for which Purpoſe there is a moſt magnificent Structure erected, in which they meet every Day: Here we ſaw People of almoſt all Nations, who beheld us with ſeeming Admiration; nor was ours leſs, when we were told theſe People dealt for more in one Day, than the Revenues of our Nations would amount to in a Year.——This I then took to be a Boaſt to raiſe the Character of the Nation; becauſe I ſaw no Parcels of Goods, nor Bales of Merchandize offer'd to Sale, or carry'd away. I was afterwards more convinc'd of the Probability, when we ſaw the *Cuſtom-houſe*, and the prodigious Number of Men employ'd in ſhipping and un-

unſhipping, in loading and unloading ſuch immenſe Treaſures as are almoſt incredible. ——*This, the People ſay, is the Effect of* Liberty; *how careful ought they then to be to preſerve ſo ineſtimable a Treaſure!*

From this Meeting-Place of the Merchants we were conducted acroſs the Street to an oppoſite Alley, which was fill'd with Men of buſy anxious Countenances, with a Kind of fierce Madneſs in their Eyes: They all made hideous Outcries to ſomething or other, call'd *Stock*:——This, we were inform'd, was the *Idol* of the Place; but that thoſe noiſy Devotees were falſe ones, and, in Fact, were only *Bulls* and *Bears*.——*I did not care for ſtaying in ſo odd a Place, where ſavage Brutes bore the Reſemblance of a human Form.*

Craftſman, Feb. 6. N° 814.

Origin of the Game of CHESS *. By a learned* French *Author.*

IN the Beginning of the fifth Century, there was in the *Indies* a very powerful Prince, whoſe Kingdom was ſituated towards where the *Ganges* diſcharges itſelf into the Sea. He took to himſelf the proud Title of King of the *Indies*; his Father had forced a great Number of Sovereign Princes to pay Tribute to him. The young Monarch ſoon forgot, that Kings ought to be the Fathers of their People; that the Subjects Love of their King is the only ſolid Support of his Throne; that that Love alone can truly attach the People to the Prince, and that in them conſiſts all his Strength and Power.

The *Brahmins* and the *Kajahs*, i. e. the Prieſts and Nobility, repreſented all theſe Things to the King of the *Indies*; but he, intoxicated with the Idea of his Grandeur, deſpiſed their wiſe Remonſtrances. Their Complaints continuing, he was offended, and cauſed them to be put to Death in Torments.

This Example affrighted others. They were ſilent, and the Prince abandon'd to himſelf, and, what was more dangerous for him, and more terrible to his People, given up to the pernicious Counſels of Flatterers, was hurry'd on to the laſt Exceſſes. The People, oppreſs'd under the Weight of inſupportable Tyranny, teſtify'd loudly how much an Authority was become odious to them, that was only exerciſed to render them miſerable.

The tributary Princes, perſuaded that the King, in loſing the Love of his People, had loſt the very Eſſence of his Power, were preparing to throw off the Yoke, and to carry the War into his Eſtates. Then a *Brahmin*, or *Indian* Philoſopher, named *Siſſa*, the Son of *Daher*, touch'd with the Misfortunes of his Country, undertook to make the Prince open his Eyes upon the fatal Effects, which his Conduct was likely to produce. But, inſtructed by the Example of thoſe, who had gone before him, he was ſenſible his Leſſons would not prove of any Service, until the Prince ſhould make the Application of it himſelf, and not think it was done by another. With this View, he invented the *Game of Cheſs*, where the *King*, altho' the moſt conſiderable of all the *Pieces*, is the impotent to attack, as well as defend himſelf againſt his Enemies, without the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects and Soldiers.

The new Game ſoon became famous, the King of the *Indies* heard of it, and would learn it. The *Brahmin Siſſa* was pitch'd upon to teach it him, and, under the Pretence of explaining the Rules of the Game, gave him the Skill required to make uſe of the other *Pieces*, for the *King*'s Defence, he made him perceive and reliſh important Truths, which he had hitherto refuſed to hear. He made an Application himſelf of the *Brahmin*'s Leſſons, and now convinced that in the People's Love of their King conſiſted all his Strength, he alter'd his Conduct, and, by that, prevented the Misfortunes that threaten'd him.

The Prince was ſenſibly touch'd, and gratefully left to the *Brahmin* the Choice of his Reward; he deſired, that the Number of Grains of Corn, which the Number of the *Squares* of the *Cheſs-Board* ſhould produce, might be given him, one for the firſt, two for the ſecond, four for the third, and ſo on, doubling always to the ſixty-fourth.

The King, aſtoniſh'd at the ſeeming Modeſty of the Demand, granted it immediately, and without Examination; but when his Treaſurers had made the Calculation, they found that the King had engaged himſelf in a Grant, for the Performance whereof, neither all his Treaſures, nor his Dominions, were ſufficient. Then the *Brahmin* laid hold of this Opportunity, to make him underſtand of what Importance it was to Kings to be upon their Guard againſt thoſe who are always about them, and how much they ought to be afraid of their Miniſters buſing their beſt Intentions.

The *Game of Cheſs* was not long confined to *India*, it paſs'd into *Perſia*, during the Reign of *Coſroes*, but with very ſingular Circumſtances, which the *Perſian* Hiſtory have preſerved to us, and which ſhew us how they look'd upon it, as a Game to be made Uſe of in all Countries, to inſtruct Kings at the ſame Time that it amuſed them, as the Name, which they gave it, ſignifies. *Chatrengi*, or *Schatrak*; the Game of the King, or *King*.

The Names of many of the Pieces of

* *See an ingenious Eſſay on this Subject, in our* Magazine *for* 1733, *p.* 459.

me, which have no reaſonable Significa-
, but in the Eaſtern Languages, confirm
Opinion of its Eaſtern Original. The ſe-
Piece of *Cheſs* after the *King*, is now
d the *Queen*, but it has not always borne
Name. Our old *French* Authors call that
e, *Fierce*, *Fierche*, and *Fierge*, or *Fiercia*.
ſe Words are Corruptions of the *Latin*
ia, which Word itſelf is derived from the
ian Ferz or *Firzin*, the Name of that
e in *Perſic*, and ſignifies a *Miniſter* or *Vi-*
of the Word *Fierge*, they have made,
ge, *Virgo*, and afterwards *Lady* or *Queen*.
Reſemblance of theſe Words made this
nge very eaſy, and it ſeem'd ſo much the
e reaſonable, becauſe that Piece is placed
to the *King*, and at its firſt Moves, like
Pawns, could only move two Steps,
ch made it one of the leaſt conſiderable of
Board, as the Authors of the two ancient
atiſes of the *Game of Cheſs* acknowledge.
The Conſtraint upon the *Lady* of *Cheſs*,
diſpleaſing to our Forefathers, they look'd
n it as a Sort of Slavery, more ſuitable to
Jealouſy of the Eaſtern People, than to
Liberty, which Ladies have always en-
d amongſt us. They extended therefore
Steps and Prerogatives of that Piece, and
Conſequence of the Gallantry ſo natural to
Weſtern People, the *Lady* became the
ſt conſiderable Piece of all the Game.
There was ſtill an Abſurdity in this Me-
orphoſis of the *Firzin* or *Vizir* into
en; and this Incongruity remains yet to
Day, without our taking Notice of it.
When a *Pawn*, i. e. a ſimple *Soldier* has
erſed thro' the Enemies Battalions, and
trated ſo far as the laſt Line of the Board,
s not only allow'd to return back, but he
onour'd with the Step and Prerogatives of
Queen.
f the *Ferzin* or the *Fierge* be a *Vizir*, a
Miniſter, or a *General* of an Army, we
eaſily comprehend how a *Pawn* or ſimple
ier, may be elevated to their Rank, in
ompence of the Valour, with which he
pierced thro' the Enemies Battalions. But
e *Fierge* be a *Lady*, a *Queen*, or the
g's Wife, by what odd Metamorphoſis,
the *Pawn* change his Sex, and become a
man of a Soldier that he was before? And
do they make him marry the King, in
ompence of that Valour, of which he
given ſuch Proofs? There needs but this
Abſurdity to prove, that the ſecond Piece
heſs, has been *mal-apropos* call'd *Lady* or
en; for what *King* ever became ſo ena-
r'd of his *firſt Miniſter*, as to marry him,
take him for better for worſe, until Death
hem part?
he third Piece of *Cheſs* which we call
Biſhop; the *French*, *Fool*; the *Spaniards*,
rez; and the *Italians*, *Alfiere*, a *Serjeant*,
he Eaſt, was of the Figure of an Ele-
phant, and whoſe Name, *Fit*, it bore. The
Knight, which is the fourth Piece, has the
ſame Name and Figure every where. The
fifth Piece, which we call the *Rook*, and the
French, *Tour*, is call'd by the Eaſtern People,
the *Rokh*, and the *Indians* make it of the Fi-
gure of a Camel, mounted by an Horſeman
with a Bow and Arrow in his Hand.

This Name of *Rokh*, which is common
both to the *Perſians* and *Indians*, ſignifies in
the Language of the laſt, a Sort of Camel
they uſed in War, and which they placed
upon the Wings of their Armies by Way of
light Horſe. The rapid Motion of this Piece,
which jumps from one End of the Board to
the other, agrees ſo much the better with
this Idea of it, as at firſt it was the only Piece
who had that Motion.

The *King*, *Queen*, and *Pawn*, made but
one Step, the *Biſhop* but two, as well as the
Knight, neither of them going farther than
the third Square, including that which they
quitted. The *Rook* alone was unbounded in
his Courſe, which may agree to the Light-
neſs of the Dromedary, but in no Ways to
the Immobility of Towers, or Fortreſſes, the
Figures of which we generally give to thoſe
Pieces. The ſixth and laſt Piece is the *Pawn*
or common Soldier, which has ſuffer'd no
Change.

The *Chineſe* have made ſome Alterations in
this Game, they have introduced new Pieces
under the Name of Cannons or Mortars, the
Uſe of Artillery and Powder having been long
known to them, before it was diſcover'd by
the *Europeans*. The Detail of the Rules of
their *Cheſs* may be ſeen in the Account of
Siam, by Monſieur *Loubere*, and in Dr. *Hyde*,
de Ludis Orientalibus. *Tamerlane* made yet
greater Changes in this Game, and by the
new Pieces, which he invented, and the Mo-
tions he gave them, he increaſed the Diffi-
culty of a Game, already too much compli-
cated, to be look'd upon as an Amuſement;
but theſe Additions have not been approved of,
and the ancient Manner of playing, each with
ſixteen Pieces only, and upon a Board of *ſixty-
four Squares*, has taken Place again.

P. S. *I have juſt now heard that the* laſt
Game *is finiſh'd.*

Common Senſe, Feb. 6. Nº 260.

CALIGULA's *Prime Miniſter.*

WHAT a Happineſs muſt it have been
to have liv'd under the auſpicious
Reign of the Emperor *Caligula*, who had ſo
great a Regard to Merit wherever he found
it, and took ſuch a fatherly Care of the Happi-
neſs of his People, that he made his Horſe
a Miniſter of State! Yet there was not want-
ing a diſaffected Party in *Rome* who took Li-

berties with the Emperor himſelf, only for making Choice of ſo uſeful an Animal to ſhare with him the Burthen of governing the World, who, after all that hath been ſaid of him, was certainly a moſt able Miniſter.

I don't doubt but he had his Friends and his Flatterers as well as other Miniſters have had ſince; but it would move the Indignation of every loyal Heart, to read with what Contempt and even Scurrility a Perſon (to borrow the Words of a *Gazetteer*) ſo highly in Truſt and Favour with the Emperor was treated by the Malecontents of thoſe Times.

There is a Period to Prejudice itſelf; the Prejudice againſt this great Miniſter is long ſince dead, and I don't doubt but the preſent Age will judge more favourably of him than that wherein he lived. For I think the Time might be pointed out, when a Nation for the Space of near 20 Years had Reaſon to envy *Rome*, for having even a Horſe for a Miniſter.

I am ſorry Hiſtory ſhould have been ſilent with reſpect to his Birth, Family, and Education. Methinks I am curious to know, whether this great Miniſter was a Coach or a Cart-Horſe, a Hunter or a Pad; to ſpeak like a Jockey, whether he had Blood in him.

I am not ignorant, that the World hath long run away with a Notion, that he was the worſt Horſe in the Stable, which Notion I take to be built upon a general Maxim, which is known to have prevailed in the Courts of ſome of thoſe wretched Emperors, that in a Government to be ſupported by Corruption, any Beaſt may ſerve for a Miniſter.

As to my own Part, I never receiv'd any Injury from him; I am willing therefore to do Juſtice to his Memory, according to the beſt Lights I am able to collect from Hiſtory: Nay, I find in myſelf an Inclination to believe, that he ow'd his high Preferment to his Merit.

A Story runs in my Head, that the Emperor being one Day upon his Back, (by the Bye, no Man in the Empire rid ſo ill) with his whole Court about him, theſe obſequious Gentlemen perceiving how aukwardly he managed the Reins, took Occaſion from thence to flatter him upon his being a moſt excellent Horſeman; upon which the Horſe immediately threw him, only to let him ſee what a Pack of Raſcals he had about him. The Emperor perceiving that the Horſe was the only Perſon of the Court that had any Truth in him, took a Reſolution from that Minute to raiſe him to thoſe high Honours to which he afterwards arriv'd.

Be this as it may, it is certain, many Virtues ſhined in him after his Riſe. He did not ſhew the leaſt Alteration of Behaviour upon this ſudden Change of Fortune; he was the ſame Creature as before; he gave himſelf no over-bearing Airs upon it; he was the only Perſon of the Court, who ſeem'd no Way conſcious of his having a Superiority [illegible] others.

He did not engroſs the Power of all [illegible] great Employments in the Empire, altho' [illegible] had full as good a Right to ſuch a Power, [illegible] Parts and Abilities can give a Right) as [illegible] that have uſurp'd it ſince.

He did not preſume to erect himſelf into A Dictator in the Senate, commanding the [illegible] nators to ſay black was white, green, [illegible] yellow, or any other Colour he was pl[illegible] to call it: He was not ſo inſolent to ſend [illegible] of the Patrician Order on Footmens Err[illegible] As corrupt as the *Patricians* were grown that Time, if he had given himſelf th[illegible] Airs, ſome one amongſt them would certa[illegible] B have beſtow'd upon him the Diſcipline of [illegible] Horſe-Whip.

As he was no Flatterer himſelf, he took [illegible] Pleaſure in the Flatteries of others; of co[illegible] ſequence he did not ſquander away the publ[illegible] Treaſure in Penſions upon proſtitute Fell[illegible] to ſound his Praiſes. He had more Sens[illegible] well as more Modeſty, than to expoſe him[illegible] to the Ridicule of the World by ſo prepo[illegible] C rous a Piece of Vanity.

He was remarkably free from the m[illegible] and ſcandalous Vice of Lying. An habi[illegible] Lyar is undoubtedly the moſt ſcoundrel Ch[illegible] racter in the Creation: Lying is the Child [illegible] Ignorance and Cowardiſe: Little Rogues pr[illegible] tiſe it, to hide their little Villanies. There [illegible] not an Inſtance of one Man of great Abili[illegible] D that ever was a Lyar: When it becomes h[illegible] bitual in a Perſon in a great Station, he is [illegible] Peſt of human Society.

He was content with the fair and hon[illegible] Appointments belonging to his Office, with[illegible] multiplying Perquiſites, or turning every [illegible] lick Thing into a Jobb; and altho' he ma[illegible] have as indigent and as ſtupid a Kindred, [illegible] ſome other Miniſters have had ſince, he n[illegible] E ther took them from the Plough nor [illegible] Cart, to diſgrace his Country abroad, or [illegible] ſpoil the publick Buſineſs at home.

He was ſo remarkable for his Temperan[illegible] that if he had his Belly full of Oats in [illegible] Morning, he never crav'd for more that D[illegible] —a rare Moderation in a Perſon of ſo m[illegible] Power!—Whereas the World hath ſee[illegible] F Miniſter ſince his Time, of whom the Pe[illegible] ple might juſtly ſay, what the Hoſteſs in [illegible] Play ſaid of Sir *John Falſtaff*,—that he [illegible] *put all their Subſtance into that fat Belly* [illegible] *bit.*

Hiſtory is not only ſilent with reſpect [illegible] his Family, but we cannot ſo much as le[illegible] from it, whether this great Miniſter was [illegible] Stone-Horſe or a Gelding. Some will ha[illegible] G him to be of the latter, becauſe there is [illegible] thing recorded of his Amours: All that [illegible] know is, that he did not make himſelf ri[illegible] culous that Way; if he had, it would [illegible] have eſcaped Notice.

[illegible]

on the Who'e, I conceive, that not-ſtanding for ſo many Centuries he hath created as a ſtupid and ignorant Miniſter, his Parts would make no contemptible e, either in the Arts of Peace, or Ma-nent of War, when compared to thoſe other Miniſter who hath liv'd ſince.— to this his Temperance and Modeſty, and all, that honeſt and diſintereſted Mind, kept him within ſuch Bounds, that, he liv'd upon nothing but Hay and Corn, *ver ſtole any.*

hoever conſiders all theſe Things with an judiced Judgment, muſt differ from the non Opinion with reſpect to this Favou-and upon an impartial Compariſon with er whom I have in my Eye, will be ob-to own, that the Horſe was not only neſteſt, but by far the wiſeſt Miniſter e two.

Common Senſe, Feb. 13. N° 261.

ERVATIONS *on the* REIGN *of* RICHARD II.

EADINESS is compounded of two ex-ellent Qualities, Clearneſs of Judgment tinguiſh Right from Wrong, and Reſo-to purſue what is right.

ſtinacy is the Child of Ignorance and If a Man of this perverſe Turn be ſet wrong, it is Odds, but he is wrong Life. He is not to be mov'd by Rea-or he cannot ſee it: But as obſtinate are generally timorous, they are to be 'd by Fear: The leaſt Appearance of r ſcares them from their moſt darling tions; and there is the ſame Facility in them from what is good, as from is bad.

Perſon of this wrong Head in private an ruin none but himſelf and his own ; but if he is in the Government of a om, he may go near to ruin that King-before he is quite undone himſelf, as e Caſe of this Nation in the Reign of d II.

his Reign, which laſted 23 Years, the iſtration was put into the Hands of two e ſcoundrel Fellows: What was the uence? The Intereſts of the Nation a-and its Tranquillity at home, were ſa-to that one Point of ſupporting theſe in Power.

Nation happen'd to be engaged in a th *France*; the Parliaments gave Mo-n Time to Time for the vigorous Pro-of the War; but all the Fruits of ſt Expences was to ſee the Nation in-and the Merchants plunder'd, while niſters and their Flatterers were wal-n Wealth.

all Things going to Wreck, and it being plain to the whole World, that the War was nothing but a colluſive War, carried on with no other View, but to furniſh a Pretence for picking the People's Pockets, without the leaſt Deſign of diſtreſſing the Enemy, or obtaining an honourable Peace; the Parliament reſolv'd to give no more Supplies, but inſtead thereof, addreſs'd the King to remove the Chancellor and Treaſurer, and that all might be call'd to an Account, thro' whoſe Hands the publick Money had paſs'd; that when this ſhould be done, the King would find ſufficient to carry on the War *by the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of theſe Plunderers, without burdening the People with new Taxes.*

The Courtiers not liking this Addreſs, drew the King to *Eltham*, from whence he ſent the Chancellor to the Commons, (this very Chancellor, whom a few Days before they had addreſs'd him to remove from all his Councils) to demand a Supply for maintaining his Army, an Army rais'd upon a ſham Pretence of the *French* deſigning an Invaſion; but the two Houſes happily uniting for the common Safety, ſent the King a Meſſage, by which they acquainted him, that they could go upon no Buſineſs, till the Miniſters were puniſh'd.— This Patriot Spirit operated a little upon the Temper of the King, and to outward Appearance he ſeem'd inclined to come to a good Underſtanding with his People.

Whether the Miniſters thought it ſafer for them to adviſe the King to temporize a little, than to run the Hazard of an open Rupture with his Parliament, as Things then ſtood, does not appear; but the King went to the Houſe, and with a tolerable good Grace gave up the Chancellor, informing them, that he ſhould be remov'd from his Councils, and ſhould anſwer for his Male-Adminiſtration. The Marquis of *Dublin*, newly created Duke of *Ireland*, was baniſh'd into that Kingdom, his whole Eſtate was confiſcated, and applied towards the publick Expences. The Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Earl of *Arundel* were appointed to examine the publick Accounts, that it might be known, how every Shilling of the Money granted by Parliament had been applied.

But this Fit of Reformation did not laſt long; for the Parliament was no ſooner up, but the Treaſurer and Chancellor appear'd at Court again, and in as full Power as ever. All the Acts and Reſolutions made by the late Parliament, for redreſſing Grievances, and rectifying the notorious Corruptions that had crept into all publick Offices, were render'd altogether ineffectual by the Miniſters, who now had the King again to themſelves; and upon what Precipices did they drive this poor Man, fated to be undone by Scoundrels? Flattery, the Ruin of Princes, was the Lure made uſe of to draw him on to his Deſtruction. "They made him believe, that it was

for

for their Attachment to his Perſon, that they had been attack'd; and that the Deſigns of their Enemies were not ſo much aimed at them, as at the King himſelf: They inſinuated into his weak Head, that by accuſing his Counſellors they plainly ſhew'd, that they believ'd the King incapable of governing, and that the readieſt Way to diſcredit the Prince, is to perſuade the People that he makes uſe of bad Miniſters."

These Inſinuations being often repeated, made ſuch ſtrong Impreſſions upon the vain Mind of this unfortunate Prince, that they work'd him up by Degrees to a Deſire of becoming arbitrary: The Miniſters could have no Security without it. Whenever a Parliament met, they were forc'd to withdraw, to ſculk, to rack their Brains for Tricks (call'd Expedients in the Language of Knaves) to get over the Seſſion. It is true, they robb'd betwixt one Seſſion and another, but the Sword ſtill hung over their Heads, and it muſt do ſo, till the Crown ſhould become arbitrary.

The Method they took to bring this about was by laying a Scheme to return a pack'd Parliament. Low Fellows of no Fortunes were put in to be Sheriffs of ſeveral Counties, who were to return ſuch Perſons as the Miniſters ſhould name, by which they propoſed to have ſuch Laws paſs'd as would throw ſo much Power into the Hands of the Crown, as to enable it to protect them againſt the Nation.

In the mean Time, they plied the King's Ears with a thouſand villanous Falſhoods, in order to prejudice him againſt every great Man who had any Feeling for the Sufferings of his Country. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Derby*, and *Nottingham*, were pointed out to the King as his Enemies; but what they did againſt the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, is ſo very remarkable, that it is worth quoting.

"The Earls of *Nottingham* and *Arundel*, Admirals of *England*, having put to Sea in the Beginning of Spring, took a Fleet of *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Flemiſh* Merchantmen, and brought ſome of them to *England* loaden with Wine, after which they ſail'd for *Bretaigne* and reliev'd *Breſt*, beſieg'd by their Duke. This Piece of Service, which certainly deſerv'd a ſuitable Return from the King, ſerv'd only to draw upon them his Indignation. The Miniſters had prejudiced him ſo much againſt them, that he would not ſo much as vouchſafe to ſpeak to them: They made him believe, that the taking of theſe Ships would not fail to bring ſome Troubles upon him, which would very much embarraſs him.——The two Earls, highly offended at the uncivil Reception they met with, like Men of Honour threw up their Commiſſions."

The Succeſs of theſe two brave Men a
the Enemy was not to be forgiven; it
to embarraſs the Deſigns of the Mini
and they never ceas'd purſuing them, t
laſt, upon another Pretence, they br
them both to the Block.

A IN the *Craftſman* of *Jan.* 30. was a
logue between *Sir Robert Jobb* and
Manſion, about the Conduct of the W
Europe and *America*, in which ſeveral T
were ſaid, agreeable to what has been
mention'd in the Debates of the *Political*
&c. Mr. Manſion aſks ſeveral Queſtion
which *Sir Robert Jobb* returns evaſive
ſwers, and at laſt alledges the Danger
B Invaſion, to excuſe the not ſending ſuf
and timely Recruits to the *Weſt-Indies*:
which the Dialogue proceeds thus:

Mr. M. The Word *Invaſion* is a m
Spectre; but if every Admiral had done
portionably to his Command with what
miral *Vernon* did, who could have invade
Not the *Spaniards*, unleſs it would hav
C perform'd in Canvas, or Sugar Caſk
Ships they would have had none.

Sir R. J. Was there no Place but *Sp*
fear an Invaſion from?

Mr. M. All Circumſtances conſider'd,
that I can think of.—But this is certain,
if there was any Danger of an Invaſion
any Place, the quicker Work ought to
been made with *Spain*.—A victorious
D is ſeldom viſited with Invaſions.

Sir R. J. Now, you are going upon
Miſtake you firſt ſet out upon, that
could have been done, than has been do

Mr. M. Why, you don't pretend to
that any Thing has been done in *Europe*
the contrary, you ſay nothing could be
I ſay ſomething might, with Safety,
been at leaſt attempted; which would
E been more than doing of nothing.

Sir R. J. Look ye, Mr. *Manſion*, a
fairs of State there are oftenſible Reaſon
non-oftenſible Reaſons; if the oftenſible
ſons are not ſatisfactory, a *Politician*,
ſure, muſt plead Secrecy to the non-oft
Reaſons; therefore when a *Miniſter* is
to this Point, to tell you, that he m
F tell you, is as ſatisfactory an Anſwer a
be expected from him, and People m
very ſeditiouſly diſpoſed that will not be
tent with that Anſwer.

Mr. M. You have, indeed, now gi
a very full Anſwer.—But I hope, Sir
tho' you are a little uneaſy at the pre
tuation of Affairs, you, at leaſt, li
new P———t.

G *Sir R. J.* [*Aſide*] *I knew at firſt w*
would be at.]——Ay, like! To be ſur
Manſion, I like it. I liked the *oppo*
like the *preſent*. But I muſt go to t
Pit. Your Servant, *Sir*, my Hour i

M. Your Servant, Sir *Robert.* If his
is not come, I believe it will ſoon, for
Juſtice will at laſt overtake him. What
and Evaſions is a Man driven to, who
ſwerves from Truth! What a terrible
anion muſt a guilty Conſcience be! I
not have his dreadful Apprehenſions,
or the Space of one Week, for twenty
his Wealth. Poor Man! I almoſt pity

Common Senſe, Feb. 20. N° 262.

the preſent great Turn in relation to our eſtick Affairs, and the Improbability of eening.

hath been urg'd in this Paper more than
ce, that the future Happineſs or Miſery
is Nation depended intirely upon the At-
ce of thoſe Gentlemen who were *legally*
d to repreſent their Country in the pre-
P———. They have attended, and
Attendance is crown'd with Succeſs;
y have they gain'd a Victory, a Victory
glorious than that of *Creſſy* or of *Agin-*
To reap the Fruits of this Victory ſtill
ns, which cannot be done without the
Diligence and Attendance.
e Report that hath of late been induſ-
y ſpread thro' Town and Country, as
Perſon to whom all the Grievances of
Nation are owing, as well as all his Co-
rs, were to be ſkreen'd by thoſe who,
e Nation's Joy, have got the better of
muſt come from the Father of Lies,
rom the Corruptor himſelf.
any Gentleman, or Set of Gentlemen
age to ſtand betwixt publick Juſtice and
Man who muſt, who certainly will be
d by the Vengeance of three Nations,
Thing that ſurpaſſes all Belief, it is a
impoſſible to be effected, and whoever
undertake it may be ruin'd by it him-

oſe that argue that ſuch a Thing may
ertaken, becauſe ſomething like it hath
done before, do not diſtinguiſh betwixt
fferent Circumſtances of the Caſes. It
w'd there was once a Man that work'd
f into Employment by an infamous
n for protecting publick Robbers, but
a Man that could never get in by any
Means: It was a Man that had been
ted of a mean Corruption in a low Of-
nd of Conſequence had no Reputation to
The Affair in Queſtion was but one ſin-
anſaction; the Perſons who at that
had a great Influence in the publick
ils, and who had other Reaſons for
g this Man in, had not made any great
e by the Iniquity.
explain the Matter a little more clear-
he Miniſtry promoted a Project which

had moſt pernicious Conſequences, and the Nation became extremely out of Humour with them when they found they had loſt their Reputations: They then thought him fit for their Company, and not before; they took him in upon very ſcandalous Conditions, he accepts theſe Conditions with Joy, he was not frighten'd at the Infamy he muſt incur by the Part he was going to act.

The Perſons then in Buſineſs thought it would be prudent to retire for a While behind the Curtain, till the Peoples Reſentment ſhould abate; and altho' this Man drew the publick Odium from them upon himſelf, yet they were ſoon aſhamed of his Company, and reſolv'd in a very little Time to give him his *Conge*; their ſudden Deaths prevented their doing that good Turn to the Publick; to the Misfortune of the Nation he ſtill ſtood his Ground, and hath maintain'd it ever ſince by Practices juſt as honourable as thoſe by which it was then acquired.

The Circumſtances of thoſe who are now aſpers'd, as if they deſign'd to ſkreen, are very different from thoſe of the Perſon before-mention'd. They are many in Number, they are the Favourites of the People, they have already gain'd immortal Honour by a long, well-conducted, ſteady Oppoſition: Their Virtue hath been tried; Titles and great Employments could not move them.——Can any one imagine that they will change all on a ſudden? Will thoſe that have ſtood Proof againſt Corruption themſelves, protect it in other Men? Will they wantonly caſt away what all the Silver of *Peru*, and Gold of *Mexico*, is not able to purchaſe, I mean their Honour? Will thoſe who by perſevering in an Oppoſition that hath been attended with the Labours of *Hercules*, and who have at laſt work'd Things up to their preſent happy Situation, deſtroy their own Work? Will thoſe that have kept their Honour untainted, adopt other Mens Crimes, and take upon them the Infamy of what they never acted in, or ſo much as adviſed, nay, which they openly condemn'd?—The Thing is not credible.

We already ſee the Falſhood of what the Slaves of the Corruptor have conſtantly given out, that all the Struggle was for nothing but Places. Thoſe that have moſt ſtrenuouſly contended for a Change of Meaſures, have refuſed to accept of the moſt honourable and profitable Employments. They are ſenſible the Conſtitution hath receiv'd many Wounds: It hath been ſtabb'd in the Dark: The Wounds muſt be laid open, they muſt be ſearch'd to the Bottom, or no Cure can be made: This is what they contend for, not for Places.

Some argue, that an Inquiry will now come too late, for that all Evidence hath by this Time been deſtroy'd, and that the Corruptor hath taken Advantage of this Ad-

journment to burn all Papers that might make againſt him.

I will not diſpute his Induſtry at deſtroying Evidence, any more than at making Evidence; but it ſhould be remembered, that *Knight*, who was concern'd in the grand Robbery of 1720, burnt Papers and Books too, but yet he thought it ſafeſt to run away for all that.

I don't doubt but a great deal of Evidence may be deſtroy'd; but when an Inquiry is once ſet on Foot, ſome Light may break out. —Already there is come Intelligence, as far as from *America*, of moſt pernicious and wicked Jobbs relating to the Fleet and Army there. Practices of the ſame Nature in ſeveral Offices here have likewiſe taken Air; both one and the other may be eaſily trac'd up to their Protector and Author.

It is agreed by all the World, that a Change of Men will ſignify nothing without a Change of Meaſures, and how can they tell what new Meaſures to take, if they do not inquire into the old? A Phyſician never pretends to cure a Patient without knowing his Diſtemper, or examining into his Conſtitution. The Nation calls for an Inquiry, and his own Tools have long been challenging and defying all the World to bring him to a Trial;—it is true, they gave themſelves theſe haughty Airs, when they knew, that they had ſecured an *Ignoramus* Jury, that would find no Bill; but as Corruption hath been forc'd to give Ground, this ſeems to be the Time for an impartial Inquiry: If his Friends think him innocent, they will be ſo far from oppoſing it, that they will be moſt forward to promote it; for what greater good Luck could happen to him in this World, than to have the publick Odium removed from him, by an honourable Acquittal, after a fair and impartial Trial.

The Repreſentation of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, *in Common-Council aſſembled, to the Right Hon. Sir* Robert Godſchall, *Knt. Lord Mayor, Sir* John Barnard, *Knt. Mr. Ald.* Lambert *and Mr. Ald.* Heathcote, *their Repreſentatives in Parliament.*

THIS Court doth take this publick Occaſion to acknowledge their grateful Senſe of your vigilant and faithful Conduct in Parliament, which hath already contributed to the Production of many good Effects.

As they have now Reaſon to hope for a Change of Meaſures as well as of Men, they deſire you will ſtrenuouſly promote all thoſe ſalutary Laws, as are or ſhall be propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, ſuch as the *Place Bill*, a *Penſion Bill*, and the Repeal of the *Septennial Act*, in order to reſtore the ancient Freedom of our Conſtitution, and ſecure it againſt all future Attempts, either of open or ſecret Corruption, or of any undue Influence whatſoever.

And more particularly they recommend that you will perſiſt, with unwearied Diligence, to make the earlieſt and ſtricteſt Inquiry into the Cauſes of all paſt Miſmanagements, and exert your utmoſt Endeavours to prevent the like for the future.

And they further expect, that you will attend ſuch Inquiry to all Perſons, who, in their reſpective Employments, have contributed to the complicated Evils, which have long oppreſſed and diſhonoured this Nation.

And they congratulate themſelves and the whole Kingdom, that from the Virtue and Spirit of the preſent Parliament every odious Name of Diſtinction will ſoon be loſt among us, and that from this happy Period they may date the intire Abolition of Parties, of which the moſt pernicious Uſe has hitherto been made, to the imminent Danger of our Liberties.

For now they may reaſonably expect, that thoſe who wiſh the real and ſolid Support of his Majeſty and his Royal Family, and are qualified by their Virtues and Abilities, will have it in their Power to ſerve both their King and Country; and that no Diſtinction will remain, but of thoſe who are Friends or Enemies to the Conſtitution, of thoſe who would maintain the Freedom and Independency of Parliament, and of thoſe who would ſubject it to *corrupt* and *miniſterial Influence*.

The Repreſentation of the City and Liberty of Weſtminſter, *to the Right Hon. the Viſc.* Perceval, *and* Charles Edwin, *Eſq;*

WE the Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter* cannot avoid taking the firſt Opportunity of expreſſing our moſt grateful Acknowledgment of your faithful Behaviour during this ſhort, but important Period of Parliament; and though we have no Reaſon to doubt your ſteady Perſeverance, yet we cannot think it altogether improper to acquaint you with our Sentiments of the preſent Criſis of Affairs;—a Criſis which we apprehended muſt determine the Fate of us and our Poſterity, and render this Kingdom, either a Glory or Scoff among the Nations.

We have beheld, with the deepeſt Concern, ſuch Meaſures purſued for many Years paſt as have manifeſtly tended to diſgrace the Name, betray the Intereſts, ruin the Trade, weaken the Liberties, and depreſs the Courage of the *Britiſh* Nation. It is now with the moſt ſenſible Pleaſure we behold the agreeable Proſpect of being deliver'd from the fatal Effects of ſuch Meaſures, by the Wiſdom of a truly *Britiſh* Parliament, and the Removal of thoſe Perſons who, ſupported by the Influence of Corruption (that Canker

tution) have too long wanton'd in the
of Power, and mock'd the Calamities
almoſt deſpairing People.
as the melancholy Experience of paſt
evinces, that the Removal of the Per-
a Miniſter from the Helm, is inſuffi-
r ſecuring the Intereſts and Liberties of
le, while his Creatures, his Maxims,
Views, are entail'd upon the Govern-
we therefore hope you will moſt ſtre-
oppoſe them, and endeavour to pro-
ſuch a conſtitutional Security, as may
this Kingdom from ſuffering by the
rors or Iniquities for the future.
he ſtricteſt Enquiry only can ſatisfy, ſo
but the moſt rigorous Juſtice ought
nge an injur'd People; it is therefore
rneſtly intreat you to make a diligent
y into the Authors of thoſe Grievances
ve ſo long groan'd under, and not ſuffer
ity to be the Lot of the Oppreſſor:—
is a Duty you owe to Poſterity, as
les are moſt likely to prevent future E-
Should the Diſturber of the Publick be
ted the Enjoyment of private Tran-
, or his Influence remain in thoſe Coun-
m which his Perſon is remov'd, we
e that ſuch an Event at this Juncture
give a fatal Encouragement, or rather
n, to a wanton and wicked Exerciſe of
in all ſucceeding Miniſters:—Lenity
a one would be Cruelty to the Nation;
calling to a ſevere Account the Inſtru-
of pernicious Meaſures, however un-
to procure us Reparation for what is
ay have the happy Effect of hence-
preventing the like Violations of the
tution, the like Profuſion of publick
e at home, and the like Proſtitution of
blick Faith and Honour abroad.
zealouſly recommend to your Endea-
he extirpating thoſe Party Diſtinctions,
tho' their Foundation have long ceas'd
, were yet ſo induſtriouſly fomented a-
us, in order to ſerve the miſchievous
s of a miniſterial Tyranny, and in
ion to the real and permanent Intereſts
preſent Royal Family. The common
, it is hop'd, has now united all Par-
Perſuaſions, and every Man will be
only as he prefers the Welfare and
s of his Country to any private De-
e or venal Conſideration whatever.

Craftſman, Feb. 20. N° 816.

preſent Change in the ADMINISTRA-
TION, *and how to improve it.*

ſt rejoice with my Countrymen in ge-
al, for their happy Deliverance from a
preſſive Bondage of, at leaſt, 20 Years
n. And in particular, I hope I ſhall
Offence, if I congratulate thoſe wor-

thy Patriots, whoſe wiſe, uniform, and ſteady Conduct has accompliſh'd this great Event, and brought it ſo near to a happy Concluſion; a Concluſion, I ſay, of our Bondage, tho' not of their Labours. For the ſame Wiſdom, Steadineſs, Unanimity, diſintereſted Views, and publick Spirit, are as neceſſary to finiſh this Work, as they were to conduct it to this Period, and perhaps more neceſſary; for greater Skill is required to erect, than pull down, and it is a much eaſier Taſk to find out Errors, than to mend them.

I do not mean that the Errors of the late Adminiſtration cannot eaſily be mended, by a ſubſequent Adminiſtration; on the contrary, I think, ſcarce any Adminiſtration can commit ſo many and ſo groſs Faults. But what I mean, by mending of Errors, is, to put the Conſtitution upon ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, that the Flood-Gates of an Adminiſtration ſhall not be able to prevail againſt it. Such a Settlement is the proper Object of a *Britiſh* Parliament, and may require all the Virtues of our worthy Patriots to compleat.

I think it is by all agreed, that Liberty was not placed upon ſo firm a Baſis, at the Revolution, as was at that Time intended, and has ſince by Experience, been thought neceſſary. Civil Commotions, and the apparent Diſaffection of great Numbers to the new Government, which was ſo conſtantly breaking out in Plots, were the Excuſes of the Great Men of that Age, for leaving ſo much in the Power of the Adminiſtration. Whether this Argument was juſt, is not material to my preſent Purpoſe, there not being the ſame Excuſe to make. The Object of every Man's Loyalty, very few excepted, centres in the *ſame King*, and the *ſame Royal Family*; nor have I met, amongſt the greateſt Aſſerters of Liberty, any who have form'd Schemes to ſully the Luſtre of the Crown, or in any Degree to diminiſh the real Dignity of it.

The Conſequence of leaving Things upon ſo unſtable a Bottom, at the Revolution, has been introductory to many more miniſterial Invaſions upon the Liberty of the Subject, and has at once given Opportunities to oppreſs the People, and deceive the Crown. To enumerate particular Inſtances would be waſting Time. They have been too frequent, and are too recent, not to be known to every Reader.

This Load of Grievances, inſtead of ſubduing the Spirit of the People, which probably was expected, has rouzed the Nation from that Lethargy, in which it ſeem'd to be fallen, for ſome Years paſt.

The late Struggle for Liberty, had it not been ſucceſsful, we may reaſonably conclude, would have been the laſt; and we may with the ſame Juſtice believe, ſhould this favourable Opportunity be loſt, that nothing but the immediate Hand of Providence can ſave us from

Deſtruction, both at home and abroad. Our preſent Repreſentatives, as they have it in their Power, there can be no Doubt, that they likewiſe have it in their Will to redreſs not only the preſent, but to ſecure us againſt future Grievances, if they perſevere in the ſame watchful Attendance, and preſerve the ſame Unanimity.

As far as human Foreſight can prognoſticate, we ſhall ſoon, from a low depreſs'd People, become a glorious and flouriſhing Kingdom. The Liberty of the Subject will be eſtabliſhed, the Dignity of the Crown ſupported, Family Diſcontents healed, and the whole Government placed in ſuch Order, as to make each Part a Protection and Security to the others. This Work, I ſay, is wanted, and we have all the Encouragement in the World to believe, that it may and will be done.

The ſeveral Steps proper to be taken to accompliſh this glorious Work, is above my Station to determine; but one Thing, I think, is a very right Proceeding towards it: That is, a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry into *paſt Conduct*.

I have ſaid, that it is eaſier to find Faults, than to mend them; but I am ſure it is impoſſible to mend them, as they ſhould be, without ſearching to the Bottom, and diſcovering from whence, or from what Motives they have ſprung.—A Phyſician may as well pretend to know his Patient's Malady by only looking on his Picture.

I preſume, it may be affirmed, that I have ſpoken the Sentiments of the People of *England*; for the Truth of which Aſſertion, I need only refer to the Multitude of Inſtructions given at the Elections, and the laſt Inſtructions given in an Aſſembly of moſt Importance in the Kingdom, next to the Houſes of Parliament; I mean the Common Council of *London*. There is not a Coffee-houſe of Note in the Town, where there are not Emiſſaries of different Rank, by whom employ'd I can't ſay, whiſpering their Apprehenſions, and diſperſing Expedients, calculated to conceal the Truth, and prevent the dreaded Conſequences of an impartial Inquiry.

Some alarm us with the Danger of an unſettled Adminiſtration at ſo critical a Time; as if there could be a greater Evil happen to the Conſtitution, than a Continuance of former Meaſures.

Another ſhrugs his Shoulders, and endeavours to excite Jealouſies and Suſpicions; too mean an Artifice, I hope, to have any Effect upon the Minds of Perſons, whoſe Behaviour hitherto has been ſo diſintereſted and ſteady.

Another ſighs out, Compaſſion! Clemency! Theſe are Affections, no Doubt, which ought to touch the Mind of every virtuous Man: But they are Indulgencies, not Rights, and thoſe alone are intitled to them, who ſhew Penitence and Contrition; not who obſtinately perſiſt in Error, or bid ance to Juſtice. Beſides, to whom is paſſion principally due? to an injured or to thoſe who have injured it?—To Expreſſion of the Lawyers, it is *ſpiſ the Net*. To talk of Compaſſion mency, ſuppoſes Guilt and Conviction were never uſed as Arguments againſt ries or Trials; therefore, in the preſ tuation, it is too early to interpoſe the picks; and thoſe who uſe them, mu mean them as Arguments for Protect

Nothing that I have ſaid, I hope, interpreted as an Accuſation againſt a ticular Perſon or Perſons. It is not tent to aggravate the Guilt of any, ever ſo iniquitous. I only wiſh ſuch P ings, which, in outward Appearance, to have brought the Nation into D Diſtepute, and Poverty, may be thor examined, and the true Source and M openly expoſed to the Publick, and thi tice, the permanent Boundary to P and Bulwark to Liberty, may take Pl gainſt ſuch, as ſhall be found Delin This, with the Addition of a few Laws, will, I hope, deter Miniſters making any ambitious Attempts upo Liberty for the future; or, what is th Thing to be wiſhed for, better enabl encounter them.

I have likewiſe endeavoured to avoi any Expreſſions that might excite A for, I think, in carrying on this great W it is as neceſſary to uſe Moderation an dour, as Unanimity and Integrity, will make it go on more ſteadily, Paſſion and Anger would diſcontent, intirely defeat it; and as I, in my C ence, think this is the laſt Stake for Liberty, I hope that Providence, whi brought us ſo near our Deliverance, wil tinue to protect us.

As, on one Hand, I hope our worthy preſentatives will be on their Guard ſuch Suggeſtions and Suſpicions, which tend to diſunite them, and prevent making thoſe ſalutary Laws, and proc thoſe general and full Inquiries, which Conſtituents may reaſonably expect them; ſo, on the other Hand, I wou hort my Fellow-Conſtituents not to be haſty in their Expectation, but to give to their Repreſentatives, till they ſee thing done amiſs. A Work of this C quence and Extent muſt take up Time it muſt be made ſtrong, or it won't laſt precipitate it, may deſtroy it, or re ineffectual; Paſſion, Diſtruſt, and Je may be look'd upon as the Tools of the mies to Liberty, who, now Corruption

have no other Implements to em-

ill conclude with putting my Readers
d, that the *Augean Stable* was not
d in a Day, though it was one of the
s of *Hercules*. Let my Countrymen,
re, have a little Patience, and I will
e to assure them, that the present
e in the Administration will soon prove
efit and Advantage to the People.

he Account of what Nadir Shah *carried*
him out of India, *p.* 81, *add as fol-*

phants 1000, Horses 7000, Camels
o, Eunuchs 100, Writers 130, Smiths
200, Masons or Builders 300, Stone-Cutters
100, Carpenters 200.

Nadir Shah had the Draught of the Castle and City of *Debli* taken, and gave to the above-mentioned Artificers, Horses, and what other Carriages were necessary for their Journey, allowing them a sufficient Pay. The Terms he entered into with them were, to follow their several Occupations for three Years in *Kandahar*; at the Expiration of which, they were to have Liberty, either to return home, or continue there. But in their Way to *Labor* several of them made their Escape, and returned to *Debli*.

A

Poetical ESSAYS, 1742.

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR, *Jan.* 25, 1741-2.

AMONG the *Roman* Historians, *Sallust* is famous for the Characters he gives me of the Persons mentioned in his Hist- but no such Thing was ever attempt- so far as I remember, by any of the *Ro-* Poets; which certainly proceeded, either the Difficulty of the Task, or from not having a Patron, whose Character could give with Justice and without Of-. Thank God! the present Age is propitious to the Poets of this Coun- and it must be agreeable to every *True*, to see this difficult Task attempted Success by a *British* Bard, and in as pure as was wrote by any of the Authors of *Augustan* Age. For this Reason, I think, should give a Place in your *Magazine* to following Lines, taken from a Poem just ished, called *Templum Libertatis*. Besides, Persons characterized are so conspicuous, so highly deserve the most grateful Ac-wledgments of their Country, that your ishing these Lines in your *Magazine*, I think, give great Pleasure to all of your Readers as understand *Latin*, have not seen the Original. *I am*, &c.

QUOS inter * vidi (nec Divæ gratior adfit)
Te quoties, Lælî † charissime? quem mihi junxit
ere amicitiæ studium commune, favorque
larum Phœbique patris. Quæ gratia Musis,
Phœbo debetur honos pro munere tali?
n vult esse mihi vel quem sibi legit amicum:
Dignum ô, quem legeret. Sed enim nil dignius illo, [dicos,
Cui placidam mentem, mores Deus ipse pu-
Cui dedit ingenii vires, & carminis artem.
Nec laudes pia Musa tuas, nomenque tacebit,
Semper honoratum nomen, cum, Maxime‡, partes
Pro Divâ dignas adeò facis usque, bonumque
Numen amas, patriosque Deos, & amaris ab illis:
Nam tibi pura fides, gravitas blandissima vultûs, [que,
Simplicitas prudens, animi candorque pudor-
Et mite ingenium, atque oris facundia veri.
Te quoque post nullos memorem, clarissime Memmi §:
Semper ades Divæ, viridanti tempora vinctus
Docta ederæ, quam ultrò tibi nexit Apollo, coronâ.
Si conviva jocos agitas; tu cuncta lepôre
Musæo tingis: sed nescis lædere dictis,
Aut quemquam ingenio, patriam qui lædere nescit.
At si pauca mones, ausus culpare, Senatum;
Quæ sua Suada tibi dictavit, dulcia verba
Tu profers, quâ mente Cato, quo Tullius ore.
Blandiùs haud unquam Libertas ipsa locuta est;
Eloquioque tuo valuere oracula Divæ.
Quin etiam Vari || jucunda, optanda senectus
Hunc ornat cœtum; quo non virtute vel armis,
Quo non est cultor Divæ præstantior alter.
Olli etenim templum memorale, agrosque benignos
Sacravit Varus; sed jactat regia quales
Nec Versalia agros, Tamesina nec alluit unda.

The following Description of this Nobleman's Gardens is so natural and just, that it deserves likewise a Place in your *Magazine*.

* *Among the Ministers and Counsellors of the Goddess* Liberty. † *The Earl of* Orrery.
‡ *The Lord* Gower. § *The Earl of* Chesterfield. || *The Lord Viscount* Cobham.

En, hîc clivoſi dependent collibus horti, [tes.
Quoſque hinc deſpicias umbroſâ in valle jacen-
Hi pomis gaudent variis, hi floribus halant:
Obliquo hos videas diſtingui, hos tramite recto,
Sepibus hos hîrtis, exultis ſepibus illos.
Hîc apibus frutices, & amœna roſaria Nymphis,
Vatibus hîc laurî creſcunt, tibi, Tityre, fagi,
Et quercus Varo, veſtra ô tutela, Britanni.
Ecce recurvatum footes finuantur in amnem,
Percurritque lacus liquido violaria rivo.
En, almæ Veneris ſedes, doctæque Minervæ,
Muſarumque domos. En, hîc venerabile numen, [regum,
Quod non ulla movent aut vota aut munera
Numen Amicitiæ, pulchras ſibi condidit ædes.
En Stygium flumen; ſed non inamabilis unda:
Nec rimoſa ſenis cymba eſt: quin portitor ipſe
Exuto ſqualore nitet. Stat & ecce Megæra
Reginam fimulans, nè quenquam offendat imago. [columnas,
Quid, quòd & arboreos labyrinthos, antra,
Balneaque, & turres, & paſtoralia tecta,
Pyramidas, varum tumulos, pontemque ſuperbum,
Heroas, patrioſque Deos, & templa Deorum
Dædaliæ finxere manus? Vidi omnia, rebuſque
Attonitus tantis ſtupui. Tuque ingenioſa
Dum luſtras, hoſpes, lautæ miracula villæ,
Alcinoique ſolo lucos & culta vireta [ſacra,
Dum Vari præſens; tamen hîc potes hoſpita
Hîc potes Alcinoi ſuaves cognoſcere mores.
Digna loco Titan Vari præcordia fecit, [æſtas
Numine digna loci. Quos ver, quos blandior
Hîc gratos ſpirat, ſunt Libertatis odores.
Si poſſent arbuſta loqui, tibi conſona, Vare,
Libertas O magna Dea eſt, arbuſta ſonarent.

Among the Worſhippers of the Goddeſs *Liberty*, the Poet reckons as follows, *viz.*

Indomiti legatus * adeſt ductorque popelli,
Caſta olim Druidum ſedes, quem Cambria nutrit, [quam.
Vir bonus, hoſpitii veteris non immemor unNempè Britannorum priſco de ſanguine cretus
More facit patrio ſolleania vota; boveſque
Indigenas aris, & pingues deſtinat hœdos,
Montanaſque feras: ſed & aris omne quod offert,
Dat læto vultu, dulces libatque liquores.
Libertas quæ ſit, dudum cognovit, & arma,
Et vultus, habitus, mores reminiſcitur omnes,
Antiquaſque domos Divæ Plinlimnoea dicit.
Deinde pruinoſis commigrat Scotus † ab oris
Gnarus militiæ, frugique, & fortis amicus,
Bellica dona ferens: dumque hanc circumſpiçit ædem,
Et formam, & comites, Divæque inſignia, jactat,
Nomine communi gaudens, ſeſe eſſe Britannum.

Mox parvis rediens laribus miracula tan
Civibus atque ſuis meritos promittit ha
Et pacem agricolis, & nautis æquora tu
Jamque Caledonii meliùs procedere ſole
Incipiunt, meliùs gelidi glacialia fulge
Signa poli. Immites jam libertate fru
Orcades, & meſſes ſperant. Vix cognit
Nullius vel cura Dei, cœleſtia tandem
Numina ſentit ovans, & adorat barbara
Poſtquàm diverſis, floret quibus Al
ampla
Opplentur populis lætantibus atria templ
Ex Divæ ſociis, propiùs quique aſſidet in
Dux magnus, ‡ fortique & pectore notus
Aſſurgit, patriæ ſemper ſervire paratus,
Et contrà ſtare, incurrat ſi turba Cyclo
Quicquid recta fides, quicquid prudentia re
Ars belli quicquid poterit, vel ſervida vi
Ille poteſt. Hinc laudem magnam, hinc
bile nomen,
Hinc ſublime decus, ſummoſque meretu
nores.
Tum verò aſpectans populum, plenuſque
centi
Numine, cultoque hæc ſpectabilis ore prof

A CHARGE *to the* CLERGY. *Supposed by hearing a Sermon preach'd hastily.*

BRethren, this comes to let you kno
That I would have you to preach ſh
To give the words of a diſcourſe
Their proper time, and life, and force;
To urge what you think fit to ſay
In a ſedate, pathetick way,
Grave, and deliberate, as 'tis fit
To comment upon holy writ.
Many a ſermon gives diſtaſte
By being ſpoke in too much haſte,
Which if it had been ſpoke with leiſure,
Would have been liſten'd to with pleaſur
And thus the preacher often gains
His labour only for his pains;
As, if you doubt it, may appear
From ev'ry *Sunday* in the year.
For how indeed can one expect
The beſt diſcourſe ſhould take effect,
Unleſs the maker think it worth
Some care and pains to ſet it forth?
What! does he think the pains he took
To write it fairly in a book
Will do the buſineſs? Not a bit;
It muſt be ſpoke as well as writ.
For what's a ſermon, good or bad,
If a man read it like a lad?
To hear ſome people, when they preach,
How they run o'er all parts of ſpeech,
And neither raiſe or word, or ſink;
Our learned biſhops one would think,

I

* *Suppoſed to be either the Character of Sir* Watkyn Williams Wynn, *or a general Character of the* Welch. † *Suppoſed to be either the Character of the Earl of* Stair, *or a general Character of the* Scots. ‡ *The Duke of* Argyle.

aken ſchool-boys from the rod,
ake embaſſadors of God.
perfect is the Chriſtian ſcheme,
at from thence ſhall take his theme,
ime to have it underſtood,
rmon cannot but be good.
will needs be preaching ſtuff,
ne indeed is ſhort enough.
let him read it like a letter,
ooner it is done, the better.
for a man that has a head
ours,—or mine I'd like to've ſaid,
an upon occaſion raiſe
remark, or proper phraſe;
h a one to run along,
ing his accents o'er his tongue,
only that a man, at once,
a ſcholar, and a dunce.
oint of ſermons, 'tis confeſt
ngliſh clergy make the beſt:
s appears, we muſt confeſs,
m the pulpit, but the preſs.
nanage, with disjointed ſkill,
atter well, the manner ill,
hat ſeems paradox at firſt,
nake the beſt, and preach the worſt.
ld men but talk, as well as write,
cellencies would unite,
tward action being taught
the inward ſtrength of thought.
do this, our ſhort-hand ſchool,
wn this plain and general rule,
e enough,—all other graces
n fill up their proper places.

rd Chapter of HABAKKUK *para-*
*d**. *By the Author of* Quintilian's
int. (*See* Lon. Mag. 1735, *p.* 40.)

MENDOUS God, I have been told,
hat mighty works thou didſt of old,
when the words I hear,
duſt, forgive my fear!
continue to revive
ks, and let thy people live.
oly One from *Paran* came,
r and coleſtial flame.
eſs darted from his throne,
the earth his glory ſhone.
f light he *Sinai* trod,
e mount confeſt the God.
ence was at his guard,
ng coals his way declar'd.
e globe he did ſurvey,
the ſcatter'd nations lay;
his nod of pow'r decreed,
ſhould fall, and what ſucceed.
Arab leave his tent,
d *Midian*'s curtains rent.
O God, in angry mood,
rebuke the *paſſive flood*?
hy *fury* on the ſeas,
hy *holy wrath* appeaſe?
No, thou hadſt ſworn with mighty hand,
To give thy people *Can'an*'s land;
For this, the rock his waters gave,
And *Jordan* ſtopp'd his rowling wave;
For this, the *moon* her courſe did ſtay,
And *ſun* amaz'd, prolong'd the day.
'Twas thou, O God, that went'ſt before
Thy people, arm'd with fear and pow'r;
Thou thraſh'dſt the *Heathen* in thy wrath,
Protector of the houſe of faith.
Their haughty kings were ſoon ſubdu'd,
And ſudden fate conſum'd the crowd.
When like a whirling ſtorm they roſe,
And wou'd thy *choſen band* oppoſe;
When eager to deſtroy they came,
And nothing could their fury tame;
Thou, by thy might, upheld'ſt the war,
And *Jacob*'s ſeed was ſtill thy care.
Thou didſt before in terror go,
And o'er *Euphrates* drov'ſt the foe.
When I theſe mighty deeds was told,
Which God had wrought for us *of old*,
My trembling limbs a ſudden fear
Poſſeſs'd; what *terror* did I bear!
My quiv'ring lips could not impart
The *awful dread*, that ſeiz'd my heart;
For fear, that in this dangerous hour,
Our God ſhould now withdraw his pow'r;
And the *Chaldean*'s cruel hoſt
Should lay our towers, and temples waſte.
O God our ſtrength, avert our doom!
Altho' the *fig-tree* ſhould not bloom,
Altho' the *vine* no fruit ſhould yield,
And blaſts deſtroy the *labour'd field*;
Tho' by diſeaſe our *cattle* falls,
And leaves us only empty ſtalls;
Yet, *God our ſtrength*, we'll truſt in thee,
O let us thy ſalvation ſee!

The SECESSION. *A Congratulatory Epiſtle.*

HOW do'ſt do, my dear *Kit*?—we have juſt now been ſpeaking [*Wrekin*;
Of all our good friends, that reſide round the
But we've chiefly on thoſe near *Red-Caſtle* been thinking; [drinking.
And a glaſs to their health, after dinner, been
—I fancy, my friend won't repute it a crime,
If I pay my reſpects in a pen-full of rhyme.
Perhaps too,—on what has occur'd to the nation,
You'll be pleas'd to accept of my *congratulation*.
The occurrence, I mean, we *domeſtic* may call; [fal:
And is one of the beſt, that cou'd *Britain* be-
When the man, at the helm, took his leave of *the houſe*, [dom to chouſe.
Who ſo long has been wont the whole king-
Hear, hear him! O hear him!—hark! what ſays the *great man*?
"*I'm reſolv'd to get rid of this houſe*,—*if I can*:
"*No more trouble I'll give to't*;—*no more I intend* [*depend*."
"*To return*:—*You, for once, on my word may*

Bravely

Bravely ſpoke, before *George!*—O how do
the words chear [one's ear!
My heart!—O how ſweetly they ſound in
This, this, all true *friends* to their *country* muſt own [known,
The moſt charming *ſeceſſion*, that ever was
'Tis ſo kind!—yet the favour, methinks, wou'd be double, [*trouble*,
If, *the other b—ſ* too, he'd reſolve not to
Tho', perhaps, *by his p—rs*, he preſumes to be try'd; [ly'd,
But he has not his *peer*;—if he has, he's be-
Yet however, *up ſtairs*, having had ſuch a *kick*, [ly ſick.
B—b, e'er long, of his ſins, may grow hearti-
Ah! what now muſt become of our dull *Gazetteers*, [jeers,
Of their balderdaſh gibes, and impertinent
Of their grave, ſolemn cant,—and their ſpecious pretences, [fences?
Of their wandring evaſions, and paltry de-
All this *obtruded ſtuff*—(lackaday! Sir, O dear —O!) [*hero*.
Muſt e'en make up a *funeral-pile* for their
Thus, *ſquibs* have their *flights*, and a *ſcandalous aim*: [*flame*.
But, ſuch *bouncing* and *cracking* oft ends in a
Some poor rogues get their bread, ſooty chimnies by ſweeping; [creeping.
Others, up the vile ſleeves of *corruptors*, by
But, againſt nature thus, and of fate in full ſpite,
To endeavour to *waſh* ſuch a *blackamore white*,
Is a thing ſo abſurd, ſo beſottedly vain,
As will hardly (I hope) be attempted again.
Now, now, for our trade ſhall protection be found;
Nor ſo many ſhips to *Sebaſtians* be bound.
Now, now, better news, we're in hopes, will arrive; [vive:
And the true *Britiſh* glory brave *Vernon* re-
Now, ſuch wiſh'd-for ſucceſs crown the arms of the nation; [tion,
As our trade ſhall ſecure, and a free naviga-
Now, the *church* and the *ſtate* ſhall their foes overcome;— [at home:
And affairs mend their face, both abroad and
Brighter things ſhall our *annals* from henceforth record; [ſtor'd.
And the balance of power, by degrees, be re-
A work of ſome time, 'twill undoubtedly prove, [remove.
Of our chiefeſt complaints the ſad cauſe to
And, who ward off, *at laſt*,—muſt perform mighty wonders, [ders;—
The blows, that await ſuch a ſeries of blun-
Of meaſures ſo wicked, ſo wild, and ſo weak,
As wou'd almoſt compel e'en a dumb man to ſpeak, [to pay,
'Twou'd be hard, in good faith! heavy *taxes*
In *penſions* and *bribes*, to be ſquander'd away.
But, we'll hope,—now they've ſet *the Corruptor* aſide, [*apply'd*.
They'll be *chearfully paid*,—and much *better*

Feb. 15, 1741-2. PHILOPATRIS.

The Character of a late Great MINIS
in Bouſtraphic *Meaſure*.

MENS pia, non mala mens, probitas,
publica furta
Quærere fecerunt hunc, caput imperii.

N. B. *We have no Occaſion to caution Readers againſt reading this Epigram backwards.*

The high Praiſes of the two Politician Bro
or, the Par Nobile Fratrum.

ACCIPE, poſteritas, quod per tua
pita clamet,
V—polidum genio, nunc tria regna
Affirmare auſim, poſt *Bruti* tempora
His peperit geminis, inſula nulla
Cecinit C. C. C.

Concluſion of the Frighted Farmer,
Things promiſ'd in our laſt, muſt be
our next.

The Genuine SPEECH *of Sir* R—— W
to his Electors at Lynn, Aug. 31, 17

Gentlemen,

I Cannot but think myſelf infinitely
to you, for the Favour beſtow'd
this Day; but more eſpecially I think
particularly bound to return you my
hearty Thanks for your Kindneſs, in
ing me, after that unjuſt, malicious
hement Proſecution of me, inaſmuch
was pleaſed to ſtand by me, becauſe
be honeſt in the very worſt of Time
this Act of yours renders this Corpora
mous to the laſt Poſterity.

The laſt Parliament, from whom
could be expected, nor no Good come,
her Majeſty to uſe her Intereſt wit
reign States, to remove the Pretend
their Dominions; but this has been
contriv'd with us, that he is remov'd
as the Power of *France* can place him

Her Majeſty was pleas'd to tell us
all know, a Year paſt, that *Dunkirk*
demoliſh'd, but not one Stone is
and the Completion of that Work is
till *Chriſtmas*; then, we hear it will
liſh'd, but we have no Certainty;
the Terms of Peace, I dare be bold
That had the *French* King beaten
have done him, he would have been
deſt, as to have given us better T
thoſe we have now gain'd, after all
rious Victories.

We have ſome Reaſon to think,
enſuing Parliament will tread in
Steps as the former; but aſſure you
will ſtruggle hard for our Religious
ties.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

ABOUT the Beginning of the Month we had repeated Accounts of the *Engliſh* Forces having quitted the Iſland of *Cuba*, after a terrible Sickneſs and Mortality among both Officers and ers, which had prodigiouſly reduced their bers; ſo that, as it was ſaid, they loſt Men in a hutted Camp, than they before the Walls of *St. Jago*; and a- the ſickly Remains, there were but ivate Men able to bear Arms, and do , when they decamp'd.

his Month began with a moſt remark- Affair, *viz.* a Change in the Miniſtry, s coming apace towards a Criſis ever the Meeting of the new Parliament. Particulars we ſhall give in their proper . (See *Common Senſe* and the *Craftſ-* f the 20th Inſtant, p. 91, 93.)

MONDAY, *Feb.* 1.

Serene Highneſs the Duke of *Saxe-* Brother to her Royal Highneſs the eſs of *Wales*, (who came over to *Eng-* the latter End of laſt Month) was this troduced to his Majeſty, and graciouſly ed. He had been before at *Carlton* with their Royal Highneſſes, where great Court to compliment him on his rival.

TUESDAY, 2.

en the M———r found he loſt the ity, he is ſaid to have declar'd, that uld give the Houſe no farther Trouble, turn to it again. On which Occaſion lowing appear'd in the Papers, *viz.* *burgh, Jan.* 28. The following is ta- om a Volume of Eſſays lately publiſh'd

Character of Sir R—— W———.

e never was a Man, whoſe Actions aracter have been more earneſtly and canvaſs'd, than thoſe of the preſent. —r, who, having governed a learned Nation for ſo long a Time, amidſt ighty Oppoſition, may make a large of what has been wrote for and a- m, and is the Subject of above Half et that has been blotted in this Na- thin theſe 20 Years. I wiſh, for the of our Country, that any one Cha- f him had been drawn with ſuch and *Impartiality*, as to have ſome ith Poſterity, and ſhew, that our has, once at leaſt, been employed to poſe. I am only afraid of failing in the former Quality of Judgment: But if it ſhould be ſo, 'tis but one Page more thrown away, after a hundred Thouſand upon the ſame Subject, that have periſhed, and become uſeleſs. In the mean Time, I ſhall flatter myſelf with the pleaſing Imagination, that the following Character will be adopted by future Hiſtorians.

Sir *R*—— *W*———, P—me M———r of *Great Britain*, is a Man of Ability, not of Genius; good-natur'd, not virtuous; conſtant, not magnanimous; moderate, not equitable*. His Virtues, in ſome Inſtances, are free from the Allay of thoſe Vices, which uſually accompany ſuch Virtues: He is a generous Friend, without being a bitter Enemy. His Vices, in other Inſtances, are not compenſated by thoſe Virtues, which are nearly allied to them: His Want of Enterprize is not attended with Frugality. The private Character of the Man is better than the publick: His Virtues more than his Vices: His Fortune greater than his Fame. With many good Qualities he has incurred the publick Hatred: With good Capacity he has not eſcaped Ridicule. He would have been eſteemed worthy of his high Station, had he never poſſeſt it; and is better qualified for the ſecond than for the firſt Place in any Government. His Miniſtry has been more advantageous to his Family than to the Publick; better for his Age than for Poſterity; and more pernicious by bad Precedents than by real Grievances. During his Time Trade has *flouriſhed*, Liberty declined, and Learning gone to Ruin. As I am a Man, I love him; as I am a Scholar, I hate him; as I am a *Briton*, I wiſh his Fall: And, were I a Member of either Houſe, I would give my Vote for removing him from *St. James's*; but ſhould be glad to ſee him retire to *H*—— Hall, to paſs the Remainder of his Days in Eaſe and Pleaſure.

Sheriffs appointed for the enſuing Year.

Bucks, Rich. Eſkrigge, Eſq;—*Devon.* Cha. Hayne, Eſq;—*Derb.* John Giſborne, jun. Eſq;—*Hereſ.* John Whitmore, Eſq;—*Staff.* Wm. Murſhall, Eſq;—*Suffolk*, Baron Prettyman, Eſq;—*Suſſex*, Edw. Tedcroft, Eſq;—*Warw.* Edw. Reppington, Eſq;—*York.* Henry Darcy, Eſq;——For *South Wales*: *Carmar.* James Johnſon, Eſq;—*Card.* Thomas Lewis, Eſq;—*Glam.* Robert Morris, Eſq;—*Pemb.* William Allen, Eſq;——For *North Wales*: *Flint*, Evan Lloyd the younger, Eſq;—*Montg.* Henry Thomas, Eſq;

WED-

* *Moderate in the Exerciſe of Power, not equitable in engroſſing it.*

WEDNESDAY, 3.

His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and pass'd the Malt Bill, &c. after which the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, signified to the Parliament, that it was his Majesty's Pleasure they should adjourn to the 18th Instant, and accordingly both Houses adjourn'd to that Day.

TUESDAY, 9.

The following was publish'd by Authority, viz.

The King has been pleased to grant unto the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole*, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, the Dignities of a Baron, Viscount and Earl of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, by the Name, Stile and Title of Baron of *Houghton*, in the County of *Norfolk*, Viscount *Walpole*, and Earl of *Orford* in the County of *Suffolk*.

The King has been pleased to signify his Pleasure, by Warrant to the Right Hon. *Francis* Earl of *Effingham*, Deputy to his Grace *Edward* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marshal, and Hereditary Earl Marshal of *England*, that Mrs. *Maria Walpole* shall have and enjoy the same Place, Pre-eminence and Precedency in all Assemblies and Meetings whatsoever, as the Daughter of an Earl of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*.

WEDNESDAY, 10.

Was held a Court of Common Council at *Guildhall*, when a Motion was made, That a Committee should be appointed to draw up Instructions for the Representatives of this City in Parliament, on the present critical Juncture of Affairs; which was unanimously agreed to, and Instructions drawn up, and order'd to be deliver'd to the Members accordingly. (See these Instructions, or Representation, p. 92.)

THURSDAY, 11.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Orford* went to Court, and resign'd all his Employments; after which, he set out for *Richmond* Park in *Surrey*. See the Alterations in the Ministry on this Occasion, in the *Promotions*.

FRIDAY, 12.

There was a great Meeting of Noblemen and Gentlemen, Members of both Houses of Parliament, to the Number of 300, at the *Fountain* Tavern in the *Strand*, to consider of what was expedient to be done in the present critical Conjuncture. Among others were the following.

Dukes of Bedford and Argyle;—Marquis of Carnarvon;—Earls of Exeter, Berkshire, Chesterfield, Carlisle, Aylesbury, Shaftsbury, Litchfield, Oxford, Rockingham, Hallifax, Stanhope, Macclesfield, Darnley, Barrimore, Granard;—Viscounts Cobham, Falmouth, Limerick, Gage, Chetwynd;—Lords Ward, Gower, Bathurst, Talbot, Strange, Andover, Guernsey, Quarendon, Perceval;—Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Charles Mordaunt, Sir Erasmus Philips, Sir Robert Grosvenor, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Roger Burgoyne, Sir John Hind Cotton, Sir Henry Northcote, William Carew, Sir Miles Stapylton, Hugh Smithson, Sir William Morris, John Rushout, Sir Michael Newton, Sir ger Twisden, Sir Robert Long, Sir C Wyndham, Sir Jermyn Davers, Sir J Dashwood, Sir Watkyn Williams Wyn Cordel Firebrace, Sir Edward Thom Francis Dashwood, Sir Jacob Bouveri John Chapman, Sir Abraham Elton, Sir Peachy, Sir William Courtenay, Sir J Hamilton;—Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sand Gybbon, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Waller, Shippen, Mr. Fazakerley, Mr. Mellish, Ald. Heathcote, Mr. Bance.

WEDNESDAY, 17.

At a general Meeting of the indep Electors of the City and Liberty of minster, at the *Fountain* Tavern in the S it was unanimously agreed that a Repre tion be deliver'd to their Members. (W fee, p. 92.)

As the first happy Effect of the Cha the Ministry, his Royal Highness the P of *Wales* on this Day waited upon his jesty at St *James*'s, and was received most gracious and affectionate Manner which Occasion there was a very Appearance at Court of the Nobility, Ministers, and other Persons of Distinc and in the Evening there were Bonfire luminations, and other publick Demo tions of Joy. And a Guard was imme ly order'd to attend his Royal Highne *Carlton* House.

A List of some of the Lords, &c. had not been lately at St. *James*'s, and ed on his Majesty the Day after his Highness had been there. The whole ber being above 250.

Dukes of Beaufort, Bedford, Argyle, water, Roxburgh;—Marquis of Carna —Earls of Darby, Denbigh, Westmo Winchelsea, Thanet, Sandwich, C Aylesbury, Litchfield, Scarborough, try, Oxford, Aylesford, Hallifax, M field, Darnley, Barrimore, Inchiquin, nard;—Viscounts Hereford, Cobham, wynd, Barrington, Gage, Strange, don, Guernsey;——Lords Clinton, Guilford, Haversham, Gower, Barhurst, Talbot, Baltimore;—Lord &c.—Sir Michael Newton, Sir Watky liams Wynne, Sir John Hind Cotto Robert Long, Sir Francis Dashwood, ward Dering, Sir Roger Burgoyne, mund Thomas, Sir Hugh Smithson, Barrington, Sir James Dashwood, Chapman, Sir John Bruce;—Mr. Mr. Vane, Mr. Doddington, Mr. ley, Mr. Bootle, Mr. Berkeley, M vison Gower, Mr. Gore, Mr. Wat Grenville, Mr. Nugent, Mr. Bo Waller, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Reid,

THURSDAY, 18.

Right Hon. the Earl of *Orford* took
s and his Seat in the House of Peers.
Rejoicings were made in divers Pla-
ccount of the late Change, as at *E-*
Halifax, *Preston*, &c.
odel of the Engine for conveying
into the different Parts of Men of
means of Fire from the Cook-room,
n before the Royal Society, exami-
approved of, as an Invention greatly
to the Health of the Seamen be-
o his Majesty's Navy. The Model
e by Order, and at the Expence of
d, who has given all possible Encou-
to the Invention. (*London Maga-*
41, p. 464.)

TUESDAY, 23.

Night *William Myddelton*, Esq; High
f the County of *Denbigh* at the last
, was, by the House of Commons,
ed to *Newgate*.

WEDNESDAY, 24.

Morning, between 3 and 4 o'Clock,
roke out at Mr. *Shepherd*'s, a Statio-
Smithfield-Bars, which intirely con-
hat House, and a Peruke-maker's
. Mr. *Shepherd* was forced to throw
out of a Two-Pair-of-Stairs Win-
d falling upon the Sign-Iron, broke it
nd was very much bruised; and his
who was far gone with Child, unhap-
sh'd in the Flames.

ard Thompson *and* Godfrey Went-
, *Esqrs. Members of Parliament for*
ity of York.

the Mayor and Commonalty of this
City, take this first Opportunity of
g our Thanks to you; Mr. *Went-*
for your constant Attendance and Be-
in Parliament, which has so greatly
ted to our present happy Prospect of
And we hope, Mr. *Thompson*, that
nduct will be such for the future, as
ve the same Acknowledgments.

glorious Spirit of Liberty, which hath
h prevailed over that Torrent of Bri-
Corruption, that has borne down all
t for these twenty Years past, gives
teſt Satisfaction to every independent
and induces us to hope, that, by a
erseverance in those Principles, which
eat House of Commons have so hap-
out with, we may see our Parlia-
ree and independent, and our ancient
tion restor'd: To which End, we ex-
at you will set forward, and heartily
in a Bill, or Bills, for disabling Pen-
from sitting as Representatives of a
ple; for reducing and limiting the
of Placemen in the House of Com-
or making it a Capital Offence for any
Officer wilfully and corruptly to a-
buse his Trust; and for restoring to us Tri-
ennial Elections, that thereby his Majesty
may be informed of the true Sense of his
People.

We at this Time particularly make it our
earnest Request, that you'll heartily promote
an Inquiry into the treacherous Neglect of
those, whose Duty it was to have carried on
this necessary War with Vigour, that they
may be brought to an open and a fair Trial,
and meet with the just Reward of their De-
serts.

York, Guildhall, Feb. 17.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

REV. Mr. *Townley*, M. A. Morning
Preacher at *Lincoln*'s-Inn Chapel, to
Miss *Jane Bonnin* of *Windsor*.—*Thomas Worsley*,
Esq; only Son of Sir *Robert Worsley*, Bart. to
Miss *Withers*, Daughter of the late *Charles*
Withers of *Hampshire*, Esq;—*Edward Horne*,
of *Pirton* in *Oxfordshire*, Esq; to Miss *Heads*.
—*Thomas Warner*, of *Gray*'s-Inn, Esq; to
Miss *Kerby*.—*Robert Masters*, Esq; of *Arun-*
del-street in the *Strand*, to Miss *Raines* of *Eſ-*
sex.—Mr. *Barrington Buggin*, an eminent
Merchant in *Mark-Lane*, to Miss *Chapman*.
—Mr. *Cordwell*, the City Carpenter, to Mrs.
Okeley.—The Lady Viscountess *Galloway* safely
deliver'd of a Son.—Countess of *Rothes*, of a
Daughter.

DEATHS.

HUGH *Williams*, Esq; who represented
the County of *Anglesea* in the last Par-
liament of K. *George* I.—At *York*, Sir *John*
Byrne, an *Irish* Baronet, lately High Sheriff
of the County of *Chester*.—Right Hon. the
Lord *Paget*, Son and Heir Apparent to the
Earl of *Uxbridge*.—Rev. Dr. *Birch*, Preben-
dary and Chancellor of *Worcester*.—*George*
Pemberton, Esq; a Gentleman of a great Es-
tate in *Worcestershire*.—Mr. *William Mil-*
ward, a celebrated Actor at the Theatre
Royal in *Drury Lane*.—*Richard Howard*, Esq;
one of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Com-
pany.—Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of
Ancaster.—Sir *Richard Ellys*, of *Nocton* in
Lincolnshire, Bart. not less eminent for his
Learning than his great private and extensive
Charities.—Rev. Dr. *Leonard Twells*, Rector
of St. *Matthew*'s, *Friday-street*, Prebendary
of St. *Paul*'s, &c.—Sir *Arthur Gore*, Bart. in
Ireland.—Mr. *Charles Rivington*, an eminent
Bookseller, in St. *Paul*'s *Church-Yard*.—Rev.
Mr. *Ayscough*, Rector of St. *Olave*, *South-*
wark.—*James Worsley*, Esq; Member in the
last Parliament, for *Newton* in the *Isle of*
Wight.—*William Ruck*, Esq; at his Chambers
in *Gray*'s-*Inn*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Oliver Boyle*, to the Vicarage of
Morwinstow in *Cornwall*.—*Sam. Dodg-*

ſon, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Calverley* in *Yorkſhire*.—Mr. *Maltus* choſen Lecturer of St. *Mary Magdalen, Bermondſey*.—Mr. *Hugh Burdet* preſented to the Vicarage of *Newington* in *Kent*.—Mr. *George Langworth*, to the Vicarage of *Heckingham, Devon*.—Mr. *Robert Billit*, to the Vicarage of *Nun-Eaton* in *Warwickſhire*.—Dr. *Jonathan Rogers*, to the Living of *Aſtrea* in the County of *Tyrone* in *Ireland*, valu'd at 400*l. per Annum*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military.*

SAMUEL *Sandys*, Eſq; made Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, in the Room of Sir *Robert Walpole*, now Earl of *Orford*.—Rt. Hon. *John* Lord *Carteret* made one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, in the Room of Lord *Harrington*, who was advanc'd to the Dignity of an Earl, and made Preſident of the Council.—*Charles Hanbury Williams*, Eſq; made Lieutenant of the County of *Hereford*.—Rt. Hon. *Spencer* Earl of *Wilmington*, *Samuel Sandys*, and *George Compton*, Eſqrs. Sir *John Ruſhout*, Bart. and *Philips Gybbon*, Eſq; appointed Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.—Moſt Hon. the Marquiſs of *Tweedale* made one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State of *Great Britain*.—*Gwyn Vaughan*, Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, in the Room of *Edward Rigge*, Eſq; deceas'd.—*David Papillon*, Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of Exciſe, in the Room of Sir *Tho. Robinſon*, Bart. now Governor of *Barbadoes*.—Earl of *Cardigan* made Warden and Chief Juſtice in Eyre of all his Majeſty's Foreſts, &c. beyond *Trent*, in the Room of the late Duke of *Ancaſter*.—His Grace *John* Duke of *Argyll* and *Greenwich*, Field-Marſhal of his Majeſty's Forces, made Maſter General of the Ordnance.——Right Hon. *William Pulteney*, Eſq; was by his Majeſty's Command, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt Hon. Privy Council, and took his Place at the Board accordingly.—His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* made Col. of the firſt Regiment of Foot Guards, in the Room of Sir *Charles Wills*, deceas'd.—*Charles* Duke of *Marlborough*, made Col. of the 2d or Cold-ſtream Reg. of Foot Guards, in the Room of his Royal Highneſs the Duke.——His Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to make the following Promotions of General Officers in his Army, *viz.* Lieutenants General, the Earl of *Pembroke* and *James Campbell*, Eſq; — Majors General, the Duke of *Richmond*, *John Guiſe*, Eſq; and the Earl of *Albemarle*.—Brigadiers General, *Rich. Onſlow*, *Francis Fuller*, *Henry Pulteney*, *Charles Howard*, *Phil. Bragg*, *John Huſke*, *Henry Ponſonby*, and *Charles Frampton*, Eſqrs. ——*Vere*, Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of the Salt Office.—*Robert Ord*, Eſq; Member of Parl. for *Morpeth*, appointed Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Room of *Henry Legg*, Eſq; M for *Orford*.—*Andrew Mitchell*, Eſq; mad der-Secretary to the Marqueſs of Tw Counſellor *Denniſon* and Counſellor *Le* to the Degree of Serjeants at Law Court of *Common Pleas*: And Mr. *Denniſon* made one of the Judges of the of *King's-Bench*, in the Room of Mr. *Page*, deceas'd.—Rev. *Nathaniel Bliſs*, elected *Savillian* Profeſſor of Geome the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in the R Dr. *Halley*, deceas'd.—*Will. Lemon*, in *Cornwall*, Eſq; appointed by H Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, High of the ſaid County.

New Members choſen, &c.

Michael Harvey, Eſq; for *Milborn* the Room of *Thomas Medlicot*, Eſq; cepted a Place.—Sir *John Strange*, Kn licitor General, for *Totneſs* in *Devon* the Room of Sir *Charles Wills*, decea *James Stewart Mackenzie*, for the S *Argyll*, in the Room of *Charles Campbe* deceas'd.—*William Douglas*, Eſq; for th of *Roxburgh*, in the Room of *John ford*, Eſq; who accepted a Place.—*Philip bon*, Eſq; lately appointed a Lord of the ſury, rechoſen for *Rye* in *Suſſex*.—*Sam ville* and *Charles Gray*, Eſqrs. declar elected for *Colcheſter*, in the Room of *Olmius* and *Matt. Martin*, Eſqrs.—Sir lyn *Williams Wynne*, Bart. declar'd cho ted for the County of *Denbigh*.

[*The Bankrupts in our next.*]

Abſtract of the *London* WEEK BILL, from *Jan.* 26. to *Feb.* 2

Chriſtned	Males	556	1
	Females	551	
Buried	Males	1228	2
	Females	1296	

Died under 2 Years old			
Between	2	and 5	
	5	10	
	10	20	
	20	30	
	30	40	
	40	50	
	50	60	
	60	70	
	70	80	
	80	90	
	90 and upwards		

Hay 48 to 50*s.* a Load.

T H

HE immediate Conſequence of the late Revolution in *Muſcovy* was, the Commencement of a Negociation for reſtoring between that Empire and *Sweden*, ſoon ended in a Suſpenſion of Arms ree Months; and the *French* Miniſter *terſburgh* now labours as aſſiduouſly to about a Reconciliation, as he formerly o bring about a Rupture between theſe Crowns; which ſeems to be a Proof, the new Government in *Ruſſia* has no Inion to ſend any Aſſiſtance to the Queen *ngary*, tho' it is certainly the Intereſt of Empire to preſerve intire the Dominions e Houſe of *Auſtria*, as being her moſt al and beſt Ally againſt the *Turks*.

e Trials of the Counts *Oſterman* and *Mu*Baron *Mengden*, and their Confederates, over, the Commiſſion eſtabliſhed for Purpoſe made their Report to her *Ruſſian* ſty, which was, That they all deſerved , by all the Laws of God and Man, y their own Confeſſions. Accordingly, e 7th of laſt Month, theſe three Gen, together with Count *Golofkin*, the Grand al Count *Lowenwold*, and a Secretary, brought from the Citadel, to a Place be the Colleges, where a Scaffold was e, upon which, about Ten o'Clock, *Oſterman* was carried in a Chair, when harge was read to him, his Excellency all that Time bare-headed, and with an ive but firm Countenance liſtning to it; which, his Sentence was pronounced, was, To be broke upon the Wheel. reparations, however, had been made for rible an Execution, but inſtead thereof, were two Blocks with Axes upon them, e being taken out of the Chair, and forward by the Soldiers, his Head was n one of the Blocks, when the Execuadvanced, and unbuttoning the Collar Night Gown and Shirt, laid bare his ; but juſt as he was expecting the fatal , his Head was raiſed up, and it was to him, that the Empreſs had chang'd pital Puniſhment into perpetual Baniſhwhereupon he was liſted up by the Sol- and replaced on his Chair, without any ible Change in his Countenance during hole Time of this awful Ceremony. The ive, who were ſtanding round the Scafelow, had then their Sentences read to that of the Veldt Marſhal *Munich* to rtered, and the other four beheaded; the ſame Time the Change into Bant was declared to each. Theſe laſt had Beards; but the Veldt Marſhal was aved, well dreſſed, and with as erect, , and unconcerned a Countenance, as he was leading the victorious Armies of againſt the *Turks*, but a little more than ears before. As another Inſtance of den and great Changes in the Fortunes of Men in this Empire, *Abrahan Petrovitz Araboff*, a Negroe, has lately been recall'd from the Baniſhment he has been in ever ſince *Peter* IId's Time, and her *Ruſſian* Majeſty has not only made him a Major General, and Commandant at *Revel*, but has given him a Preſent of an Eſtate and 600 Boors about *Pleſkow*; for in *Ruſſia* the Boors are all a Sort of Slaves, or what the Civilians call *Adſcriptitii Glebæ*, being bought and ſold with the Land to which they belong. This Negro was made a Preſent of to *Peter the Great*, by the Captain of an *Engliſh* Ship; and in 1717 his Majeſty left him at *Paris* to learn Mathematicks and Engineering; and upon his Return made him firſt a Lieutenant in his Guards, and then a Captain of Bombardiers.

Since our laſt, the foreign Papers have been full of the Succeſſes of the *Auſtrian* Troops in *Upper Auſtria* and *Bavaria*. On the 12th of laſt Month, the City of *Lintz* ſurrendered upon Capitulation, by which the numerous Body of *French* and *Bavarian* Troops incloſed therein were obliged not to ſerve againſt the Queen of *Hungary* for the Space of a Year. On the 14th, the important City of *Paſſau* ſurrendered to a Body of the *Auſtrian* Troops, and on the 31ſt, the Prince of *Hildbourghauſen*, with the *Auſtrian* Troops from *Italy*, being arrived near *Munich*, the Capital of *Bavaria*, he ſummoned the City to ſurrender, and accordingly the Gates were immediately opened to him. In ſhort, the *Auſtrians* were, by our laſt Accounts, in Poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole Electorate of *Bavaria*, where they were raiſing vaſt Contributions; and about the Beginning of this Month, a Detachment of General *Palfi*'s *Huſſars* took Poſt in the Neighbourhood of *Ratiſbon*, ſo that they may probably ſoon enter the Palatinate of *Bavaria*, but they have declared they will no Way moleſt the City or Inhabitants of *Ratiſbon*.

By the laſt Mail from *Holland*, we had the agreeable News, that the *Dutch* have agreed to the third Augmentation of their Troops; to fit out for immediate Service 25 Men of War; and to build 25 more with all poſſible Expedition.

And by the laſt Mail from *France*, we had an Account of their receiving the News of the late Change in our Adminiſtration here with the utmoſt Conſternation. That upon the Receipt of this News, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty immediately call'd an extraordinary Council of State, wherein it was reſolved, to put that Kingdom into the beſt Poſture of Defence, and to purſue the Affairs of the Marine with the utmoſt Diligence. But what was the moſt certain and publick Proof of this Change being diſagreeable to the *French* was, that as ſoon as it was rumoured abroad, their Stocks fell from 2005*l.* to 1965*l.*

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MARCH, 1742.

URNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 72.

Magazines *for* May, June, *and* July, *we gave our Readers the Subſtance of Debate in the* Political Club, *upon the ſtion*, Whether an humble Addreſs ld be preſented to his Majeſty, that would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole*, Knt. the moſt noble Order of the Garter, Commiſſioner for executing the Office Treaſurer of the Exchequer, Chancel- and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable y Council, from his Majeſty's Preſence Councils for ever. *In the Preface to Debate it was intimated, that the De- upon this Queſtion took up two Days; as we then gave only the Debate of the Day, we ſhall now give the Subſtance of of the ſecond, when the Club, according ſtom, aſſum'd a different Character, and* Junius Brutus *opened the Debate with a ch to the Effect as follows*, viz.

r. Preſident,
I R,

AMONG the many Advantages ariſing from our happy Form of Government, there is one which is reciprocal to King and People, which is, a legal and regular Method by which the People may lay their Grievances, Complaints, and Opinions, before their Sovereign, not only with regard to the Meaſures he purſues, but alſo with regard to the Perſons he employs. In abſolute Monarchies, the People may ſuffer, they may complain, but though their Sufferings be publick, their Complaints muſt be private: They muſt not ſo much as murmur againſt their King's Meaſures or Miniſters; if they do, it is certain Perdition to the Few that are guilty of ſo much Indiſcretion. This is a moſt terrible Misfortune to the People in all abſolute Monarchies, and occaſions thoſe ſevere Puniſhments and cruel Tortures, which are ſo frequent in all ſuch; but it is a Misfortune to the abſolute Monarch, as well as to the People under his deſpotick Sway; for as he has no Way of coming at the Knowledge of the Unpopularity of his Meaſures or Miniſters, he often goes on purſuing the ſame Meaſures, or employing the ſame Miniſters, till the Diſcontents of his People become

univerſal and furious; and then, by a general Inſurrection, he and his Miniſters are involved in one common Ruin. However upright his Intentions may have been, however much he may have been impoſed on by his Miniſters, an impetuous, domineering Mob can ſeldom make any Difference: The deſpotick Monarch himſelf, and ſometimes his whole Family, are borne down by the Impetuoſity of the Torrent, and become a Sacrifice to the Reſentment of an injured Populace.

In this Kingdom, Sir, it can never be ſo, as long as the King allows Parliaments to ſit regularly and freely, and the Members of this Houſe perform faithfully the Duty they owe to their King, their Conſtituents, and their Country. As Members of this Houſe, Sir, we are obliged to repreſent to his Majeſty, not only the Grievances, but the Sentiments of the People, with regard to the Meaſures he purſues, and the Perſons he adviſes with or employs in the executive Part of our Government; and therefore, whilſt we ſit here and do our Duty, no general Diſcontent can ariſe, without his Majeſty's being informed of its Cauſes, and of the Methods for allaying it: If we neglect to do ſo, or from ſelfiſh Motives abſtain or delay giving his Majeſty a proper Information and Advice upon any ſuch Occaſion, we neglect or betray not only our Duty to our Country and Conſtituents, but alſo our Duty to our Sovereign.

This, Sir, is my Opinion; this muſt be the Opinion of every Man, who has a true Notion of our Conſtitution, and therefore I can no longer delay making you the Motion, with which I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay upon this Occaſion. I believe, there is not a Gentleman of this Houſe, who is not ſenſible, that both the foreign and domeſtick Meaſures of our Government, for ſeveral Years paſt, [illegible] been diſſatisfactory to a great M[illegible]rity of the Nation, I may ſay to[illegible]moſt every Man in the Nation, [illegible] has not been concerned in adv[illegible] or carrying them on. I bel[illegible] there is not a Gentleman in [illegible] Houſe, if he will freely declare [illegible] Sentiments, who is not ſenſible, [illegible] one ſingle Perſon in the Admini[illegible]tion has not only been thoug[illegible] be, but has actually been the c[illegible] if not the ſole Adviſer and Pro[illegible]ter of all thoſe Meaſures. Thi[illegible] known without Doors, as well a[illegible] is within, and therefore the Diſc[illegible]tents, the Reproaches, and even [illegible] Curſes of the People, are all dir[illegible]ed againſt that ſingle Perſon. T[illegible] complain of our preſent Meaſ[illegible] they have ſuffer'd by paſt Meaſu[illegible] they expect no Redreſs; they [illegible]pect no Alteration or Amendm[illegible] whilſt he has a Share in adviſing [illegible] directing our future. Theſe, Sir, [illegible] the Sentiments of the People w[illegible] regard to that Miniſter: Theſe S[illegible]timents we are in Honour and D[illegible] bound to repreſent to his Majeſ[illegible] and the proper Method for do[illegible] this, as eſtabliſhed by our Conſti[illegible]tion, is to addreſs his Majeſty to [illegible] move him from his Councils.

Sir, if the general Diſconte[illegible] which hath ariſen againſt this M[illegible]niſter, were but of yeſterday, [illegible] without any juſt and ſolid Foun[illegible]tion, I ſhould expect it would [illegible] blow over, and therefore ſhould [illegible] think it worthy of the Notice [illegible] Parliament; but it has laſted for [illegible] many Years, was at firſt ſo w[illegible] founded, and has every Year [illegible] been gathering, from his Conduc[illegible] ſo much additional Strength, tha[illegible] have for ſeveral Seſſions expe[illegible] ſuch a Motion, as I am now [illegible] make, from ſome other Gentlem[illegible] more capable than I am to ena[illegible] what he propoſes; but as no G[illegible] tleman has hitherto attempted [illegible] and as this is the laſt Seſſion of [illegible] Par[illegible]

ment, I was unwilling it ſhould
e without anſwering the Peo-
Expectations, which, in this
ct, are ſo juſt, ſo well found-
nd ſo agreeable to our Conſti-
; therefore, I hope I ſhall be
ed for attempting what I think
Duty, as a Member of this
e, and as a Friend to our pre-
appy Eſtabliſhment.

ter what I have ſaid, Sir, I
e no Gentleman can miſtake
erſon I mean: I am convin-
very one ſuppoſes I mean the
Gentleman, who ſits upon the
over-againſt me; and the
Houſe may ſee, he takes it
nſelf. Againſt him there is,
eve, as general a popular Diſ-
nt, as ever was againſt any
ter in this Kingdom; and this
ntent has laſted ſo long, that I
ſay, his having withſtood it
many Years, is no great Sign
e Freedom of our Govern-
; for a free People neither will
an be governed by a Miniſter
hate or deſpiſe. As I am only
poſe an Addreſs to remove
rom his Majeſty's Councils, I
o Occaſion to accuſe him of
rime: The People's being ge-
y diſſatisfied with him, and
ious of his Conduct, is a ſuf-
Foundation for ſuch an Ad-
and a ſufficient Cauſe for his
y's removing him from his
ils; becauſe, no Sovereign of
Kingdoms ought to employ a
er, who is become diſagreea-
the Generality of the Peo-
nd when any Miniſter hap-
become ſo, it is our Duty
m his Majeſty of it, that he
ve Satisfaction to his People,
Removal of ſuch a Miniſter.
ever, Sir, tho' I ſhall not at
charge this Miniſter with
rticular Crime, I muſt beg
to examine a little into his
, in order to ſhew, that the
ents of the People are not
without Foundation; and if it be
true, what was and is ſtill generally
ſuppoſed, it muſt be allowed, that
the Methods by which he firſt ad-
vanced himſelf to the high Offices
he has ever ſince enjoy'd, were ſuch
as could not but be offenſive to every
honeſt Man in the Nation. The
making and unmaking the famous
Bank Contract; the ſcreening from
condign Puniſhment thoſe who, by
their wicked and avaritious Execu-
tion of the Truſt repoſed in them
by the *South-Sea* Scheme, which had
ruin'd many Thouſands: The lump-
ing of publick Juſtice, and ſubject-
ing the leſs Guilty to a Puniſhment
too ſevere, in order that the moſt
heinous Offenders might eſcape the
Puniſhment they deſerved; and the
giving up to the *South-Sea* Company
the Sum of *ſeven Millions Sterling*,
which they had obliged themſelves
to pay to the Publick, a great Part
of which Sum was given to old
Stock-holders, and conſequently, to
thoſe who had never ſuffered by the
Scheme; were the Steps by which
he was ſuppoſed to have riſen to
Power, and ſuch Steps could not
but raiſe a general Diſtaſte at his
Advancement, and a Dread of his
Adminiſtration.

Thus, Sir, he entered into the
Adminiſtration with the general
Diſapprobation of the People; and,
I am ſure, his Meaſures ſince have
been far from reſtoring him to their
Love or Eſteem. As he began, ſo
he has gone on, oppreſſing the In-
nocent, impoſing upon the Credu-
lous, ſcreening the Guilty, waſting
the publick Treaſure, and endan-
gering the Liberties of the People.
All this I could evince from every
Step of his Adminiſtration, from
the Beginning to this very Day, but
I ſhall confine myſelf to ſome gene-
ral Obſervations, and ſome of the
moſt remarkable Inſtances. In ge-
neral I ſhall obſerve, that by his
Advice and Influence a much

greater Army has all along been kept up than was neceſſary for the Support of our Government, or conſiſtent with our Conſtitution, and even that Army often augmented without any real Cauſe: That many Squadrons have been fitted out, to the great Expence of the Nation, and general Diſturbance of our Trade, without any juſt Cauſe, and, I believe, without ſo much as a Deſign to employ them effectually, either againſt our Enemies, or for the Aſſiſtance of our Allies: That every Method propoſed of late Years for ſecuring our Conſtitution againſt its moſt dangerous Enemy, Corruption has been by his Means rejected, or rendered ineffectual; whilſt on the other hand, many penal Laws have been paſſed, which have reduced a great Number of his Majeſty's Subjects under the arbitrary Power of a Miniſter and his Creatures: That almoſt every Article of publick Expence has been increaſed by the Addition of new and uſeleſs Officers; and all Inquiries into the Management of any publick Money, either prevented or defeated: That Votes of Credit at the End of a Seſſion of Parliament, which have always been thought of dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution, have by him been made ſo frequent, that few Seſſions have paſſed without one. That the Expence of the Civil Liſt has been vaſtly increaſed ſince the Beginning of his Adminiſtration, tho' it was then much greater than it had ever amounted to in former Times. To theſe, Sir, which are all of a domeſtick Nature, I ſhall add, with regard to our foreign Affairs, that ever ſince his Advice began to be prevalent in our foreign Affairs, the Trade and particular Intereſt of this Nation have in all Treaties and Negotiations been neglected, the Confidence of our moſt natural Allies diſregarded, and the Favour of our moſt dangerous Enemies cour and that to this moſt unaccount Conduct, the preſent melancholy tuation of the Affairs of *Euro* principally to be aſcribed.

I know, Sir, it will be objec that as every material Step in late Conduct of our publick Af either at home or abroad, has authorized or approved of by liament, what I have ſaid, mu look'd on as a general Charge ag his Majeſty's Councils and our liaments, rather than as a per Charge againſt any one Mini but this upon a due Conſider becomes the moſt heavy, and moſt evident Charge againſt the niſter I aim at. According to Conſtitution, we can have no and prime Miniſter: We ought ways to have ſeveral prime Mini or Officers of State: Every ſuch ficer has his own proper De ment; and no Officer ought to dle in the Affairs belonging to Department of another. But publickly known, that this Mini having obtained a ſole Influenc ver all our publick Councils, ha only aſſumed the ſole Directio all publick Affairs, but has g very Officer of State removed would not follow his Direction, in the Affairs belonging to his proper Department. By this M he has monopolized all the F of the Crown, and engroſſed ſole Diſpoſal of all Places, Pe Titles, and Ribbons, as well all Preferments, civil, militar eccleſiaſtical.

This, Sir, is of itſelf a mo nous Offence againſt our Con tion; but he has greatly aggra the Heinouſneſs of this Crime having thus monopolized all th vours of the Crown, he has m blind Submiſſion to his Direc Elections and in Parliament, th ly Ground to hope for any H or Preferments, and the only

hich any Gentleman could pre- what he had. This is ſo no- uſly known, that it can ſtand eed of no Proof. Have not deſerving Gentlemen been ppointed in the Preferment they a juſt Title to, upon the bare cion of not being blindly de- d to his perſonal Intereſt? Have ome Perſons of the higheſt Rank moſt illuſtrious Characters been aced, for no other Reaſon than uſe they diſdained to ſacrifice Honour and Conſcience to his ction in Parliament. As no ne, no Neglect, no Miſbehavi- could ever be objected to them, other Reaſon could ever be aſ- d for depriving the Crown of Service, this only could be the on. Nay, has not this Mini- himſelf not only confeſſed it, boaſted of it? Has he not ſaid, in this Houſe too, That he would pitiful Fellow of a Miniſter did not diſplace any Officer oppoſed his Meaſures in Parlia- t.

an any Gentleman who heard Declaration deſire a Proof of Miniſter's Miſconduct, or of his nes? Was not this openly avow- one of the moſt heinous Crimes can be committed by a Mini- in this Kingdom? Was it not ving that he had made uſe of Favours of the Crown for ob- ng a corrupt Majority in both ſes of Parliament, and keeping Majority in a ſlaviſh Depen- e upon himſelf alone? Do not all know, that even the King ſelf it not, by our Conſtitution, ake Notice of any Man's Beha- r in Parliament, far leſs to make Behaviour a Means by which s to obtain, or a Tenure by h he is to hold the Favour of Crown? And ſhall we allow a iſter not only to do, but openly ow, what he ought to be hang- or, ſhould he adviſe his Sove- reign to do? It is by Means of this Crime, Sir, that the Miniſter I am ſpeaking of has obtained the Authority or Approbation of Parliament in every Step of his Conduct, and therefore that Authority or Approbation is ſo far from being an Alleviation, that it is a moſt heavy Aggravation of every wrong Step which he has thus got authorized or approved of by Parliament. For this Reaſon, in conſidering any particular Step of his Conduct, its being authorized or approved by Parliament, can have no Weight in his Favour, whatever it may have againſt him. If the Step was in itſelf weak or wicked, or if it now appears from its Conſequences to have been ſo, its having been approved of, or authorized by Parliament, muſt be ſuppoſed to have proceeded either from his having miſled the Parliament by falſe Gloſſes and Aſſeverations, or from his having overawed a Majority by Means of that Crime which he has ſince openly avowed.

Having thus obviated an Objection that may be made againſt any particular Accuſation, as well as againſt the general Accuſations I have already mentioned, I ſhall juſt hint at ſome of the particular Branches of Miſconduct he has been guilty of in the long Courſe of his Adminiſtration; and among theſe, the ſmall Progreſs we have made in the Diſcharge of our publick Debt moſt juſtly deſerves the firſt Place. It is really ſurprizing, that the national Debt ſhould now be as much, if not more than it was in the Year 1725, when our Miniſter firſt took it into his Head to pull down the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In the Year 1716, the publick Debt was computed to amount to no more than 47,894,950*l.* but by ſome Articles then omitted, and by many extraordinary Allowances afterwards made, eſpecially

those relating to Army Debentures, in which this Gentleman had a very remarkable Share, the publick Debt as it then ſtood was made to amount to 51,000,000*l.* Of this Sum there was, in or before the Year 1725, paid off about 5,000,000*l.* which reduced it to 46,000,000*l.* and as the Sinking Fund was to receive a great Addition in the Year 1727, by the Reduction of Intereſt, we had a Proſpect of having a great Part of our publick Debts paid off in a few Years, eſpecially as the Tranquillity of *Europe*, or at leaſt of this Nation, ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed by the Treaty concluded that Year at *Vienna*, between the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*. But our Miniſter was, it ſeems, ſenſible of the Power and Influence he acquired by Means of this Load of Debt, and by the many Taxes impoſed for the Payment of it. He knew that theſe Taxes, while they continue, muſt always make a great Number of Officers and Placemen neceſſary, and as he had the placing, preferring, and diſplacing of all theſe Officers at his arbitrary Will and Pleaſure, he knew what Weight this gave to his Influence, both at Elections and in Parliament. For this Reaſon, he has employed all his Art to prevent our being able to pay off any Part of our old Debt, or if we paid off with one Hand, he has taken care to make us contract as much with the other, ſo that the national Debt is now much about the ſame, or rather more than it was in the Year 1725, tho' the Nation has never, in all that Time, been involved in any extraordinary Expence, but what has been unneceſſarily brought upon it by his Art or Miſconduct.

I ſay, Sir, his Art or Miſconduct, either of which is certainly a moſt ſufficient Cauſe to remove him from his Majeſty's Councils; but I am apt to believe, there was ſomething of Art or Deſign, as well as conduct in it; for he really ſeems to have been afraid of having Debts diminiſhed, for fear of Conſequence, which muſt have been that of aboliſhing ſome of our burdenſom and pernicious Taxes; otherwiſe it was impoſſible he could have taken ſo much Pains as he did to defeat a Scheme offered a few Years ſince by a worthy Member of this Houſe, for reducing the Intereſt payable upon the national Debt and for putting the Whole upon a certain Footing of being diſcharged in a Courſe of Years, without it being in the Power of any future Miniſter as he to prevent it. To find Fault with the defeating of that Scheme, may likewiſe be ſaid to be an Accuſation brought againſt every Parliament, but it is well known by whom, and by what Influence it was defeated. I am pretty ſure, it is the general Opinion without Doors, that it was not by the Influence of Argument; but if the Defeat was owing to that Influence, as I hope it was, I am convinced, that moſt of thoſe who were ſwayed by that Influence, are now ſenſible of their Error, and heartily wiſh they had conſidered better of it; for I am afraid, we ſhall never again meet with ſo favourable an Opportunity.

But, Sir, the next Step of his conduct I ſhall take notice of, is of a different Nature; it is a Step that happened not to meet with the Approbation of Parliament, tho' I do not queſtion its having been ſupported and enforced by all the Methods uſual, of late Years, in ſuch Caſes. I make no Doubt but that every one, who poſſeſſed or hoped for any Place or Office under the Crown, were threatned with a Diſappointment to their Hopes, or the Loſs of the Places they poſſeſſed, if they voted againſt it; and my Reaſon for not doubting of this is,

ſeveral Noblemen and Gen-
n were the very next Year
l out of every Place the Crown
take from them, for no other
ent Reaſon, but becauſe they or
Friends voted againſt that mi-
al Project; and ſo far as I can
ect, I do not remember, that
ne who voted againſt it, has
ſince obtained a Favour from
rown, unleſs it be ſuch, as have
eir Conduct ſince ſhewn, that
heartily repented of their Stub-
neſs at that Time. I believe,
one that hears me will ſup-
I mean the *Exciſe-Scheme*,
was certainly one of the
eſt, or one of the wickedeſt
es that was ever ſet on Foot,
ntenanc'd, by any Miniſter in
ingdom. If our Miniſter was
le of the great Power that
e would have placed in the
of a Miniſter, and had really
d a Deſign to overturn by that
the Liberties of the People,
ght to be not only removed,
uniſhed for his Wickedneſs;
he was not ſenſible of the
r that would accrue from that
e to our Conſtitution, if he
ally no View, but the preca-
Hope of thereby making a
Addition to the publick Re-
particularly the Civil Liſt, I
ſay, his Weakneſs was ama-
for it ſhewed, that he nei-
nderſtood the Genius of our
tution, nor the Genius of our
. If he had underſtood the
of our Conſtitution, he could
t be ſenſible of the deſtruc-
effects that Scheme muſt ne-
y have had upon it: If he
nderſtood the Genius of our
it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe,
ld have adviſed his Majeſty
forfeited the Affections of
hole People, for the Sake of
an uncertain, and at beſt,
trifling Addition to the pub-
the Civil Liſt Revenue.

Thus, Sir, if he had never been guilty of any other Crime or Overſight, for this Project alone he deſerves at leaſt to be removed from his Majeſty's Councils; and the Reſentment he ſhewed againſt thoſe, who voted againſt this his favourite Scheme, is a Proof of what he now publickly avows, that he has made uſe of, that he will make uſe of the Favours of the Crown, for obtaining a corrupt Majority in both Houſes of Parliament. What happened upon this Occaſion, is an evident Demonſtration, that he has by ſuch Means already got, in a great Meaſure, the Nomination of the ſixteen Peers to repreſent the Peerage of *Scotland* in the other Houſe of Parliament. We may remember, that ſeven or eight of the ſixteen, who then ſat in the other Houſe, declar'd openly againſt this Scheme, and prevailed with moſt of their Friends in this, to vote againſt it: What was the Conſequence? Every one of them, tho' they had great perſonal Intereſt among the Peers of *Scotland*, were, at the next Election, excluded by this Miniſter's Intereſt from being rechoſen; and every one of them that enjoyed any Poſt during the Pleaſure of the Crown, had the Honour to be diſmiſſed his Majeſty's Service; I ſay, the Honour, becauſe, in ſuch a Caſe, I think it is the greateſt Honour the Crown can beſtow.

It would be endleſs, Sir, to recount every falſe Step this Miniſter has made in the Conduct of our domeſtick Affairs, and therefore I ſhall mention only one more, which is the ſeeming Approbation he procured, but two Years ago, from Parliament, of that Convention which he had juſt before concluded with *Spain*. As the Convention itſelf relates to our foreign Affairs, I ſhall not here enter into the Merits of it, I ſhall here conſider only the Method he took to obtain a ſeeming

Appro-

Approbation of it from Parliament, which was by the ſtrongeſt Aſſeverations, that the *Spaniſh* Court was ſenſible of its having been in the Wrong to this Nation, that its agreeing to pay 200,000 *l.* as he reckoned it, to us in Name of Damages, was an Acknowledgment of its having been in the Wrong; and that his Catholick Majeſty and his Miniſters were ſtrongly and ſincerely inclined to do us Juſtice, with regard to the future Security of our Trade and Navigation in the *American* Seas; from whence he concluded, that tho' we had not got all we might expect by the Convention, which was but a Preliminary Treaty, yet it was a good Foundation to build on, and might probably, if the Houſe agreed to the Addreſs then moved for, produce a ſolid and laſting Peace; whereas, if the Addreſs ſhould be diſagreed to, the immediate Conſequence would be a War with *Spain*.

I may appeal, Sir, almoſt to every Gentleman that hears me, if this was not the Strength of the Argument in Favour of that Addreſs: I may appeal to many that voted for it, if their depending upon the Truth of theſe Aſſeverations was not the only Reaſon for their agreeing to ſo much as a ſeeming Approbation of that infamous Convention; but from the Conſequences, and likewiſe from the Papers, imperfect as they are, laid before us, it now appears, that there was not the leaſt Ground for any of theſe Aſſeverations. It appears, that *Spain* inſiſted upon having our Navigation in the *American* Seas regulated, that is to ſay, they inſiſted it ſhould not be free: That *Spain* inſiſted upon our *South-Sea* Company's paying them a moſt unjuſt Demand of 68,000*l.* which reduced the Sum they were to pay us by the Convention, to 27,000*l.* and this was not near the Value of the Ships they had before acknowledged to been unjuſtly taken from us, had actually diſpatched Orders the *Weſt-Indies* for their Reſtit as appears upon the Face of Convention itſelf; ſo that the greeing to pay this Sum was from being even a tacit Acknowledgment of their having no to ſtop and ſearch our Ships the high Seas, and to ſeize and fiſcate them, if they had any thoſe Goods on board, which *Spaniards* are pleaſed to call contraband: It was only an Acknowment, that ſome of our Ships been, even upon this Footing, juſtly ſeized, which the Court had expreſsly acknowledged long before the Convention thought of: Theſe, Sir, were Terms the *Spaniards* inſiſted and they farther inſiſted, as plainly appears, that we ſhould no Squadron at *Gibraltar* or *Mahon*, notwithſtanding their now a Part of the *Britiſh* Dons; from whence they would ſuppoſe, have taken Occaſion ſhort Time to inſiſt, againſt leaſt, that they had a Dominver the *Mediterranean*, as well *American* Seas, and that our ſhould not fail in the form more than in the latter, their Leave, and according Directions, or if you pleaſe lations, as they ſhould preſcri

Theſe, I ſay, Sir, were the of Peace the *Spaniards* inſiſt Unleſs we ſhould agree to hard and diſhonourable Term *Spaniſh* Court never ſhewed Inclination to live in Peace as appears from the whole T of our Negotiations previous Convention. Can we ſuppoſe our prime and ſole Miniſter norant of this? Can we that he believed or imagine a ſafe and honourable Peace be concluded with *Spain*

g of the Convention, or upon
her Footing, whilſt they con-
to inſiſt upon ſuch Condi-
What then can we think of
rgument he made uſe of for
ing from Parliament a Sort of
bation of his Convention? A
not we conclude, that for this
ſo he aſſerted what he knew
falſe? And ſhall we ſuffer a
to ſit, and to bear the chief
in the Councils of our Sove-
who, in order to impoſe a
ourable Treaty upon his King B
Country, aſſerted in open Par-
nt what he knew to be abſo-
falſe?

all now beg Leave, Sir, to
otice of ſome of the moſt re-
ble Errors, if not Crimes, in
iniſter's Conduct, with regard C
reign Affairs. Here too his
iniſtration began with a Mea-
hat could not but be diſagree-
to the People, becauſe it was
nourable to the Nation: It be-
with a Treaty of Peace with
by which we agreed to re- D
the Ships we had taken from
Nation in an open and juſt
; and with a Negotiation, I
not ſay an Engagement, to re-
Gibraltar and *Port-Mahon*,
ut ſtipulating any Thing for
dvantage of this Nation, or E
ning an Explanation of thoſe
ties, which even then had begun
miſrepreſented on the Part of
. Soon after this, he entered
hat cloſe Friendſhip and Corre-
lence with the Court of *France*,
h, to the infinite Diſadvantage F
is Nation, has continued ever
, and which has now at laſt
ght the Balance of Power into
tmoſt Danger, if not to inevi-
Ruin. But the moſt remarka-
nd the moſt pernicious of all
ernicious Meaſures was, the G
eit he took into his Head in
ear 1725, that the Houſe of
ia was grown too powerful,
and ought therefore to be pulled down. This Conceit, whether his own, or of *French* Original, made him infuſe into his late Majeſty thoſe frightful Notions of the dangerous but impracticable Engagements, which the *Emperor* and *Spain* had entered into, by the Treaty concluded between them at *Vienna* in that Year; and this produc'd the Treaty of *Hanover*, which loaded this Nation with the Expence of ſeveral uſeleſs Squadrons, a great Addition of uſeleſs regular Troops, and which was the moſt uſeleſs of all, a great Body of *Heſſian* Troops for ſeveral Years, and large Subſidies to foreign Princes, whilſt our Allies the *French*, who had certainly more to fear than we had, from that Conjunction between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, neither put themſelves to any Expence, nor pick'd any Quarrels either with *Spain* or the *Emperor*; but purſued their Trade in Safety, during the Time that our Trade to *Spain* was intirely ſtopt, and our Trade to every other Part of the World interrupted by *Spaniſh* Privateers, fitted out and manned by *French* Subjects.

I need not mention particularly the ſeveral Negotiations, Preliminaries, Pacifications, Conventions and Treaties, which this Treaty of *Hanover* gave Birth to, for every Negotiation we have carried on, and every Treaty we have concluded ſince that Time, may be ſaid to proceed from that Original; and every one of them may juſtly be called a true Copy of the Original. They have been a perfect Series of Blunders, and, like a Neſt of Pill-Boxes from *Germany*, ſeem to be incloſed in one another, with nothing but Emptineſs in any of them; for I defy any Man to ſhew me one Advantage this Nation has reaped from any Treaty we have negotiated for twenty Years paſt. From the laſt Treaty, indeed, I mean the

Convention, it may be ſaid, we have reaped ſome Advantage, becauſe it forc'd us into a War, which is certainly more eligible than the deſtructive and diſhonourable Method of Negotiation, we had for ſo many Years before been involved in; and this War might have been attended with a real Advantage, if our Miniſter had thought fit to puſh it, either with Vigour or common Diſcretion; but in the Proſecution of the War he has acted, if poſſible, more weakly or more wickedly, than he did in Time of Peace: In Time of Peace, he made us become the Scoff of the Nations around us, by the Tediouſneſs and the Perplexity of his Negotiations: In Time of War, he has made us an Object of Scorn to our Enemies, and an Object of Pity to our Friends, by the Vaſtneſs of his Preparations and the Puſillanimity of his Actions. Our Trade has been both oppreſſed and neglected for the Sake of fitting out mighty Squadrons, and our Squadrons have been ſent out, either with Orders to do nothing, or without Materials proper for doing any Thing. By this Conduct, Sir, our Enemies have been inriched with our Spoils, and our own People oppreſſed with Armies, which either ſhould not have been raiſed, or ſhould have been ſent out to vindicate the Honour of their Country. Shall we in this Houſe ſit ſtill, and ſee the Councils of our Sovereign directed by a Miniſter, who has thus, both in Peace and War, expoſed our Country to Scorn and Deriſion?

I beg Pardon, Sir, for taking up ſo much of your Time; but the Subject is ſo copious, that it is difficult to pick out thoſe Facts that are moſt proper to be mentioned; and every Part of his long Adminiſtration is full of ſuch oppreſſive and dangerous Schemes, or ſuch unaccountable Blunders, that it is not eaſy for one who has a true Re for his King and Country, to any of them over in Silence. I mentioned but a few: What I mentioned will ſhew, that the contents of the People are far being groundleſs; but ſuppoſe were, they would nevertheleſs ſufficient Foundation for the dreſs I am to propoſe; for no who has been ſo unfortunate, incur the publick Hatred, ought have any Share in his Maje Confidence or Councils. If his jeſty were ſenſible of it, I am he has ſuch a Regard for the Af tions of his People, that he w not allow ſuch a Man to appr his Perſon or Palace; and as i our Duty to inform his Maje how deteſtable this Miniſter i the Majority of his People, ought to take the proper Way giving our Sovereign this Infor tion, which is by addreſſing hi remove ſuch a Miniſter from Councils.

But farther, Sir, ſuppoſe this niſter had never been guilty of Crime, Error, or Overſight in publick Conduct; ſuppoſe the ple had all along been perfectly pl with his Adminiſtration, yet the Length of it is, in a free Cou ſufficient Cauſe for removing It is a moſt dangerous Thing in free Government, to allow any M to continue too long in the Poſ ſion of great Power: Moſt C monwealths have been overtur by this very Overſight; and in Country, we know how difficult has often proved, for our Parlia to draw an old Favourite from hind the Throne, even when he been guilty of the moſt hei Crimes. I wiſh this may not our Caſe at preſent; for though ſhall not ſay, nor have I at pre any Occaſion for ſhewing, that Favourite I am now complaining has been guilty of heinous Crim

will ſay, that there is a very
ral Suſpicion againſt him, that
Suſpicion is juſtified by the pre-
Situation of our Affairs both at
e and abroad, and that it is
ulous to expect, that any pro-
Diſcovery ſhould be made, as
as he is in Poſſeſſion of all the
s, and has the Diſtribution of
e Penalties the Crown can in-
as well as of all the Favours
Crown can beſtow. Remove him
the King's Councils and Pre-
e; remove him from thoſe high
es and Power he is now poſ-
d of, if he has been guilty of
Crimes, the Proofs may then be
e at, and the Witneſſes againſt
will not be afraid to appear:
you do this, it is impoſſible to
mine, whether he is guilty or
cent; and, conſidering the uni-
l Clamour againſt him, it is
Time to reduce him to ſuch
ndition, as that he may be
ht to a fair, an impartial, and
ſt Account. If he were con-
s of his being intirely inno-
and had a due Regard to the
rity and Glory of his Maſter
Sovereign, he would have choſe
ve put himſelf into this Con-
n long before this Time: Since
as not thought fit to do ſo, it is
Duty to endeavour to do it for
and therefore I ſhall conclude
moving, *That an humble Ad-
be preſented to his Majeſty, that
ould be graciouſly pleaſed to re-
the*, &c. (as before-mentioned,
5.)

Motion being ſeconded, Servilius
iſcus *ſtood up and ſpoke to this
ect.*

. Preſident,
I R,

S we have often been threat-
ned with ſome ſuch Motion
is, I have for a long Time ex-
d it with Impatience, becauſe
I imagined, they who thus threat-
ned, had made ſome Diſcoveries,
which the World had never been in
the leaſt appriſed of. I little ex-
pected they would have attempted
to blacken the Character of an
Hon. Gentleman, who has ſerved
his Country for many Years, in
many high Offices, and in three ſe-
veral Reigns, and always, in my
Opinion, with great Wiſdom and
Integrity: I ſay, I little expected
to find any Attempt made to black-
en ſuch a Gentleman's Character,
upon bare Surmiſes and general Ar-
guments, which have been all fully
anſwered, again and again, both
within Doors and without; and I
muſt ſay, I am very much ſurpriſed
to find this Attempt made by Gen-
tlemen, who have never been ſuſ-
pected of being Enemies to our pre-
ſent happy Eſtabliſhment. If the
Nation had now again been ſo un-
fortunate, as to have a Majority of
this Houſe conſiſting of ſuch as were
ſecret Enemies to the Proteſtant Suc-
ceſſion, I ſhould not have wondered
to find this Gentleman's Character
attack'd, as it has been once before
by ſuch Men: I ſhould not have
wondered to have heard a Motion
made for removing him from his
Majeſty's Councils and Preſence, for
this very Reaſon, becauſe he has
ſhewn, that he deſerves to be there;
but I am ſurpriſed to hear ſuch a
Motion made by thoſe, who have
always profeſſed, and I believe, ſin-
cerely profeſſed themſelves Friends
to our happy Conſtitution, and to
that upon which it depends, our
preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; be-
cauſe ſuch a Motion upon ſuch a
ſlender Foundation I take to be in-
conſiſtent with both.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that this Houſe
may addreſs the King to remove any
one of his Servants: I ſhall grant,
we have Precedents for ſuch an Ad-
dreſs; but I will ſay, the Prece-
dents are very few, and I believe,

no one upon our Journals for removing a Miniſter, who was not accuſed of ſomething that was acknowledged to be a Crime. Is this the Caſe at preſent? Has the Hon. Gentleman who made you the Motion, mentioned any one particular Fact that is acknowledg'd to be a Crime? He ſays, the Gentleman he deſires to be removed, is an unpopular Miniſter: That he has incurred the Hatred of the People in general; and that no Man ought to be continued in his Majeſty's Councils or Preſence, who has had the Misfortune to do ſo. This Argument, Sir, has, I think, the Misfortune to labour under two Imperfections. The Premiſes I muſt look on, as a Sort of begging the Queſtion; and the Concluſion is not, I think, deducible from the Premiſes. The Hon. Gentleman, whoſe Conduct is the Subject of this Debate, may not, perhaps, be the Minion of the Mob, which no Miniſter ever can, who purſues wiſely, ſteadily, and invariably, the true Intereſt of his Country; eſpecially, if he continues for a great Number of Years to have a principal Share in the Adminiſtration: The Populace in all Countries love to be diverted with Changes, and aſtoniſhed with extraordinary Events; and therefore they are apt to grow weary of a Miniſter, who continues long in Place, and does not, with or without Reaſon, involve his Country in War, which is the only Method by which he can entertain them with wonderful Events. But that this Gentleman has incurred the Hatred of the better Sort of People in general, I believe, will appear to be a Miſtake, by the Fate of this very Motion; for as the Members of this Houſe are their Repreſentatives, I ſhall always judge of their Sentiments by what appears to be the Sentiments of the Majority of this Aſſembly.

However, ſuppoſe, Sir, it were indubitably true, that this Mi… had incurred the Diſpleaſure o… Majority of all Ranks of Peo… do not think this a good Rea… branding his Character with … Stigma, as an Addreſs of this … to remove him from his Maj… Councils and Preſence for ever. famous Poet, who ſhewed him… good Politician, as well as a… cellent Judge of Mankind, … talking of a virtuous Man, laid down as a Maxim;

Non ſumit, aut ponit ſecuri
Arbitrio popularis auræ.

The People, even thoſe of the … ter Sort, are but very bad J… of a Man's Virtue or Wiſdom, they are much worſe Judges … Miniſter's Conduct in politic… fairs; for in order to judge r… of this, we muſt have a tho… Knowledge, not only of the … reſts and Circumſtances of our … Country, but of the Circumſta… Intereſts, and Views of all th… reign Courts we have any Thi… do with; and in order to know … Views of foreign Courts, we … be perfectly acquainted with … Characters of thoſe who bear … principal Sway at each. Ca… ſuppoſe any Man of inferior … to have ſuch a Knowledge? It … Knowledge, Sir, that can be … quired by none but thoſe of … Rank, or ſuch as have been in … eminent Station; and therefo… are not to condemn the Condu… a Miniſter, for no other Reaſo… becauſe it is complained of by … Majority of the People, nor … ſuch a general Complaint to b… mitted as a good Reaſon for … ving him from the King's Co… or Preſence. Among the many … ther Perfections of our Conſtitu… this is one, and none of the … that the Commonwealth is … be deprived of the Service or … vice of a wiſe and faithful … ſtrate or Miniſter, for no other …

but becauſe a general, but
ndleſs Clamour has been raiſed
inſt ſome Parts of his Conduct;
efore, whatever Clamours may
been raiſed againſt our late
duct, they ought not of them-
es to be of any Weight in this
ate, even tho' it were proved,
the Hon. Gentleman, now de-
d to be removed, had all along
not only the chief, but the ſole
ection of all our publick Affairs,
ich has not been attempted, tho'
onfeſs, it has been ſtrongly af-
ed; but if I ſhould take upon
to aſſert the contrary, I muſt
k, I have an equal Title to be
ieved, becauſe, conſidering how
g, and in what Stations I have
ed his Majeſty, my Knowledge
the Fact muſt be at leaſt as well
nded, and, I hope, my Veracity
qually to be depended on.

The Grounds of the Clamours
Complaints, either within Doors
without, are therefore to be ſtrict-
examined, becauſe they are the
y Arguments that can have any
ight in this Debate; and as
re has been nothing new ad-
ced upon this Head, whatever
aſure Gentlemen may take in re-
ting the Objections that were
de, at the reſpective and only
per Times, to the ſeveral Steps
our publick Conduct now com-
ined of, I hope, Sir, they will
don me, if I do not take up your
me with repeating the Anſwers
n made to them, which were ſo
isfactory, that all the Meaſures
v complained of, except, I think,
one, met with the Approbation of
or both Houſes of Parliament.
e Exciſe Scheme, indeed, was
puſhed ſo far as to meet with
Approbation of both Houſes of
liament, or with the final Ap-
bation of either; but ſo far as it
ceeded, it met with the Appro-
ion of this Houſe, and it was
dropt becauſe it was bad in it-

ſelf, but becauſe of the Spirit that had been raiſed againſt it without Doors. In all Countries there are certain Prejudices which nothing but abſolute Power can get the better of. In this Country a general Exciſe has been made ſuch a Bugbear, that the People are frightned at every Thing which has but the leaſt Reſemblance of it; and this was the Caſe with regard to the new Method then propoſed for raiſiug the Duties upon Wine and Tobacco, which might as well have been called a general Maſſacre as a general Exciſe. A general Exciſe, Sir, is when a Duty is laid upon every Thing a Man can eat, drink, or conſume; and that Duty raiſed, not upon the Importer and Manufacturer, but upon the Ratailer and Conſumer. This, indeed, would be a terrible Grievance; but was there any Thing like this in the Exciſe Scheme? At that Time there were, and are ſtill, heavy Duties upon Wines and Tobacco: Theſe Duties had before been raiſed by Way of Cuſtom upon the Importation, which had occaſioned great Frauds and Abuſes; therefore, to prevent theſe Frauds, and to encourage the fair Trader, it was propoſed to raiſe them, for the future, not upon the Conſumer, for this would have look'd ſomething like a general Exciſe, but upon the Retailers, and upon them only. This, I ſtill think, Sir, was neither a bad, nor an oppreſſive, nor a dangerous Scheme; but if upon more mature Deliberation it had appeared to be ſo, the Hon. Gentleman who at firſt patronized it, is not to be condemned, becauſe, as ſoon as he ſaw that the People thought it ſo, tho' he perhaps thought otherwiſe, yet he freely gave it up. Miniſters, Sir, are not infallible: No good Miniſter will pretend to be ſo; and therefore, the moſt we can expect is, that they ſhould alter their Conduct as ſoon as they diſcover

their

their Error. One of the wiſeſt and greateſt Sovereigns we ever had, tho' adviſed by a very good and able Miniſter, fell into an Error: I mean the Caſe of Monopolies in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time; but as ſoon as ſhe diſcovered it, ſhe corrected it, and upon that Occaſion made ſuch a Speech, by Way of Anſwer to the Addreſs of this Houſe, as ought to be hung up in the Cabinet of every ſovereign Prince. The Parliament was ſo far from condemning the Miniſter, for his having adviſed theſe Monopolies, that this Houſe ſent a ſolemn Deputation to thank the Queen for revoking her Patents, in Anſwer to which ſhe made the Speech I have mentioned. Therefore, ſuppoſing the Exciſe Scheme to have been a very bad one, we have no Reaſon to blame any Miniſter for it; becauſe it was given up as ſoon as it was found to be diſagreeable to the People.

As to the Methods that were taken in the Year 1721, for reſtoring publick Credit, and for puniſhing thoſe who had brought it to the very Brink of Deſtruction, they were ſo much approved of at that Time, both within Doors and without, that I am ſurprized to hear them now complained of. The publick Credit was in a ſhort Time effectually and amazingly reſtored, and the Guilty were condignly puniſhed, without either Severity or Partiality; and by reducing the Intereſt payable to the Proprietors of the *South-Sea* Stock, as it was then augmented and eſtabliſhed, a moſt extraordinary Advantage has accrued to the Publick. Theſe Facts are ſo notorious, and the Arguments in Favour of what was done at that Time are ſo recent in every Man's Memory, that I ſhall not trouble you with any Proofs of the former, or a Repetition of the latter. And for the ſame Reaſon, I think it unneceſſary to trouble you with a Re-juſtification of the *Hanover* Treaty, any of the Meaſures conſequent thereupon. But as to the Complaints relating to the Convention, and the Arguments made uſe of in Favour of the Addreſs propoſed, when the Treaty was under the Conſideration of this Houſe, as it is ſomething new, I ſhall beg Leave to make ſome few Remarks upon it.

In the firſt Place, I muſt obſerve, Sir, that thoſe who make this Complaint ſeem to have forgot the Situation in which the Hon. Gentleman, whoſe Character is now attacked, has always ſerved his Majeſty. Even ſuppoſe he were, as they repreſent him, the chief and ſole Miniſter, it would be impoſſible for him to govern and direct all our foreign Negotiations, as well as all the Affairs of the Treaſury. He muſt leave the Management of our foreign Affairs to others, and muſt take his Information, as to Facts, from thoſe that are intruſted with the Management of them; therefore, when he is to talk of them in this Houſe, or any where elſe, he may be impoſed on as well as others; and conſequently, ſuppoſing he had ſaid in this Houſe, that his Catholick Majeſty was inclined to live in Peace with this Nation, or that the *Spaniſh* Court ſeemed willing to agree to reaſonable Terms for reſtoring our Trade and Navigation in the *American* Seas, when in Fact it appeared to be otherwiſe, we could not from thence to conclude poſitively, that he affirmed what he knew to be falſe: It would be more charitable, and, I am ſure, more conſonant to his Character, to ſuppoſe, that he had himſelf been impoſed on, and that he had given more Credit to our Negotiators, as he was himſelf none of them, than they deſerved.

But, Sir, I am ſtill of Opinion that the Facts were not otherwiſe, I am convinced, his Catholick

himſelf was inclined to live in
with this Nation; and I am
nced, the Court of *Spain* would
given us Security for the Free-
of our Trade and Navigation
American Seas, if any Method
have been contrived for pre-
g the illicit Trade carried on
their Settlements in *America*.
little Time might probably
produced, if the People here
have been prevailed on to
ad Patience, and in that Caſe,
nvention would have proved
d Foundatian for a ſolid and
Peace; but nothing would
the People here, but imme-
Satisfaction and Security, or
mediate War. We know who
were that inſtigated the Peo-
be ſo peremptory in their De-
; and I ſhall not ſcruple to
t as my Opinion, that by the
t Spirit ſtirred up among our
here at home, our Miniſters,
om the Gentleman now com-
d of is but one, were, in ſome
re, forced into Meaſures that
ince forced the Nation into

tlemen may ſay what they
of the Sum of Money agreed
ix to be paid to us, for the Da-
we ſuſtained by their Depre-
; but, Sir, I will now again
that they agreed to pay us
l. and would have immedi-
iven Orders for the Payment
pon their Governors in the
dies; but we knew the Te-
ſs of theſe Payments, there-
e inſiſted upon having it in
Money, and upon that Con-
we agreed, I think, wiſely
to allow 45,000 *l.* for
Payment, which reduced
,000 *l.* to 155,000 *l.* and out
it was both reaſonable and
allow them to deduct what
to them, on Account of the
greed to be reſtored to them
Treaty in 1721, amounting
to 60,000 *l.* which reduced what they had agreed to pay to us on Account of Damages to 95,000 *l.*

Thus, Sir, it appears, that they had actually allowed us 208,000 *l.* in lieu of Damages. This was a great deal above the Value of all the Ships they had ever before acknowledged to have been unjuſtly ſeized or taken from us; and therefore, their agreeing to pay us this Sum, was a tacit Acknowledgment of their having been in the wrong; and without any Regard to what was due to them from our *South-Sea* Company, the Balance as I have ſtated it, and as it was ſtated by the Convention, would, I believe, have been paid to us at the Time appointed, if we had recalled our Squadron from *Gibraltar*; but conſidering the violent Spirit that prevailed here at home, our Miniſters could not venture to do ſo, for fear of having our domeſtick Tranquillity diſturbed by ſome furious popular Commotion; and the Court of *Spain* looking upon the Continuance of our Squadron at *Gibraltar* as an Inſult upon their Crown and Kingdom, refuſed to pay the 95,000 *l.* ſtipulated by the Convention. That they had no Right to look upon our keeping a Squadron at *Gibraltar* as an Inſult, is certainly true; for as it is now the Property of *Great Britain*, we may always keep a Squadron there if we pleaſe; but as we had never before done ſo, as we had never ſent or kept a Squadron there, unleſs when we had a Diſpute with ſome of the neighbouring Powers, and as we had then no Diſpute with any neighbouring Power, except *Spain*, it was naturally to be ſuppoſed, I believe, all *Europe* did ſuppoſe, that we kept our Squadron there, with a Deſign to oblige the *Spaniards* to perform punctually what they had promiſed by the Convention; and in this Light it muſt be admitted, that the

Court

Court of *Spain* had ſome Reaſon to look upon it as an Inſult; for tho' I ſhould be very ready to do a Man Juſtice, I ſhould not like to have him ſtand with his Cane over my Head till I did it: I ſhould certainly diſdain to do him Juſtice, as long as he ſtood in that Poſture.

From hence we may ſee, Sir, that the Arguments made uſe of in Favour of the Addreſs propoſed, when we had the Convention under our Conſideration, can be no Objection to the Character of the Hon. Perſon attack'd by this Motion; and as to our Conduct of the War, it is, I am ſure, what he has nothing to do with, any other Way than as being one of his Majeſty's Council; ſo that whatever can be ſaid againſt our Conduct of the War, muſt militate againſt every Member of his Majeſty's Privy Council as much as againſt him. But the chief, and, indeed, the only proper Charge that has been made againſt him is, his having endeavoured to obtain a corrupt Influence over a Majority in both Houſes of Parliament; for that he has already obtained ſuch an Influence, will not, I hope, be expreſsly affirmed, however ſtrongly it may be inſinuated. This is, indeed, a heavy Charge; but ſurely Gentlemen do not expect we ſhould take this upon their *ipſe dixit*. It is a Fact which, if true, may certainly be proved: Let any one Member of this Houſe riſe up, let any one who has been a Member come, and ſay, that the Perſon now accuſed ever deſired him, or tempted him either by Threats or Promiſes to vote againſt his Conſcience in Parliament; and we ſhall then have it in our Power to conſider the Weight of the Evidence offered; but ſurely we ought not to condemn a Man upon a general Charge unſupported by any Proof.

The Gentlemen, it is true, Sir, who have brought this Charge, have offered two Things in Support which require an immediate deration. The one is, a S preſumptive Proof, and the o pretended Confeſſion. I ſha Leave to examine both; an as to the preſumptive Proof, ſay, that ſeveral Perſons, and of high Rank, have been out of every Office and E ment they held at the Pleaſ the Crown, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they o Friends oppos'd this Miniſter' ſures in Parliament. Here, muſt obſerve, that the King h our Conſtitution, an unlimited rogative to employ what Serv Officers he pleaſes in the exe Part of our Government, and employ or diſplace whom he p without aſking the Advice o Miniſter; and therefore, the ciſe of this Power can ne charged to the Account o Miniſter. I ſhall grant, tha turning a Gentleman out o Poſt in the Service of the C for voting according to Conſ in Parliament, or for oppoſi Court Meaſure he could not a of, would be a very wrong dangerous Exerciſe of this P tive; but at the ſame Time take notice, that an Oppoſi Parliament may be ſuch, as ford a juſt and legal Reaſon fo ing the Oppoſer out of the S of the Crown: When it i creetly and indecently carr or when the Oppoſition proce from Honour or Conſcience from mere Reſentment, beca Gentleman has met with a in ſome Suit, which his Maj not think fit to grant. In e theſe Caſes, even a Man's be or voting in Parliament, wi good Reaſon for diſmiſſing h Service of the Crown. Beſide a Gentleman may be guilty o ral Sorts of Offences no Wa

his Behaviour in Parliament, highly deſerve a Diſmiſſion he King's Service, and tho' jeſty inflicts the Puniſhment, y, from his natural Tender- nd in pure Charity to the Of- be prevailed on not to pub- declare the Offence. There- when a Member of Parlia- s diſmiſſed the Service of the , though his Majeſty does not fit to declare the Offence, it reach of Charity in us, and a e in Duty to our Sovereign, poſe, that his Majeſty diſmiſ- m for no other Reaſon, but rſuing the Dictates of his Ho- nd Conſcience in Parliament. w, Sir, with regard to the pre- Confeſſion or Declaration, has been repreſented as ſuch ous Crime. Suppoſe the Hon. eman had made uſe of the Words that have been menti- we ought not ſurely to take in a wrong Senſe, if they will a good one; and therefore we to ſuppoſe, that he meant, by ng a Miniſter's Meaſures in ment, not an Oppoſition that ded from a Conviction of their wrong, but an Oppoſition that ded from mere Reſentment, a factious Spirit, or from a ſe- Deſign to compel the King to y with ſome unreaſonable Re- and in either of theſe Caſes, join with the Hon. Gentle- n ſaying, That he would be a Fellow of a Miniſter, if he ot adviſe the King to diſmiſs his Service, a Man who made n unworthy Uſe of his Seat in Houſe of Parliament.

ave now, I think, ſhewn, Sir, no particular Crime has been ch as alledged, much leſs pro- gainſt the Gentleman whoſe cter is propoſed to be ſtigma- by an Addreſs of this Houſe; that no material Objection has been made againſt any Part of his Conduct, but what has been before anſwered to the Satisfaction of the Nation, as well as of this Houſe; and I hope I have fully anſwered every Thing new, that has been ſtarted in this Debate; therefore I muſt think, that our agreeing to this Motion would be a moſt ſignal Breach of our Conſtitution, and a moſt dangerous Incroachment upon the Prerogative of the Crown. We know, Sir, what a Ferment was raiſed in the Nation in a late Reign, by a Proceeding of this Sort; we know how it was then declared, "That addreſſing the King to diſplace his Friends upon bare Surmiſes, before the legal Trial, or any Article proved, was illegal, and inverting the Law, by making Execution go before Judgment *." Do not now let us fall into the ſame Error, leſt it ſhould produce the ſame Effects.

Before I conclude, Sir, I muſt take notice of the Argument drawn from the Length of Time this Gentleman has had a Share in the Adminiſtration: If the Form of our Government were altogether Republican, there might be ſome Weight in this Argument; but this is another Advantage of our happy Conſtitution, that an able, a good and wiſe Miniſter or Magiſtrate may be continued in the Service of his Country, for his whole Life, without any Danger to our Conſtitution; becauſe the Attachment of the People to their King and Royal Family will always prevent any bad Effects from his Ambition; and the Controul of a Maſter or Sovereign, as well as of two Houſes of Parliament, will always prevent his being guilty of very enormous Practices; or will at all Times, even when he is in the Zenith of his Power, be able to diſcover and puniſh them, if he ſhould: So that there is as little in this Argument, as in any other that has been advanced in Favour of this Motion; and therefore I ſhall give my Negative to the Queſtion.

[*This* DEBATE *and* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

* *See* Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, *Vol.* III. *p.* 170.

A LIST *of Ships taken from the* SPANIARDS, *and other Damages done to*
according to the Pamphlet remark'd upon by the Author of the Liſt of
Ships in our laſt. (*See our* Mag. *for* Dec. *laſt, p.* 601.)

Advices 1739	N°	
July	1	Large Settee, taken by the Greyhound Man of War
Aug. 11	2	Ship with Wine, taken by Commodore Clayton, and carried to Port Mahon
15	3	Ship with 700 Barrels of Powder, 10,000 Arms, and ſome Braſs Cannon, by Admiral Haddock
	4	Ship with 1500 Barrels of Powder, Wine, Oil, and Biſcuit, by the Ga Capt. Compton
	5	Rich Ship, taken by the Seahorſe, Capt. Cleland
	6	Guarda Coſta, taken by a Privateer of St. Kit's.
Sept. 5	7	Ship of 200 Tons, with warlike Stores, from Genoa to Volechia, taken Adm. Haddock
	12	Two Ships laden with Ammunition, and three Barks with valuable Effects
	13	Privateer of 20 Guns, ſunk by Capt. Laws, on the Jamaica Station
	14	The N. S. del Comina, of 100 Tuns, ſeiz'd by the Eltham, Lord Auguſtus F
7	17	Two Sloops and a Catch, taken by Commodore Brown, on the Jamaica Sta
Oct. 23		War declared
28	18	Twenty-three Cheſts of Silver, taken out of a Genoeſe Ship, by the Ja Capt. Ambroſe, value 6000*l.*
29	20	St. Joſeph, and another rich Ship of 250 Tuns and 14 Guns, from the Ca to Cadiz, with Tobacco, Cocoa, &c. by Adm. Haddock, valu'd at 140,0
	21	Privateer driven on Shore, on the Iſle of Cuba, by the Squirrel, Capt. Wa
	23	Two Sloops, with Naval Stores, from Curaſſoe to Cartagena, taken by a P teer of New York
	24	Regiſter Ship, taken by Adm. Haddock, valu'd at 60,000*l.*
Dec. 8	25	Ship taken on the North Side of Cuba, by a Privateer of New England
13	26	Schooner, taken near St. Auguſtine, with Flour and Money, by Capt. Alex
1740		
Jan. 9	27	Avizo, from St. Auguſtine to the Havanna, taken by the Tartar, Capt. Wa
12	30	Three Ships, with Ammunition, &c. taken by a Privateer of New York
	31	Brig, with Gun-Powder, Iron, and Stores, by the Tilbury, Capt. Long
16	34	Ship with Salt, a Packet Boat from the Havanna, and a rich Ship, taken Jamaica, by a Privateer of New York
22	35	Ship with Indigo, Cocoa, and a large Sum of Money, by a Barbadoes Priv
	37	Two Ships, cut out of St. Jago Road
24	39	Two large Privateers of 30 Guns each, fitted out by Don Blas, the one ta the other deſtroy'd by the Revenge Snow, Capt. Andrew Stewart
27	40	The Ship, Jupiter, of 250 Tons, and 18 Guns, with Ordnance and Amm tion, taken by the Seahorſe, Capt. Cleland
28	41	Tartane, with Ammunition from Cadiz to Port Rico, taken by the Deal-Ca
Feb. 4	46	Five Ships, taken by the Hargrave Privateer of Gibraltar
	47	Avizo, taken by Adm. Haddock
Mar. 4	48	Spaniſh Brig, from St. Sebaſtian's to Cadiz, with Gun-Powder, Iron and by the Seahorſe, Capt. Cleland (who alſo retook four Engliſh Veſſels)
8	49	Privateer, taken by the Durſley Galley, Capt. Smith
10	51	The N. S. del Pillar, of 150 Tons, from Campeachy, for the Canaries, Tallow, Hides, &c. and a Sloop with Wine, taken by a New York Priv valued at 5000*l.*
11	53	Two Sloops from Cartagena to Porto Bello, taken by the Sheerneſs, Capt pleton
	54	Ship, taken off Cuba, by the Drake Sloop, Capt. Maſters
	55	Twenty-ſeven Cheſts of Silver, each of 4000 Pieces of Eight, taken out Genoeſe Ship, by Adm. Haddock, Value 24,300*l.*
17	57	Ship with 100,000 Pieces of Eight, and Cloathing for the Gariſon of St. A tine, and a Brig of 16 Guns, to the Havanna, taken by the Diamond, Knowles, Value 30,000*l.*
	60	Seventy-two Braſs Ordnance, 2 Men of War of 20 Guns each, a Snow, Dollars, Ammunition, &c. taken at Porto Bello, valued at 18,000*l.*

N°

60 —— Forts demoliſh'd at Porto Bello, &c. Damage 82,000*l.*
61 Spaniſh Ship, with Hides and Salt
62 Ship with 6000 Pieces of Eight, &c. taken by a Privateer of Bermudas
63 Ship of 16 Guns, from Cadiz to L. V. Cruz, by Adm. Haddock
64 Ship with Sugar, by Capt. Price, of South Carolina
66 Canoe with 20,000 Pieces of Eight, and a rich Ship, by the Virgin Queen Privateer, Capt. Hall
70 One Spaniſh and 3 Dutch Ships, with Naval Stores, &c. between Cartagena and Porto Bello, by the Ruby
71 Rich Ship, taken by a Boſton Privateer, Capt. Davidſon
72 Princeſſa Man of War, of 68 Guns and 650 Men, taken off Cape Finiſterre, by the Lenox, Kent, and Orford, Value 20,000*l.*
73 Privateer N. S. de la Conception, of 22 Guns and 150 Men, by the Garland Man of War
74 Privateer of 18 Guns and 150 Men, drove aſhore and deſtroyed on the Iſland of Cuba, by the Greenwich, Capt. Windham, (and a Brig retaken)
77 Snow, a Brigantine, and a Sloop, taken by a Privateer of Jamaica, Capt. Snee
78 Privateer St. Sebaſtian y las Animas, of 12 Guns and 91 Men, taken by the Deptford, Capt. Pocklington, (a Brig and Sloop retaken)
79 Barca-Longa, from Cadiz to Corunna, with 50 Cannon, and Ammunition, by the Deal-Caſtle
80 Tartane, with Wine and Oil, from Cadiz for the Canaries, by Capt. Whitchurch, worth 6000 Dollars
81 Privateer of 10 Guns and 86 Men, Don Sebaſtian Cavalla, Capt. by the Greyhound, Capt. Peyton
82 Privateer of 20 Guns and 87 Men, by the Shoreham, Capt. Broderick, off the Havanna
Port Plata, plundered by a Rhode-Iſland Privateer, Capt. Hall, 6000*l.*
84 Two Ships taken by a New York Privateer, Capt. Luſh, on board of which were found 32,000 Pieces of Eight, 450 Serons of Cocoa, and other valuable Goods, valued at 20,000*l.*
85 Rich Sloop, with Cocoa, Silver, &c. by the George Privateer, Capt. Axon, valued at 20,000*l.*
86 Sloop from the Havanna to St. Auguſtine, with 8000 Pieces of Eight, by the Squirrel, Capt. Warren
91 Four Barca Longa's and a Tartane of 120 Tons, with Wine and Brandy, taken off Faro, by the Superbe
94 Snow, a Brig, and a Sloop, taken by Capt. Snee, off Jamaica
4300 Serons and Bags of Guayaguil Cocoa, Jeſuits Bark, and Spaniſh Wool, 11 Braſs Cannon, 11 Pateraroes, &c. taken at Fort Chagre, Value 150,000*l.*
96 Two Guarda Coſta's deſtroy'd, and Fort Chagre demoliſh'd, Damage 50,000*l.*
97 Ship with 50 Tons of Powder, taken by a Rhode-Iſland Privateer, Capt. Allen
99 Two Ships with Wine, &c. for Cadiz, taken out of Salo Bay, by the Pembroke and Advice
100 Large Ship from the Canaries to the Havanna, taken by a Privateer of St. Kit's, Value 20,000*l.*
104 Pettiauger, a Brig, and a Sloop taken, and a Sloop deſtroyed, by the May-Flower
105 El Sol d'Orado, from Palma to the Havanna, with 240 Pipes of Wine and Brandy, &c. taken by a Privateer of Jamaica
106 Sloop of 120 Tons, taken by the Roebuck, Capt. Crawford
107 Privateer, taken by a Merchant-Ship, Capt. Spawforth
108 Phœnix, a Dutch Ship of 26 Guns, with Spaniſh Goods, from Cadiz to L. V. Cruz, taken off Cape Corrientes, by the Worceſter and Falmouth
109 Lug-Sail Boat, of 25 Tons and 40 Men, by the Fox, Capt. Nevill
110 Sloop with 8000 Pieces of Eight, &c. taken by a Privateer of St. Kit's
111 Privateer of 10 Guns, (with an Engliſh Ship in tow) taken by the Garland
112 Rich Ship, taken by a Privateer of Rhode Iſland, Capt. Griffith
113 Privateer of 10 Guns, taken by the Bonetta Sloop
114 Regiſter Ship, taken by a New York Privateer, valu'd at 20,000*l.*
116 Two Ships, taken by the Saltaſh Sloop
118 Privateer of 8 Guns and 40 Men; another (the St. Joſeph) Privateer of 6 Guns and 46 Men; both taken off Bilboa, by the Newcaſtle and Dolphin Men of War

Advices

1740 N°

Oct. 27 120 Two Privateers, drove on Shore at Nantz, by the Dolphin and Newcastle

121 Ship with 350 Barrels of Powder, 300 Small Arms, and 300 Pieces of [illegible] taken by a Pettyauger of Jamaica

30 122 Ship of 300 Tons, with Wine and Oil, taken by Capt. Perry of St. Kit's

Nov. 3 123 Settee of 70 Men, taken by the Spy Sloop

8 125 Sloop deſtroyed by a Privateer of Jamaica; and another taken and ranſom[ed] 5000 Dollars

126 Privateer of 18 Guns, of St. Jago de Cuba, burnt by the Sheerneſs, [illegible] Stapleton

127 Rich Ship, taken by the Boyde Privateer

128 Guarda Coſta, with valuable Effects, taken by Capt. Boſcawen

13 129 Privateer, taken by the Lively

130 Privateer N. S. del Charo, taken by the Dolphin, Capt. Holbourn

19 131 Launch with 25 Men, taken by the Roſe, Capt. Franklin

132 Ship with 50 Tons of Powder, taken by the Ann Privateer

133 Rich Dutch Ship, ſaid to have 60,000 Pieces of Eight, Cocoa, &c. tak[en] Adm. Haddock, valued at 15,000*l.*

134 Large and rich Sloop, taken by a Privateer of Jamaica

Dec. 3 135 Barca-longa with Artillery Stores, from St. Lucar to Ferrol, by the Fly Sl[oop]

8 139 Brig and two Sloops, taken off the Canaries; and the Ann (Dutch) from [Am]ſterdam to Teneriffe, with Anchors, Cables, &c. taken among the C[anary] Iſlands, by the Vernon Privateer

9 142 Three Ships, taken by the St. Andrew Privateer, of Rhode Iſland, Capt. [illegible]vidſon

17 144 Sloop and Schooner, taken in the Windward Paſſage, by Capt. Hall and [illegible] Langdon

145 Privateer of 130 Men, drove on Shore near St. Jago de Cuba, by the Sp[anish] Capt. Warren

1741

Jan. 5 146 Tender on the Ferrol Squadron, laden with Gun Powder, &c. by the Wa[rwick] Man of War

7 147 Avizo from Spain to the Havanna, by the Norwich, Capt. Herbert

8 148 Large Privateer of 20 Guns, ſunk by the Princeſs Auguſta, Capt. Gwin

12 149 Ship with Ammunition, Stores, and 20,000 Dollars, by the Squirrel, [Capt.] Warren

150 Dutch Ship with 8000 Pieces of Eight, &c. by Capt. Hobſon

22 151 Naval Stores taken out of a Swede, French and Dutch Ship, by the Deal C[astle] Capt. Weſt

Feb. 2 152 Large Ship, taken off St. Lucar, by the Eagle Privateer, Capt. Dumareſq[ue]

5 153 Ship with Wine, from Malaga to Cadiz, taken by the ſame

7 154 Spaniſh Tartane, taken by the Stubbington, Capt. Mauger

April 6 156 Town of Oronoque plunder'd, and two rich Ships taken in the Harbour, by Victory Sloop, Capt. Powers, 2000*l.*

158 Two rich Ships, taken by Capt. Wickham, of Newport in Rhode Iſland

159 Kebeck, taken by the Garland

8 162 Ship of 16 Guns, from Cadiz, with a valuable Cargo, for the Weſt-Indies, [tak]en by Adm. Haddock; and two Settees, taken by the Durſley Galley

163 Privateer, drove aſhore by the Dartmouth Galley Privateer, Capt. Lefont

May 3 165 Dutch Ship from Porto Rico, and another with Proviſions from Cadiz for [Car]tagena

7 166 N. S. de la Aſſumption Privateer, of 4 Guns and 45 Men, taken off Ha[vana]

168 One Privateer taken, and one ſunk, by the Ipſwich Man of War

12 169 Ship drove on Shore between Oporto and Villa de Conde, by the Bonetta

13 170 Spaniſh Brigantine, between Villa de Conde and Oporto, by the Rye Man of [War]

15 171 St. Antonio de Padua Privateer, of 18 Guns and 151 Men, taken off Sc[illy] the Rupert, Capt. Ambroſe

16 172 Large Ship of 200 Men, with 200 Head of Cattle and 600 Bags of Flo[ur] ken near Oran, by the Durſley Galley

173 Privateer of 10 Guns and 77 Men, taken off Finiſterre, by the Kingſ[ton]

174 Rich Ship, taken by the George Privateer, Capt. Drummond

Forts at Cartagena demoliſh'd, &c. Damage 200,000*l.*

180 Six Ships of War deſtroy'd, 345,000*l.*

N°

187 Seven Galleons deſtroy'd, 100,000*l.*

190 Three Ships with Oil and 10,000 Dollars, from Seville to Cadiz, by Adm. Haddock

191 French Ship, with 1387 Piſtoles, 290*l.* in Silver, 200 Ounces of Plate, 700 Barrels of Flour, Gold and Silver Lace, Cambricks, Muſlins, Silks, Velvets, &c.

193 Another French Ship of 500 Tons, with Flour, Iron, and Naval Stores, and one laden with Salt; all three taken by the Squirrel, Capt. Warren

195 Two Ships from St. Jago de Cuba, taken by the Falmouth

197 Ship from Ferrol, and another from Porto Bello, by the Deptford, Capt. Moſtyn

198 French Ship of 350 Tons and 16 Guns, with Ammunition for Cartagena, by the Defiance, Capt. Trevor, valued at 20,000*l.*

199 Rich Ship with Bale Goods, valued at 50,000*l.* taken by the ſame

200 Spaniſh Ship taken by the Briſtington, Capt. Whitfield of Briſtol

202 New Xebeck, taken by the Aldborough, Capt. Pocock, with 53 Men for the Privateers at Majorca; and a Ship laden with Barley, by the Dragon, Capt. Barnett

203 Several Buts of Sherry, (and 30,000 Dollars not yet condemned) taken out of a Swediſh Indiaman, off the Canaries, by the Lord Forreſter

204 French Ship with Naval Stores, taken off Oporto, by the Bonetta Sloop

206 Two ſmall Privateers, taken by the Galloper and another Tender, under Dungeneſs

207 Biſcaya Privateer, of 12 Guns, a great Quantity of Arms and 119 Men, taken off St. Sebaſtians, by the Rupert, Capt. Ambroſe

208 Forty Pieces of large Cannon, taken out of a French Ship, from Ferrol for Cadiz, valued at 2000*l.*

209 Thirty Pieces of Cannon, taken out of a French Ship, from Ferrol for Cadiz, valued at 1500*l.*

Plunder of Fort St. Ignatius, 2500 Pieces of Eight, 12 Guns, &c. 3000*l.*

210 Fine Ship of 24 Guns, taken by the Sunderland

Dutch Fly-Boat of 300 Tons, with Cocoa, &c. from Porto Bello

215 Five Ships with Proviſions and Naval Stores for Cartagena, taken by the Defiance, Capt. Trevor

216 Large Ship, taken by a Rhode Iſland Privateer, Capt. Collingwood

217 Rich Ship, taken by the Diamond, Capt. Knowles, valued at 20,000*l.*

219 Two Spaniſh Ships, taken by the Squirrel, Capt. Warren

220 Humility of Stockholm, of 300 Tons, with Wine, Oil, Almonds, Caſtille Soap, Fruits, &c. taken by the Revenge Privateer, Capt. Wimble

221 Juffrow Elizabeth, with 157 Pipes of Wine, and (as ſaid) 100,000 Pieces of Eight

222 Ship with 300 Pipes of Wine, taken by the Reſolution Snow, Capt. Stocker

229 Seven Ships, taken by Adm. Haddock, and ſent into Faro

230 Brig. from Rebuades to Corunna, taken by the Argyle, off Cape Prior

231 Fine Ship of 24 Guns, from the Havanna, taken by the ſame

232 French Sloop with a great Number of Officers and Arms, from Port Lewis for Martinique

233 Privateer, ſunk near Malaga by Capt. Bollen

234 Spaniſh Packet, taken by the Defiance, Capt. Trevor

236 Two Dutch Ships, of 500 Tons each, with Naval Stores, by Adm. Haddock

237 Privateer of 73 Men, loſt on the Back of the Iſle of Wight

240 Three Ships taken by the George Privateer, Capt. Drummond

241 Ship for St. Sebaſtians with 26 large Guns, 20 ſmaller, Ammunition, &c. taken by the Swift Sloop

242 Spaniſh Ship with 25 Tons of Quickſilver, &c. taken by Capt. Thomſon

243 Large Privateer of 107 Men, ſunk off Trinidada by the Squirrel, Capt. Warren

244 Dutch Ship, laden at Cadiz with 14,000 Pieces of Eight, &c. taken by the Deptford, Capt. Moſtyn

246 Two Barks, taken off Vivero, by the Naſſau, Capt. Medley

247 Conception, of 180 Tons and 37 Men, taken off St. Sebaſtians, by the Aſſiſtance, Capt. Martin

248 St. Dominique, of 200 Tons and 62 Men, from Greenland, with Oil and two Whales, by the ſame

Sept.

Advices
1741 N°
Sept. 29 249 Duke de Vendoſme Privateer, of 26 Guns and 202 Men, with a great Q of Arms, taken by the Rupert, Capt. Ambroſe
250 Virgin Roſario, with 12 Guns and 67 Men, by the Tartar, Capt. Tow
30 251 La Grande Juſtice, a French Ship of 20 Guns, with Sugar, Cochineal, Hides, 60 Bars of Gold and Silver, and 180,000 Pieces of Eight, Succeſs, Capt. Thomſon, Value 100,000*l.*
Oct. 10 256 Five Prizes ſent to Gibraltar by Adm. Haddock
257 Rich Ship taken off Bonica, by the Revenge Privateer, Capt. Fox, 10,000*l.*
258 Privateer of 4 Guns and 46 Men, off Tariffa, by the Winchelſea, Cap combe.
27 259 Spaniſh Man of War of 24 Guns and 220 Men, from Port-Paſſage to M by the Worceſter
260 Providence of 350 Tons, 12 Guns and 50 Men, taken off Rio de la Ha the Defiance, Capt. Trevor
Nov. 7 261 Melilla, a Barca-Longa, of 100 Tons, 6 Guns and 55 Men, taken off M
21 262 Privateer of 14 Guns and 80 Men, ſunk off Teneriffe, by Capt. Reynol
22 263 Privateer of St. Auguſtine, taken by a Privateer of South Carolina, (w Ship retaken)
25 265 Two Spaniſh Ships taken by the Newcaſtle, Capt. Fox
266 Ship with 70,000 Pieces of Eight, &c. taken by the Shoreham, Capt. rick, Value 30,000*l.*
267 Jean Dufau, of 300 Tons, with 414 Bars of Spaniſh Wool and Bar Iron, Bilboa for Havre de Grace, valued at above 12,000*l.* by the Warren Ga
Dec. 5 268 Rich Ship from the Havanna, by the Weymouth, Capt. Knowles, 100,000*l.*
269 Privateer of 20 Guns, from the Havanna, by the Auguſta, Capt. Dennis
270 Ship taken out of Barracoa Harbour, by the Charming Humming-Bird, vateer of New York, (a rich Scotch Ship retaken at the ſame Time)
8 271 N. S. del Carmen, a Privateer of 24 Guns and 187 Men, by the Rupert, Ambroſe
14 272 Settee from Cadiz to L. V. Cruz, with 20 Tons of Quickſilver, &c. Kennington, Capt. Peyton
16 273 Sloop with 70 Paſſengers, taken by the Dartmouth Galley Privateer
274 Sloop with 50 Men, taken off Viana, by the Grampus

N. B. *The Author ſuppoſes each Ship and Cargo, not valued here, to be worth, one with another,* 3000*l. and each Privateer* 500*l.*

The following, which was publiſhed during the late Adjournment, we judge may not improperly be inſerted in our Magazine *for this Month; ſince, whatever may be the Iſſue of the late Change in the Miniſtry, the Reflexions therein contain'd ſeem agreeable to the Sentiments of the Majority of the Nation.*

Nil actum reputans, dum quid ſupereſſet agendum. LUCAN.

AMIDST the many gloomy Reflexions which the Situation of our publick Affairs for ſome Years paſt continually excited in every honeſt Breaſt, none, I believe, wounded deeper than the Con ration of the enormous Progre Corruption and political Pru tion.

Indeed, the Miſchiefs which threaten'd us, were more fatal all we had elſe to fear: Every Danger has its Remedy; but a tion univerſally corrupted is wi Reſource; neither Time nor tune can relieve them; the mo vourable Accidents can only ac the Period of their Deſtruction.

It is to the Weight of Con tions like theſe, that we owe opening Proſpect of happier Ti The *Britiſh* Spirit rous'd by the

g Danger, has at laſt exerted
and has, in ſome Meaſure,
ted our Terrors: We have
Britiſh Parliament, which, by
dy Adherence to the publick
ſt, (in Spite of all the Wiles
Enemies to miſlead it) has at
confounded that infamous O-
which ſo often declar'd, *That*
en had their Price: We have
o the Brazen Idol, which de-
it, at laſt thrown down, his
broken, and his Spells diſſol-
Where are now his Elateneſs
Number of his Worſhippers,
died Contempt of all Equity,
off at Integrity, and his con-
Aſſertions, ſupported only by
nrival'd Power of Front?
s to the *Britiſh* Honeſty, they
w eclipſed; his very Prieſts
him, and are the foremoſt to
im his Iniquity to Mankind.
the mere Removal of the
of our Indignation is the
ſt Boon we expect from the
happy Conjuncture. Let us
rn our Eyes on what we have
d, and what we have hoped
d we cannot doubt, but our
have nobler Ends in View.
nean a Compenſation will the
e alone of one Man prove for
ain of Injuries we have long
d under? And how contemp-
ould our paſt Complaints ap-
f ſo trifling an Event could
r Reſentment?—It will not
nnot. The general Voice is,
and Juſtice; nor can the
rtful amongſt us ſtifle the

t Honour, what Security hath
menſe Profuſion of the pub-
reaſure procur'd us? What
es, what Influence have our
Negotiations acquired us?
what myſterious Incidents
ng the dreadful Cataſtrophe
ellow Subjects in one Part
World, and the Triumphs of
temptible Enemy in ano-

ther? Theſe are the Queſtions now of every *Briton*; theſe are the Inquiries, which our Patriots have bound themſelves to purſue; and it is this Purſuit, and the Execution of publick Juſtice on ſuch as ſhall be involved in it, which we now impatiently wait for.

And in theſe Expectations we will perſevere; nor ſhall the inſignificant Circumſtance of a diſcarded Miniſter divert our Attention. How weak, how ridiculous ſhall we appear, if our boaſted Efforts, inſtead of benefitting ourſelves, ſhould end in ſecuring to our Enemy a more peaceable Poſſeſſion of our Spoils, than he could otherwiſe have hoped for? Who would not emulate the Deſpoiler, if they ſaw that his Retreat, and the quiet Poſſeſſion of his twenty Years Pillage, was all an injur'd People had in View? Folly like this ſhall never be imputed to the *Britiſh* Nation: They will not be deluded by a mere Shifting of Hands; nor ſhall any one with Impunity barter their Right to Redreſs for a Share of Power. With them, whoever endeavours to ſcreen the Guilty will partake of the Guilt.

I ſay again, *Enquiry* and *Juſtice* is the unanimous Demand of the *Britiſh* People; they are convinced that on this only depends their future Preſervation; and they are reſolv'd to treat with Diſdain all Expedients for evading them: A Change not of Hands only, but of Meaſures, is what they inſiſt on; and the firſt Proof of ſuch a Change muſt be the zealous Proſecution of theſe important Purpoſes. Any Attempt to ſcreen or palliate would inſtantly convince us that we had not profited by the Bargain, but that our new Pilots were thereby ſetting the Example of an Indulgence which they intended their own Conduct ſhould one Day ſtand in need of.

But, indeed, any Endeavours of this

this Kind (though the ſole Hopes of our Enemies) are not to be dreaded. Thoſe who have hitherto labour'd in the publick Cauſe, are too well convinced of what they owe to their Country and themſelves, to concur in ſo miſchievous a Project; they will never agree to overſet, in an Inſtant, all our paſt Endeavours for Reformation; they know our Wrongs are too ſevere to be obliterated; they are beſides ſenſible, that whoever ſhould intervene at this Juncture, would draw on his own Head the bittereſt Imprecations of an offended People, and would more probably ſink with the Guilty than ſcreen them.

The Wiſhes of the People then, and the Reſolutions of thoſe they confide in, both uniting in this neceſſary Work, what Succeſs may we not hope for from this happy Conjunction? We cannot doubt but our Senators, animated by the approaching Completion of their honeſt Efforts, will, if poſſible, reinforce that Diligence which has already endear'd them to the Nation. Indeed the Fatigue of the Seſſions hitherto muſt be confeſſed to have been unparallel'd; but the ſincereſt Gratitude of a free People, the ſucceſsful Events already procured, and the pleaſing Proſpect of ſuch future Advantages as may extend through many Ages, will ſurely ſupport a virtuous Mind under infinitely greater Inconveniencies than the ſevereſt Attendance in Parliament can ever amount to.

On this Occaſion, I cannot but indulge myſelf in the pleaſing Proſpect which now opens to our View. We have long lamented our declining State, our ſinking Liberty, and our diminiſh'd Influence, and even the moſt ſanguine amongſt us almoſt deſpair'd of any Reformation. But now, how near are we to our Deliverance; let but the ſame Virtue be exerted a Fortnight hence, which we have ſeen a Fortnight ſince, we will not change for the ha Times that have preceded us the ſame Aſſiduity, the ſame lution, and the ſame inflexibl tegrity, dignify the 18th of *ary*, which have already im liz'd the 18th of *January*, an Happineſs is then compleat: ſhall then ſee thoſe myſtical unravell'd which have ſully'd *Britiſh* Name, and have fill'd Patriot Breaſt with Indigna Then the long neglected Sig an injur'd Nation will be with an Attention worthy Dignity; and then ſhall we re in the Triumphs of publick Ju Then ſhall the Power of Corr be diſſolv'd, and the Liberty Happineſs of this Iſland be ſecur'd to lateſt Times!

Laſt Month we gave our Re the Repreſentations or Inſtru from the Cities of *London*, *W ſter* and *York*, to their reſpectiv preſentatives in Parliament, o preſent Criſis of Affairs: (See p 101.) And ſhall now inſert more from other Parts of the dom, whereby the Senſe of the ple in this important Conju will the more fully appear.

Briſtol,

To Sir Abraham Elton, *Bart.* *Hon.* Edward Sowthwell, *E*

Gentlemen,

ACCORDING to antient and Privilege of inſtr our Repreſentatives in Parli we take Leave to impart our ments at this important Conju and to recommend to you Purſuit of that ſtrict and im Inquiry into the State of the which is already begun: A truſt you will exert your utm deavours to carry it on with dition and Effect; and at the

to ſecure the Publick Liberty, tinguiſhing Corruption, and by ng our Conſtitution to its an- Foundation of Triennial Parlia-

particular, we earneſtly deſire expect you will enquire how A aſt Sums of Money, levied on bjects of late Years, have been ded, and yet the Nation re- to a moſt calamitous Conditi- th abroad and at home: How rade and Navigation came to much neglected or expos'd; B Inſults and Depredation; and to Capture, by a cruel, but mptible, Enemy: Eſpecially, that moſt valuable Branch of erce, our *Woollen Manufacture*, been ſuffer'd to decline, with- e Effort either to prevent it C nedy the Misfortune. But a- all, we rely upon your ſtrict ination into the Conduct of the War in *America*, and the no- s *Inaction* of our great Fleets *rope*; by which the Lives of Thouſands of our brave Coun- D n have been loſt or ſacrificed, any Millions of the national h vainly exhauſted.

m all theſe Inquiries we think olutely neceſſary, to the pre- nd future Safety of our Coun- hat the Authors of ſuch dire- E lamities may be detected and t to publick Juſtice.

are of the Number of your tuents, and (while you act vi- ly for the publick Good)

Gentlemen,

Your very humble Servants. F

Edinburgh, Feb. 23.

er from the Right Hon. George iburton, *Eſq*; *Lord Provoſt of City, to* Archibald Steuart, *Eſq*; *Repreſentative in Parliament.*

R,

HE Virtue, Spirit and Vigi- lance of this preſent Parlia- ment has already been productive of ſo many good Effects, as give an Earneſt to the Nation of what may be expected from a conſtant Perſeverance in the ſame Paths.

The reſtoring and maintaining the antient Conſtitution, and the preſerving the Freedom of Parliament, have been long the Objects of the Deſires and Wiſhes of the Nation, as the only Preſervatives againſt all undue Influence, the proper Cement of the Affections of the Subjects to his Majeſty and his Royal Family, and the certain Antidote againſt the Effects of Corruption and miniſterial Influence.

As we now have a very near Proſpect of attaining theſe glorious Ends, we earneſtly recommend to you to promote and concur in bringing in and carrying thro', ſuch ſalutary Laws as ſhall be conducive thereto; of ſuch Number we reckon a Place-Bill, Penſion-Bill, and the Repeal of the Septennial Act, the moſt neceſſary.

As our Conſtitution has been broke in upon, by which the Nation has manifeſtly ſuffer'd, we deſire you, with the greateſt Zeal and Aſſiduity, to concur in making the ſtricteſt Inquiry into the Cauſe of paſt Miſmanagements, as the beſt Means to prevent the like for the future. And, as this Nation has been long oppreſſed and diſhonour'd by a Complication of Evils, we heartily recommend to you the ſtricteſt Inquiry into the Conduct of the ſeveral Perſons who, in their reſpective Employments, have contributed thereto, and, by bringing them to Juſtice, thus rub off the Stain that has, for ſome Time, blacken'd and obſcur'd our Country.

As your paſt Conduct in Parliament has given us the greateſt Satisfaction, we take this publick Opportunity to acknowledge it, and to return you our Thanks, and are confident, that as the Honour that will

attend the Proſecution of the above Meaſures, ſo manifeſtly for the Good of the Nation, will be exceeding great, you will ſteadily follow them out, with all the Aſſiduity and Vigilance in your Power. *I am*, &c.

Sign'd in Preſence and by Appointment of the Council,
George Haliburton, P.

Canterbury, Feb. 27.

At a General Meeting of the Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Council, *&c.* of this City, it was unanimouſly agreed that the following Repreſentation ſhould be forthwith deliver'd to the Hon. Mr. *Watſon*, and *Thomas Beſt*, Eſq; their Repreſentatives in Parliament.

Gentlemen,

WE ſhould be much wanting in Gratitude, and truly undeſerving of future Favours, ſhould we be remiſs in our Acknowledgment of thoſe already conferr'd; and therefore beg Leave to offer our moſt hearty Thanks for your late honeſt Endeavours in Parliament to retrieve the Glory of an injur'd People, and ſave us from ſinking under the inſupportable Anguiſh of a miniſterial Oppreſſion, thereby ſo nobly diſcharging the Duty we have repoſed in you; nor muſt we omit our Congratulations on the Succeſs of your Attempts for the publick Good, nor zealouſly to implore your further Aſſiſtance to limit the Number of Placemen, repeal the Septennial Act, and bring all thoſe to Puniſhment who have any Ways abuſed the publick Truſt; that a Proſtitution of Power may be no longer tolerated, but that all wholſome Laws for the Good of the Subject may be duly and ſpeedily enacted; and finally, that a Work, by ſo many worthy Patriots thus laudably begun, may terminate in the Reſtoration of our undoubted Rights, and the total Extirpation of our Oppreſſors, to the Honour of our K[ing] the Preſervation of our Co[un]try and the Terror of future D[e]linquents.

Bath, Marc[h]

To the Honourable General Wade, *and* Philip Bennett, *Eſq*;

SIRS,

THE higher Senſe we have the Bleſſings we ſhould en[joy] was our Conſtitution preſerved, higher muſt our Fears be, when are in Danger of having that ſtroyed, the higher our Reſentm[ent] againſt thoſe who contribute t[o] ſtroy it.

Corruption is its principal Ad[ver]ſary; and we receive continued counts, that all her Arts have b[een] employed, all her Charms of R[i]es, Honours and Pleaſures, have erted their united Force, to di[ſ]gage the Repreſentatives of the P[eo]ple from an Attention to the C[au]ſe of Liberty, which they were [e]miſſioned to maintain and defe[nd].

Can we then ſit ſilent and unal[ar]med? No; we muſt remind y[ou] the Importance of the Charge have committed to you, and rec[om]mend to you an honeſt but ſe[ve]re Inquiry into the Conduct of th[oſe] to whom thoſe Charges of cor[rupt] Practices are imputed; that [in] no Prejudice of Party, no Affe[c]tion of Popularity ſhould ex[empt] them to the Indignation of N[u]mbers, if innocent; yet ſhould Artifice, no Prevarication in th[em], no falſe Tenderneſs in you, ſc[reen] them from Puniſhment, if gu[ilty]; that ſucceeding Stateſmen, w[hen] they conſider an oppreſſed Pe[o]ple have demanded and received J[u]ſtice, may be intimidated from p[ur]ſuing Meaſures deſtructive of publick Intereſt, and ſupport [the] Conſtitution in its original Purity.

We recollect, with Approbat[ion] the Reſtraints laid on Electors in Act againſt Bribery in Elections,

it reaſonable we ſhould have Security for the Virtue and rity of the Elected, by Provi- for diſabling Penſioners from g in your Houſe, and by limit- the Number of Placemen that d ſit there.

wer may be corrupted by too an Enjoyment of it; the Temp- n to abuſe it would be confide- leſſen'd, was the Septennial repealed, and the Call of Par- ents Triennial.

he Decay of Trade in general, B he Woollen Manufacture, which re Eye-Witneſſes of, in particu- are reaſonable Subjects of Com- t; we expect from you, Inquiry the Cauſes of this Decay, and ctivity in redreſſing them.

heſe are our Sentiments, ye are C Repreſentatives, and we are Electors.

a general Meeting of the In- ndent Freemen of the City of *ntry*, on *Tueſday*, *March* 2, it unanimouſly agreed to ſend the D wing Inſtructions to each of Members.

e Right Hon. the Earl of Euſton, *and* William Grove, *Eſq*;

S it's the firſt Time this weigh- E ty Truſt of being a Repreſen- e in Parliament, has been repo- n you, Mr. *Grove*, we take this rtunity to congratulate you, expreſs the great Joy and Satiſ- n we receive from our happy ce of a Perſon ſo deſerving of F d the Publick, whoſe true Pa- Zeal and Behaviour for the ur and Service of your Coun- t firſt ſetting out, and faithful harge of that Truſt during this but critical Period, give us an and ſtrong Confidence of your G e good Conduct.

d tho' we entertain not the Doubt or Suſpicion of your Perſeverance at this important Juncture, when *Great Britain*, formerly the Envy of her Neighbours, and Arbitreſs of *Europe*, is, thro' the iniquitous Meaſures of a Junto of Perſons influenced and ſupported by A Corruption, ſtript of her ancient Power, Wealth, and Glory, and betray'd, oppreſs'd, and enſlav'd, we may ſay, beyond Hopes of Redemption, ſhould not a virtuous *Britiſh* Parliament ſeaſonably exert herſelf for her Deliverance:

And tho' you, my Lord *Euſton*, by having been longer a Repreſentative in Parliament, cannot but better know the Source of theſe Grievances, and will (we hope) by your future Diſpoſition and Actions, ſhew a juſt Abhorrence of them; yet we your Conſtituents, as it is our undoubted Right, muſt freely declare our Sentiments, and inſiſt, that you both (laying aſide all Party Diſtinctions, odious to every Well-wiſher of his Country) uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to weed out the Corrupted and their Corruptors, and carefully guard and provide againſt their pernicious Schemes, and redreſs the Injur'd, by a ſtrict Inquiry into the unhappy State of the Nation, and vigorouſly purſuing the wicked Contrivers of its preſent Calamities, till they are brought to condign Puniſhment; that others may hereafter be deterr'd from the like evil Practices, which have ſo much contributed to the Decay of Trade in general, and the Ruin of our Woollen Manufacture in particular, too ſenſibly felt in this City, and throughout the whole Kingdom.

And as Septennial Parliaments are an Innovation upon and injurious to our Conſtitution, eſpecially when crouded with Placemen and Penſioners, miniſterially made uſe of to carry on evil Deſigns, and for corrupt Purpoſes, we earneſtly requeſt your ſtrenuous Aſſiſtance and hearty

Concurrence, in making ſuch wholſome Laws, as may inevitably prevent thoſe Abuſes for the future.

We are, Gentlemen, whilſt you act vigorouſly for the publick Good,

Your moſt humble Servants.

To Sir John Cotton, *Bart. and* John Crawley, *Eſq; Members of Parliament for the Borough of* Marlborough, *in the County of* Wilts.

AS we the Mayor and Burgeſſes of this Borough are convinced, that your Virtue and Integrity could never ſuffer your zealous Endeavours to be wanting in contributing to the preſent glorious Proſpect of reſtoring to the Nation its ancient Liberties and Privileges, ſo we think ourſelves obliged to acknowledge our intire Approbation of your laudable Behaviour. This has already conduced, and it will probably be yet more conducive to the Liberty and Intereſt of this Kingdom. It has manifeſted to the World the Prudence of our Choice, and is withal an exemplary Proof of the Juſtice and Honour you have done us.

And as it is the juſt Expectation of his Majeſty, to know the true Senſe of his People by his faithful Commons, we therefore, in Obedience to his Royal Pleaſure, take this ſeaſonable Opportunity of declaring our Sentiments, *viz.* That a ſtrict Inquiry be made into the Cauſes of the Grievances, which for a long Series of Years have oppreſſed this Nation, and that effectual Meaſures be taken to redreſs them; and we are particularly of Opinion, that ſome *exemplary Puniſhment* ought to be inflicted on the *Offenders*, that ſo for the future, no Perſons may dare to abuſe the Confidence repoſed in them, or be inſtrumental in bringing on the Nation the like fatal Calamities hereafter.

To Sir Robert Groſvenor *and* Charles Bunbury, *Barts. Members of Parliament for the City of* Cheſter.

WE the Mayor and Commonalty of this City take the Opportunity of acknowledging our grateful Senſe of your vigilant and faithful Conduct in Parliament, which has already ſo greatly contributed to our preſent happy Proſpect of Affairs.

It is with the utmoſt Pleaſure and Satisfaction, that we ſee the glorious Spirit of Liberty has at laſt prevailed over Bribery and Corruption. And we have Reaſon to hope, that by a firm Perſeverance in thoſe Principles with which the preſent Houſe of Commons hath ſo happily begun, we may ſee our Parliaments independent, and our Conſtitution reſtored to its ancient Purity.

And to this great End we earneſtly that you will heartily concur in ſalutary Laws, as ſhall be thought neceſſary for diſabling Penſioners from ſitting in Parliament as Repreſentatives of a free People, for reducing and limiting the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons, and the Repeal of the Septennial Act; that thereby his Majeſty may be rightly inform'd of the true Senſe of his People.

And more particularly we make it our earneſt Requeſt, that you perſiſt to make the earlieſt and ſtrict eſt Inquiry into the Behaviour of thoſe who have been the Cauſe of all paſt Miſmanagements, that they may be brought to an open and fair Trial, and may meet with a Reward ſuitable to their Deſerts.

And we cannot conclude without congratulating ourſelves and the whole Kingdom, that we have now Reaſon to hope that every odious Name of Diſtinction will ſoon be forgot and loſt among us; and that no Difference will remain, but

hat are Friends or Enemies to
nſtitution, of thoſe who would
in the Freedom and Indepen-
of Parliament, and of thoſe
ould ſubject it to corrupt and
erial Influence.

Charles Bingley, Mayor.

ions from the High Sheriff,
lemen, Clergy, and Freeholders
he County of Suffolk, *to their*
reſentatives in Parliament, Sir
nyn Davers *and Sir* Cordell
brace, *Barts.*

OUR unſhaken Zeal and At-
tachment to the true Intereſt
r Country, in the preſent nice
itical Juncture, call for, and
merit the ſtrongeſt Expreſſions
Gratitude; and therefore we
omit this Opportunity of de-
our higheſt Satisfaction in
oof you have given us of the
l Diſcharge of that great and
ant Truſt, which by the ge-
Voice of this County was
tted to you.

we feel in our Breaſts the
ſt Emotions of Joy, when we
upon that pleaſing Proſpect of
Eaſe and Happineſs to this
, which now lies open to us,
aving groan'd for ſo many
l Years, under the heavy and
ve Burden of Taxes, toge-
ith the ſinking and ruinous
our moſt uſeful and bene-
rade; ſo we cannot but earn-
commend to you, not doubt-
r diligent Attendance on your
n Parliament, as far as Health
rmit, the full Completion of
od Work which is ſo happily
by uſing your utmoſt Endea-
o obtain Redreſs and Reſti-
to an injur'd People, from
ho (as we apprehend) have
many Years wantonly ſup-
heir own Power, by embez-
d infamouſly proſtituting the
Treaſure to the Ends of
Corruption, and the influencing of former Parliaments; to which Purpoſe we recommend it to you, to join in a ſtrict and ſevere Inquiry into the Cauſes of our having receiv'd ſo little Satisfaction for the many Inſults and Injuries which the Nation has ſo long, and ſo diſgracefully ſuſtain'd, and to bring the Authors of pernicious Counſels to ſuch a condign Puniſhment, as is fitting for the Aſſertors of the Honour of their Country to inflict, and for the Deſtroyers of it to receive. And ſince we have now the beſt-grounded Aſſurance of that deareſt Bleſſing which can happen to a free People, an uninfluenced, independent Houſe of Commons, above the Reach of Bribery and Corruption, we muſt further recommend it to you to oppoſe ſtrenuouſly the keeping up of ſtanding Armies in Times of profound Peace, to concur in ſome proper Bills for the limiting the Number of Placemen in Parliament, for repealing the Septennial Act, and for the effectual Prohibition of the Running of Wool; the Exportation of which to foreign Countries we apprehend to be the Cauſe of the fatal Decay of that Manufacture in this Kingdom, and of the prodigious Increaſe of the Poor; with all other ſuch ſalutary Laws, as ſhall at any Time be laid before you.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Viſc. Quarendon, *and Sir* James Daſhwood, *Bart. Members of Parliament for the County of* Oxford.

WE the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of this County, eſteem it a peculiar Happineſs to have this Opportunity of congratulating you on the Succeſs that has thus far attended your uninfluenced and approved Service in Parliament. And tho' the neceſſary and long-wiſh'd-for Method of a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of paſt Meaſures

ſures has been hitherto defeated, we depend on your firm Perſeverance in requiring that Juſtice, ſo neceſſary at preſent, to ſatisfy the yet uncorrupted Conſtituents of this Nation, that their honeſt Efforts have not been in vain, and to convince thoſe who have been deluded by artful Miſrepreſentations, that our Complaints have not been groundleſs.

We further require your Concurrence with thoſe, who we now hope will vindicate the diſintereſted Sincerity of their Endeavours, that have ſo often proved ineffectual to obtain a Place Bill. How neceſſary it is to provide this Guard for our Conſtitution, the repeated Inſtances of its Preſervation, by the Independency of former Parliaments, ſufficiently evince.

We likewiſe cannot but expect, from an independent Majority of this Parliament, a Repeal of the Septennial Act, an Innovation as dangerous as this Conſtitution ever ſuffered, making a Truſt of ſuch Importance irrevocable for more than Half the computed Term of Life, and thereby depriving the Electors of approving a worthy Repreſentative by a repeated Choice, or rejecting thoſe who, from Motives deſtructive of Freedom, deviate from the Principles that alone recommend them to their Conſtituents.

To Thomas Winford *and* Edward Cope Hopton, *Eſqrs. Members of Parliament for the City of* Hereford.

Gentlemen,

YOUR conſtant Attendance in Parliament, your voting ſteadily in the Cauſe of Liberty, and in the true Country Intereſt, are ſuch Demonſtrations of your faithfully repreſenting your Conſtituents, that we the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the City of *Hereford,* as well for ourſelves, as for all the honeſt Freemen of our think ourſelves obliged to you our moſt hearty Thanks, tho' not ſufficient to diſcha great Obligation, you'll acce grateful Acknowledgment of

And as your Behaviour in ment is juſtly approved, ſo, the good Effect it hath pro we are ſenſible, how advant it would be to the Nation, t lections of Members to ſerve liament ſhould be free. Such viour as yours, productive Effects, we may reaſonably from Gentlemen, who put ſelves upon the free Choice People. You, Gentlemen, and you were accordingly choſe, in Oppoſition to the torious Bribery; you take you in Parliament with an ope and an honeſt Heart, and lectors may properly be ſaid truly repreſented by you. B our Freemen, even many moſt neceſſitous, bravely ſto for Liberty, and withſtood the eſt Temptations, and conſcien voted for you in Contempt ruption; and altho', very for ly, there was an honeſt and tial Returning Officer, yet it well known, by melancholy E ence, that Bribery and Corr Frauds and Abuſes in Retu Officers, have in many other tions prevailed; and that t Account we may place all ou tional Grievances; the bet the true Intereſt of our Co imbezzling or miſapplying the lick Treaſure; the Extenſion Laws of Exciſe; the Neglect Trade, and expoſing it to D dations; the diſcouraging o Woollen Manufacture, or ſu it to decline; the Inaction Fleets and Armies, at a Time they ſhould be vigorouſly em in a juſt War. Theſe and th

Inſtances of the Effects of Corrup-
at the whole Nation at this Time
nd upon the Legiſlature for Juſtice,
a Remedy. We therefore apply to
r Repreſentatives in the Legiſlature,
is critical Emergency, and earneſtly
nd that you will uſe your utmoſt
uts in procuring a Law effectually to
Bribery and Corruption in Election of
s to ſerve in Parliament, and to cor-
reſtrain Frauds and Abuſes in Return-
ers; and we apprehend, as there is
by the late Act againſt Bribery
ken by Electors, with proper Penal-
x'd, ſo it may be as neceſſary that the
igations ſhould be on the Candidates.
by Experience 'tis too well known,
ceivers-General of the Land-Tax,
of the Exciſe, and of other Duties,
ver ſuch Influence that they can't be
pendent Perſons, have too frequently
d the Freedom of Elections, we
hope you will forward a Law to re-
em from intermeddling or voting

that the Freedom and Independency
ments may be the better reſtored and
, we recommend, that you will
give your Aſſiſtance in promoting the
f the Septennial Act, and to promote
to limit the Number of Placemen,
tain Penſions, which will not only
e to the Freedom of Parliament, but
Means to preſerve the Treaſure of
on for the Purpoſes it may be raiſed.
will likewiſe think of proper Meaſures
nt the Running of Wool, and to en-
the Manufacture of it, and to protect
Branches of our Trade.
will be vigilant that the Laws of
ay not be farther extended.
t this Criſis, we further recommend,
will perſevere in your Inquiry into
nal Grievances, that you will do all
to have them redreſs'd, and Juſtice
n the Authors and Abettors of them;
would be natural Juſtice, that the
who have waſted or miſapply'd the
Treaſure, whereby the Taxes have
reaſed, ſhould make Reſtitution in
hoſe Taxes, and in Eaſe of an injured

emen, we aſſure you, under our
n Seal, that we are

Your moſt obliged, and
Moſt humble Servants.

[*More of theſe in our next.*]

mon Senſe, Feb. 27. N° 263.

te Adminiſtration, *and the Cloſe of it.*

VIDENCE hath at length given a
eck to Corruption.——The Serpent's Head is bruiſed:——It ſtill hiſſes indeed, but it hiſſes in the Dark.——In a Word, the Conſtitution hath prevail'd.—The Man who hath made ſuch Havock of the Trade, the Intereſts, and the Honour of this Nation, is fairly ſubdu'd; and when one conſiders the immenſe Power he had uſurp'd, when one reflects that all national Intereſts were ſacrificed to the enlarging and ſecuring this Power, we cannot help wondering that he ſhould be overcome at all, much more that it ſhould be done without the leaſt Convulſion or Diſorder in the State.

How often hath this vain Man, drunk with Pride and Power, pronounced the following dreadful Sentence upon the Nation,—*That all future Miniſters might do what they pleas'd*——which was boaſting that he had diſabled the Conſtitution for ever.——Thanks to Providence, and his blundering Genius, the Conſtitution hath diſabled him.——The Honour and Integrity of a Majority hath been his Ruin.

Where are all his boaſted Tricks and Expedients now?——Where are all his little Quibbles and Chicanes, his Quirks and Conundrums, that uſed to be offer'd in the Place of Reaſons, even where the moſt important Intereſts of the Commonwealth were in Queſtion? Alas! his only Argument, his only Expedient hath fail'd:——Five Hundred, nay, a thouſand Pounds hath been offer'd for a ſingle Vote, and hath been refuſed.——The Minute Truth and Reaſon take Place, he flies the Field.

We ſhall at preſent paſs over the Merits of his Adminiſtration, and only obſerve how well he hath acted in his laſt Scene.

When he finds that the Conſtitution had got the better of him and that he muſt go, what does he do? Like ſome barbarous Invader that hath got Poſſeſſion of an Enemy's Country, and perceives that he hath not Strength to hold it, he deſtroys every Thing about him, that thoſe who come after may not find a Subſiſtence.——To uſe his own Words, he hath ſwept the Ex——r clean; he has left nothing but Debts and Demands upon it:——But this is not all, as if he thought himſelf the Nation's Conqueror, you ſee him like *Alexander the Great* dividing Provinces amongſt his Followers; he chuſes out the Perſons the moſt obnoxious to the Publick to laviſh its Rewards upon; he anticipates every Thing, and gives ſo much to thoſe who are already look'd upon as Criminals, as if he reſolv'd there ſhould be nothing left for thoſe who are to ſucceed him to give to Merit.

By this Conduct he hath reviv'd the publick Reſentment againſt his Minions; perhaps what was paſt might have been overlooked or forgot, but he hath put the People in Mind of them, he hath made it neceſſary to call them

to

to an Account, that they may be rewarded according to what they really deſerve from the Publick.

I have not mention'd his Inſult upon the Fair Sex, upon the modeſt and the noble Part of them.——So impudent an Affront was never offer'd before as he hath lately put upon them.——With this Act he cloſed his glorious Adminiſtration. (See p. 100.)

The laſt Scene of his Adminiſtration hath been ſo full of Folly, that it would be Charity to think his Head was turn'd and that he had loſt his Senſes, if ever he had any. ——In a Word, thoſe who wiſh his Deſtruction, think he hath furniſh'd them with ſufficient Matter to do his Buſineſs within the laſt Month.

From the Craftſman *of* Feb. 27.

AMONGST other great Effects of our late miniſterial Revolution, the following Article in the *Gazetteer* of *Monday* laſt, is a very conſiderable and extraordinary one, which we have republiſh'd, not only on Account of the Truth and Modeſty of it, but for its incomprehenſible Style, and fine grammatical Language.

"As the *Gazetteer Legion* never had any other EXISTENCE, than in the *Imagination* of ſome of our *Brother News-Writers*, ſo they had certainly a Right to DISBAND the *Troops* they had *raiſed*, whenever they ſaw fit. With reſpect to other *Reflexions* upon this Paper, we muſt take the Liberty of ſaying, that they are very *ill founded*, our Pains and our Expence, in procuring Intelligence uſeful to the mercantile Part of the World, having been much greater than that of our *Neighbours*; and as to the Conduct of the *Gazetteer* for the future, we hope, that if we deſerve *better* of the Publick, than moſt of our *Brethren*, we ſhall not be *worſe* received; and in a juſt Confidence of this, we ſhall continue to uſe our utmoſt Diligence and beſt Endeavours to *pleaſe all Parties*, and to *offend none*."

If we may venture to explain this myſterious Paragraph, it is very probable, that they have not diſbanded voluntarily, but that their late *Maſter-Maſter-General N——— P———* has been *ordered* to diſband them. I am ſorry we are like to loſe their incomparable Lucubrations for the future, and cannot help pitying the *whole Legion*, eſpecially poor *Freeman*, upon this melancholy Occaſion, of their returning to their primitive Obſcurity; however, we rejoice, that they are grown ſo penitent, as to promiſe *not to offend any Party*, after the moſt infamous Abuſe, for ſeveral Years paſt, of ſome of the greateſt, wiſeſt, and moſt honourable Perſons in the Kingdom.

Craftſman, March 6. N° 1[illegible].

Caſe of a Corrupt Miniſter.

THAT *Pride muſt have a Fal*[illegible] old Saying, and commonly [illegible] paſs; but when *Guilt* is added to *Pri*[illegible] Fall muſt certainly be the heavier.

When a wicked and corrupt Mini[illegible] domineer'd, above twenty Years, [illegible] *whole People*, and abuſed two juſt and [illegible] Princes; when he has diſgraced the [illegible] abroad by ignominious Treaties, and [illegible] veriſhed it at home, by a Multi[illegible] Taxes and Duties upon the common [illegible] ſaries of Life, which have almoſt [illegible] our domeſtick Manufactures and [illegible] Trade; when he has exhauſted the [illegible] Treaſure, and ſwept the *Exchequer* cl[illegible] unneceſſary Armies and ridiculous [illegible] tions; when he has made a Farce [illegible] moſt burdenſome War, and expoſed u[illegible] Scorn of all the neighbouring Stat[illegible] Kingdoms; when he has overturn[illegible] Balance of Power in *Europe*, aggran[illegible] moſt inveterate Enemies, and ruined [illegible] tural Allies by blundering Negotiation[illegible] traiterous Confederacies; in ſhort, wh[illegible] has reduced a rich, free and flouriſhing [illegible] ple to the laſt Extremity, and is [illegible] even in his Fall, to an aſtoniſhing D[illegible] he ought not only to be diſmiſſed f[illegible] Majeſty's Preſence and Councils for ev[illegible] to receive ſome exemplary and con[illegible] niſhment.

I cannot illuſtrate this better, than [illegible] Inſtance of the late Earl of *Danby*, [illegible] to K. *Charles* II.——*Then he quotes a* [illegible] *concerning him from Biſhop* Burnet, (w[illegible] *in our* Mag. *for* April 1741, *p.* 193 A[illegible] *proceeds thus:*

The Biſhop informs us, that t[illegible] *Danby*, finding the Election of Mem[illegible] *Jan.* 1678, went almoſt every whe[illegible] him, he reſolved to leave the *Tr*[illegible] *Lady-Day*; and in that Time he m[illegible] Advantage by ſeveral Payments, w[illegible] got the King to order, that were [illegible] ſuch ſlight Pretences, that it was [illegible] he had a large Share of them him[illegible] that he left the *Treaſury* quite empty.

During the Proſecution of the [illegible] Commons againſt him, he prevail'd [illegible] Royal Maſter to confer upon him t[illegible] of *Marqueſs of Caermarthen*, and [illegible] wiſe ſuch Influence on him, tha[illegible] Speech to the Parliament, the Ki[illegible] them, that his Miniſter had done [illegible] but by his Order, and therefore he [illegible] doned him; and if there was any D[illegible] his Pardon, he would paſs it over [illegible] again, till it ſhould be quite legal.

The ſame Author tells us, that t[illegible]

conded for ſome Time; upon which
Baniſhment paſs'd the Houſe of
d was ſent down to the Commons,
tead of it, brought in a Bill of At-
ainſt him.
Earl would have been contented to
aniſhment, but being attainted by
noes, who had paſs'd the Bill, and
p to the Lords, he ſurrender'd him-
he third Reading, and was commit-
he *Tower*. He pleaded, the King's
which he had ſometime before ob-
and great Debates ariſing in the
the King was oblig'd firſt to pro-
d afterwards to diſſolve the Parlia-
n order to protect his Miniſter a-
e univerſal Reſentment and Voice of
on.
henever a Miniſter ſhall wantonly
e Dictates of his ambitious Views,
a Series of Blunders in Treaties and
ions, bring his Country to Ruin and
t, it cannot be ſuppoſed that any
or the future, will either grant a
or diſſolve a Parliament, to ſave
riminal, againſt whom the Nation
ſtly cry aloud for Vengeance.

mon Senſe, March 6. N° 264.

in relation to cloathing the Army.

R,
xplain the many Methods that have
n taken of late Years for raiſing un-
its from, and making a *private Jobb*
publick Buſineſs, would be endleſs and
e; and therefore I ſhall confine my-
what I take to be my proper Sphere,
y. As I have for many Years be-
o the Army, and was once, what
ur preſent Officers ever were, a *Sol-*
have long, with great Indignation,
pon the unjuſt Profits that are ſome-
ceeded out of the Pay of a poor Sol-
his commanding Officer, particu-
the Affair of Cloathing. There is
try in the World where the Pay of
l is ſo high as in *England*; and yet
nels are not always content with
, but endeavour to make a great Ad-
it, by their Contracts for cloathing
ective Regiments.
far from accuſing every Colonel of
ſtice, or ſaying that the Colonel has
he Money that is made by ſuch Con-
The Colonel ſometimes employs a
Agent, or Under-Officer, to con-
him; and this Serjeant, Agent, or
fficer often ſtipulates *a Preſent* to
from every Tradeſman he contracts
hich the Colonel perhaps knows no-
; but whether he does or not, it is a
juſt and cruel Oppreſſion upon the
Soldiers of the Regiment, who muſt *refund* this Preſent to the Tradeſman, by paying a higher Price for their Cloaths than what they might otherwiſe be furniſhed at.

The Cauſe of my preſent Application to you, proceeds from the following Orders for *Cloathing*, which lately fell into my Hands by mere Accident. Theſe Orders were deliver'd in *October* laſt to the Perſons concern'd, in Writing, and were in the Words following, *viz.*

SIR,

IN Purſuance of an Order to me directed by I do give you Notice, that a Pattern Suit for the *new Cloathing*, a Hat and Lace, having been approved of by you are required to provide yourſelf with a Suit of Cloaths, a Hat and Lace, anſwering the ſaid Patterns, on or before the 26th Day of this Inſtant *October*. And that you may be exactly conformable to the ſaid Patterns as to Colour, Fineneſs, Lacing, and Make, of the ſaid Cloaths and Hat, you *muſt have* your Cloth, and Lining for your ſaid Cloaths, from Mr. *Man*, a Woollen-draper in the *Strand*; and your Lace for your Cloaths and Hat, from Mr. *Baſnett*, a Laceman in the *Strand*; and your Cloaths *muſt be* made by Mr. *Morgan*, a Taylor in *Craven Buildings*, near the *New Church* in the *Strand*; and your Hat by Mr. *Allen*, a Hatter in *Gerrard-ſtreet*, near *Newport-Market*: And it is Pleaſure, that you wear light Grey Worſted Stockings, and Buckſkin Gloves, which you *muſt have* of Mr. *Yews*, a Hoſier, the Corner of *Bond-ſtreet* in *Piccadilly*; and when on Duty, you muſt wear a Brigadier Peruke.

I am, &c.

This is a true Copy of the Orders given to the private Men of this Corp, and by the Blanks I have left in it you will ſee, that I do not deſign to make this Complaint perſonal. However, I muſt obſerve, that this was the firſt Time, the private Men of this Corp were ever order'd to take their Cloaths from any *particular* Tradeſman: At leaſt I can ſay, it was not cuſtomary to give them any ſuch Orders; and the Conſequence was, that they were this Year obliged to pay a great deal more for their Cloaths than formerly. I ſhall not ſuppoſe, that the Chief Commander of this Corp had any Benefit from this extraordinary Expence, which the private Men under his Command were put to by theſe *particular* and *unuſual* Orders: But it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that this peremptory Recommendation was the Effect of *Jobb-work* in ſome one Perſon or other; and as this Sort of *Jobb-work* is now become very general, not only in the Army, but in every Branch of publick Buſineſs, it is abſolutely neceſſary to put a Stop to it. The

only general Method I can think of at present, is to make it Felony, without Benefit of Clergy, for any Person to accept or take a Sum of Money, or other Present, from any Merchant or Tradesman, for recommending him to any publick Contract or Business, or for approving of the Goods offered by any Merchant, Tradesman, or other Person for the Use of the Publick; and to enact, that two credible Witnesses to one Fact, or three Witnesses of good Credit to three different Facts of the same Nature, should be a sufficient Proof of this Felony.

With Regard to the Army, which is my particular Concern, to prevent the making of any unjust Advantages by *cloathing* a Regiment, we ought, I think, to take the *Dutch* Method: We ought to commit the Care of *cloathing* the several Companies of a Regiment to their respective Captains, according to a Pattern prescribed by the Colonel; for the *Present* a Tradesman could make for cloathing a single Company, would be so trifling, that no Captain would think it worth his while to accept of it, especially if he were thereby to run the Risque of being found guilty of *Felony and hanged.*

These, Sir, are the crude Thoughts of a Man who hath been near 50 Years a Soldier an Officer in the Armies of *Great Britain.* My first Commission I received by express Order of K. *William*, not because I was *a Voter*, or the *Relation of a Member*, but because *he had seen* me behave as a good Soldier; and the first 20 Years of my Service I passed thro' with Pleasure, because I thought I was of *some Use* to my Country; but I wish I had fallen with many brave Companions in the last Skirmish I was engaged in; for to my Regret and Misfortune, I have lived to see that generous Emulation for Honour, which warmed the Breast of every Soldier when I entered the Army, deviate into a sordid Contest for Riches: I have lived to see Officers purchase Preferment in the Army, by the Sale of their Conscience and Country in Parliament. I have lived to see my Country insulted with Impunity, and myself commanded by Striplings.

PHILOSTRATIOTES.

Craftsman, March 13. N° 819.

Of Mr. D'Anvers's *past Labours, and his Farewel to the* Gazetteers.

WHAT Share will be allowed me to ascribe to my Lucubrations, in the late critical Turn of Affairs, I must leave to the Judgment of others; but my uninterrupted Endeavours, now for 16 Years, constantly employed towards the obtaining so happy an Event, have been obvious; nor ought the Sincerity of my Intentions to be more doubted, since I have been but to a Prophet in my Prognostications, with gard to the Situation of Affairs both at h and abroad, as left by the late Administra

These Circumstances considered, if Vanity should suggest more Merit than serve, I hope my Ambition of being th conducive to so great, so glorious, an happy a national Deliverance, won't be nied me by my benevolent and honest C trymen. But whether I shall be deem have been serviceable or not, on this sion, is but a second Consideration, wh reflect on the Goodness of Providence having lengthened out my Life to behol blessed Day. I am now arrived to a ver common Age, and tho' feeble in Bo thank Heaven, perfect in my Intellect which I preserved with great Care and T perance; for I may say with *Adam* in S *spear's As you like it*;

——In my youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;
Nor did I, with unbashful forehead, wo
The means of weakness and debility.

Therefore, as I have dedicated the b Part of my Life to the Good of my C try, I shall continue to employ the little mains of it in the same Service, till my Sand is dropt, which must now soon ha

The national Affairs, which will sur gage the Attention of the Publick, will bably be Inquiries and Proceedings of Ju As I am persuaded, few of my Country apprehend a Want of proper Zeal in Representatives to do Justice upon who may be found guilty of Mal-Ad stration, so those who, on the other fear the Weight of Justice, have more prehensions from a Consciousness of G than from the Partiality of their Pro tion, or Judges.

I have already said, that I am of an not to expect a much longer Continua my earthly Fabrick; and as I have h great a Number of Adversaries in d *Papers, Pamphlets, &c.* I think it wou be excusable, now the Writings upo *berty*, through Self-Conviction, are fal not to take the first Opportunity of ring, that I heartily forgive all the W in the *Gazetteer*, and elsewhere, fro Highest to the Lowest, as far as the bours have been personally aimed at and I do sincerely wish, that this Cha Life which has lately befallen them, turn to their Advantage.

Some of them, I find, intend to co the same Paper, and promise very fair to deal in the ordinary *News Occurren* assure the Publick, that they will be v dustrious to get the earliest Account of

If I find they proceed in this hon

g, I ſhall be ſo far from being deſi- hurting them, that I do aſſure them lorning at *Squire*'s, after I have drank of Coffee, and ſmoak'd one Pipe of *Jeane*'s beſt *Virginia*, after having my Spectacles, I will always call the *Gazetteer*; for I will never be to encourage an honeſt Induſtry ei- *Friend* or *Foe*.

s their Numbers were ſo conſiderable, fraid, notwithſtanding all the Coun- I ſhall be able to give their Paper, never ſupport a fourth Part of them ly wholſome Food; therefore ſuch of who had other Vocations, before they nced Authors, I would wiſh to return r reſpective Occupations again. Their may be at firſt out by a long Diſcon- e; but, according to the old Saying, will bring them into Tune again.

es this, I hope Mr. *Cooper*, the Printer Paper, will have a grateful Remem- of the Profit it has been to him, and ch Perſons, who are not fit to collect eſt *News Articles*, he will employ in ng the *Letter*, and ſo in Subordina- their Capacities and Induſtry will en- m, as far as there is Room in the take them in; and if ſuch who can- taken in, will apply to me, I will favourably for them to my Printer, give any of them a recommendatory to my Brother *Common Senſe* for the rpoſe.

re is one of theſe Perſons, whom I ore Occaſion to mention, than any of , as I have formerly done him a par- Prejudice; I mean Mr. *Oſborne*, who g Time went by the Name of *Mother* and *Goody Oſborne*, Names which I im, as if he really had been an *old* , and all this becauſe his Productions mewhat dull and low. But this of nuſt have been Mortification enough without my aggravating his Dulneſs, tending to change *his Sex*. (See *Lond.* r 1734, p. 424.)

erefore do hereby give him this pub- tisfaction, of aſking Pardon for having l againſt his *Virility*, and do frankly nly acknowledge, that I do verily be- im to be a *Male*; and that I never juſt Cauſe to believe him to be of r *Sex* or *Gender*; and I do likewiſe rdon of all thoſe miſtaken People, my Perſuaſion were induced to be- e ſaid Mr. *Oſborne* to be an *old Woman*. ll here finiſh this Paper, and never o revive the Memory of the *Gazet-* nd was in ſome Doubt about ſaying have done; but my Printer having a Paragraph, without my Know- rom one of the *Gazetteers*, contain- ittle Nonſenſe, which the poor Man writ, perhaps in an Agony of Deſpair, (ſee p. 136.) I thought it might not be prejudicial to them in general, to mention them in the gentle Manner I have done, and I heartily wiſh they may all of them be able to pick up an honeſt Livelihood, and be truly penitent for the Crimes they would have committed.

The following Speech, with the Circumſtances relating to it, may poſſibly, at this Time, afford ſome Diverſion to our Readers. It is taken from Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. I. p. 248, 249.

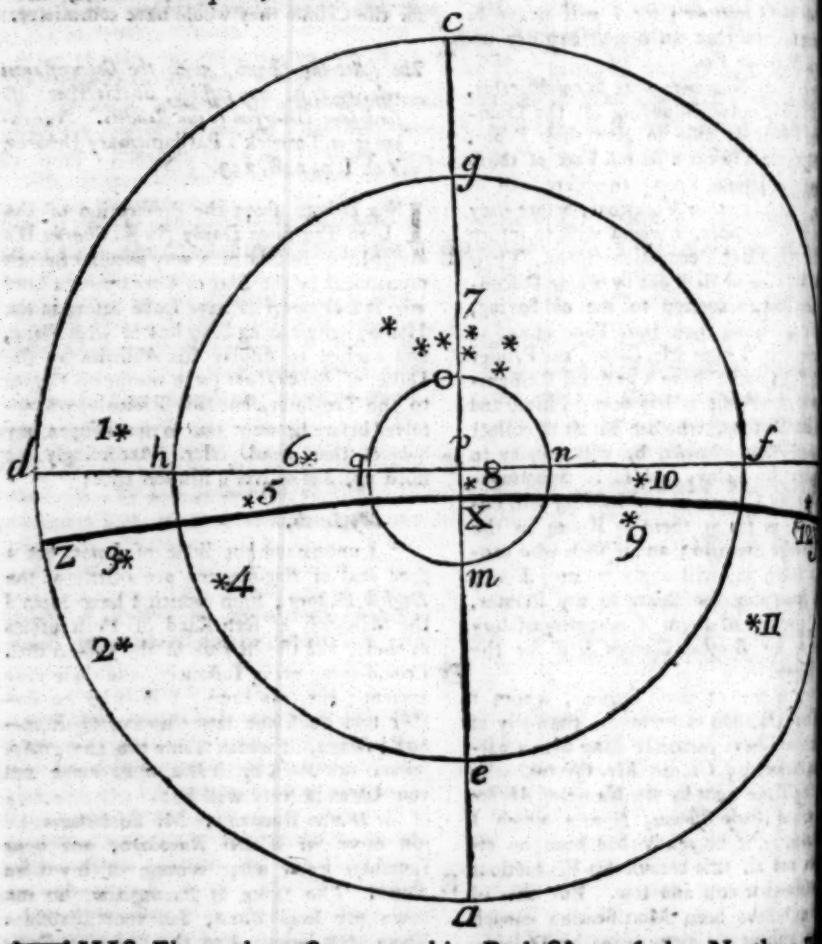
IN a Debate about the Proſecution of the Lord Treaſurer *Danby* (in K. *Charles* II's Reign) we are told of a very peculiar Speech pronounced by the Earl of *Carnarvan*, a Lord who is ſaid never to have ſpoke before in the Houſe; who having been heated with Wine, and excited to diſplay his Abilities by the Duke of *Buckingham* (who meant no Favour to the Treaſurer, but only Ridicule) was reſolved before he went up, to ſpeak upon any Subject that would offer. Accordingly he ſtood up, and deliver'd himſelf thus:

My Lords,

"I underſtand but little of *Latin*, but a good deal of *Engliſh*, and not a little of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory; from which I have learn'd the Miſchiefs of ſuch Kind of Proſecutions as theſe, and the ill Fate of the Proſecutors. I could bring many Inſtances, and thoſe very ancient; but, my Lords, I ſhall go no farther back than the latter End of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, at which Time the Earl of *Eſſex* was run down by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and your Lordſhips very well know what became of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. My Lord *Bacon*, he run down Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and your Lordſhips know what became of my Lord *Bacon*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, he run down my Lord *Bacon*, and your Lordſhips know what happened to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, he run down the Duke of *Buckingham*, and you all know what became of him. Sir *Harry Vane*, he run down the Earl of *Strafford*, and your Lordſhips know what became of Sir *Harry Vane*. Chancellor *Hyde*, he run down Sir *Harry Vane*, and your Lordſhips know what became of the Chancellor. Sir *Thomas Oſbourn*, now Earl of *Danby*, run down Chancellor *Hyde*; but what will become of the Earl of *Danby* your Lordſhips beſt can tell. But let me ſee that Man that dare run the Earl of *Danby* down, and we ſhall ſoon ſee what will become of him."

This being pronounced with a remarkable Humour and Tone, the Duke of *Buckingham*, both ſurpriſed and diſappointed, after his Way, cried out, *The Man is inſpir'd! and Claret has done the Buſineſs.*

At the particular Desire of several Gentlemen, the following Account of the COMET, *that has appear'd for above a Month past, was communicated to us by* Mr. JAMES HODGSON, *Master of the Royal Mathematical School at* Christ's-Hospital, *and F. R. S.*



THIS Figure is a Stereographic Projection of the Northern H sphere, upon the Plane of the *Equinoctial*; in which *p* represe *North Pole*, the Circle *a b c d* the *Equinoctial*, the Circle *e f g h* the *of Cancer*, the Circle *m n o q* the *Arctic Circle*, the Diameter *a p c* the *noctial Colure*, and the Diameter *d p h* the *Solstitial Colure*. The marked 1 2 3, &c. represent the principal fixed Stars, by which th met passed; the Star marked 1 is the Head of *Serpentarius*; that m 2 is the *Lucida Aquilæ*, or the *Bright Star* in the *Eagle*, called *Alta Sigma* in the Tail of the *Eagle*; 4 the Bill of the *Swan*, called *A* 5 the *Lucida Lyræ*, or *Bright Star* in the *Harp*; 6 the *Head* of the *D* the *seven Stars*, marked 7, are in the hinder Part of the *Great Bear*, monly called the *Charles's Wain*; that marked 8 is the *Pole Star*; 9 right Shoulder of *Auriga*, called *Capella*; that marked 10, is in th Shoulder of *Auriga*; 11 is in the *Bull's Eye*, called *Aldebaran*; 12 Bright Star in the Shoulder of *Orion*; and the Line *r x y* is the Path Comet thro' them, which is almost North, and very near a great Circ

e Comet, in its Aſcent from the Sun, was firſt ſeen in *England* and , on *Feb.* 18, in the Morning, and in *Holland* about the ſame Time: he firſt Obſervation that is come to Hand, was made on *Sunday*, *Feb.* n the Morning, when it appeared on the Eaſtern Edge of the *Via Lac-* or *Milky Way*, nearly in the middle Way between the Head of *Serpen-* and the *Lucida Aquilæ*. Its Place was then about 5 Deg. in *Capri-* and its Latitude 31 Deg. North.

Feb. 23, in the Morning, it was ſeen in the *Via Lactea*, diſtant from *a Lyræ* 15 Deg. and from the *Lucida Aquilæ*, or *Alcair*, 17 Deg. 30 and from the Bill of the *Swan*, *Albireo*, about 4 Deg. 30 Min. ce its Place was in *Capricorn* 11 Deg. nearly, and in about 45 Deg. of h Latitude.

March 4, it appeared among the Stars in the *Dragon*, when it was bout 19 Deg. of *Piſces*, having 79 Deg. of North Latitude; and on th it paſſed very near the *Pole Star*.

he Head appeared equal to a Star of the ſecond Magnitude to the na- Eye, very bright; but thro' the Teleſcope it appeared of a very dark Colour, encompaſſed with a very denſe Atmoſphere.

he Tail was about 6 Deg. long, and oppoſite to the Sun; and its diur- Motion was more than 5 Deg. Its Courſe among the fixed Stars was the ſame with the Comet that appeared in the Months of *February* and *b* in the Year 1672. Its aſcending Node is in about 8 Deg. of *Can-* the Inclination of its Orb is about 79 Deg. and it was in its *Perigæum*, areſt the Earth, about *Feb.* 24.

bis Occaſion we ſhall give our Readers the following Account of COMETS *general, from the Rev. Mr.* ROWNING's Compendious Syſtem of Natu- l Philoſophy, Part IV. p. 98, *&c.*

HE Comets are opake, ſpherical, and ſolid Bodies, like the Planets; and like perform their Revolutions about the elliptical Orbits, which have the Sun e of their *Foci*. The Particulars in they differ from the Planets, are, that move in various Directions, ſome the Way with the Planets, others the con- ; neither are their Motions confined the Zodiac, their Orbits admitting of clination to the Ecliptic whatever: And Excentricity of their Orbits is ſo very that ſome of the Comets perform the eſt Part of their Motion almoſt in right , tending in their Approach to the Sun directly towards it, after which they y it; and when they leave it, march off nearly in a right Line, till they are out ght, as if they were haſtening back to ixed Stars; and return not till after a d of many Years.

the Comets approach the Sun, their on grows proportionably ſwifter, for they e equal *Areas* in equal Times about its r, as the Planets do. Hence it is, that they are in their *Perihelia*, that is, at leaſt Diſtance from the Sun, their Mo- immenſely ſwifter than when they are ir *Aphelia*, or greateſt Diſtance from it. This is the Cauſe that they are viſible to us for ſo ſhort a Time; and when they diſap- pear, are ſo long before they come near enough to be ſeen again.

From the Obſervations of Aſtronomers, it ſeems probable, that the Comet which ap- peared in 1682 was the ſame which was ſeen A before in 1607, and 1531, and therefore may be expected again in 1758, after a Period of about 151 Years: And that the great Comet which appeared in 1680 was the ſame that was ſeen in the Time of K. *Henry* I. in 1106, and in 531, and in the forty-fourth Year before Chriſt, in which *Julius Cæſar* was murdered. If ſo, then the Period of this Comet is about 575 Years. There are B between 20 and 30 that have appeared ſince the Year 1337, but no two Appearances ſeem to belong to the ſame Comet, except thoſe above-mentioned. The Comet of 1680 was in one Part of its Orbit within half the Sun's Breadth of the Way of the Earth.

The Ancients were divided in their Opi- nions concerning them, ſome conſidering them as wandering Stars, others as Meteors kindled C in the Atmoſphere of the Earth, ſubſiſting for a Time, and then diſſipated: Others looked upon them as ominous Prodigies. But it is put beyond all Doubt by the more accu-

rate

rate Obſervations of the late Aſtronomers, that they are a Kind of Planets. That they are not Meteors is obvious, for if they were, they could not bear that vaſt Heat, which ſome of them in their *Peribelia* receive from the Sun. The great Comet which appeared in 1680 was within a ſixth Part of the Sun's Diameter from its Surface, and therefore muſt acquire a Degree of Heat intenſe beyond all Imagination.

One Method by which Aſtronomers inveſtigate the apparent Courſe of a Comet, is this: They obſerve what two Stars are directly one on one Side of the Comet, and the other on the other; which is done by holding up a Thread between the Eye and the two Stars, and extending it in ſuch Manner, as that it ſhall ſeem to croſs each Star: Then they look out two other Stars in ſuch Situation alſo, that the Comet ſhall appear in a Line that paſſes from one to the other; which are found as before: Then they extend a Thread upon the celeſtial Globe, from one of the two firſt Stars to the other; and another Thread from one of the two laſt Stars to the other: And the Point on the Globe where the Threads croſs is the apparent Place of the Comet at the Time the Obſervation was made. This they do daily, and ſo trace out its apparent Courſe in the Heavens.

Few of the Comets are to be ſeen in their Acceſs to the Sun, but in their Receſs appear with long fiery Tails, pointing directly, or nearly ſo, towards that Part of the Heavens which with reſpect to the Comet is oppoſite to the Sun. Some are viſible before they reach the Sun, and begin to put forth their Tails, which at firſt are ſhort and thin, ſeldom exceeding fifteen or twenty Degrees in Length, but grow longer and denſer as the Comet comes nearer the Sun. If the Comet paſſes very near the Sun, it then ſends forth fiery Beams of Light every Way. After this it puts forth a Tail forty, fifty or ſixty Degrees long, which as the Comet recedes farther from the Sun, continually diminiſhes both in Length and Splendor; but is larger and longer at any Diſtance in its Receſs from the Sun, than at an equal Diſtance in its Acceſs to it.

This great Splendor and Length of the Tails, Sir *Iſaac Newton* thinks ariſes from the Heat which the Sun communicates to the Comet as it paſſes near it; and accounts for it after the following Manner. As the Aſcent of the Smoak in a Chimney is owing to the Impulſe of the Air, with which it is entangled (for the Air about a Fire being rarefied by the Heat thereof, has its ſpecifick Gravity thereby rendered leſs than that of the more diſtant Air: Upon this Account it aſcends, and carries along with it the Smoak with which it is engaged) in like Manner he thinks the Tail of a Comet may riſe from the Atmoſphere thereof into thoſe [illegible] which are oppoſite to the Sun, being [illegible] up by the Æther about the Comet, [illegible] to a very great Degree by the Heat th[illegible]

The Author advances an Hypotheſi[illegible] what different, which we have not [illegible] for: But how it anſwers the Phæno[illegible] the Tails he ſhews thus: When a Co[illegible] been in its *Aphelion*, by means of its l[illegible] ſence from the Sun, the Vapours with [illegible] its Atmoſphere was full, are now co[illegible] and fallen down, the Atmoſphere itſelf [illegible] cold, ſett'ed into its natural State, ra[illegible] ced to a ſmall Compaſs; therefore as th[illegible] met approaches the Sun, the Tail of i[illegible] viſible to us, or at leaſt appears very [illegible] When it comes into the hotter Regi[illegible] the Sun, the Atmoſphere begins to [illegible] and dilate itſelf, and new Vapours ri[illegible] into it, increaſe the Quantity of [illegible] therein, on which Account the Tail [illegible] longer. When the Comet is in its *Per*[illegible] if it be then very near the Sun, by ma[illegible] the exceſſive Heat thereof, not only its [illegible] der Parts of its Atmoſphere are ſtrong[illegible] minated by refracted Light, but the [illegible] Parts of it by the direct Light of the [illegible] ſo that the whole Comet, Atmoſphere [illegible] all, is as it were on Fire; which emi[illegible] infinite Number of Beams and Irradiat[illegible] be ſent out from every Part; in which [illegible] the Comet is ſaid to be *Hairy*. After [illegible] when the Comet has got to ſome Di[illegible] from the Sun, and this great Illumi[illegible] ceaſes, and the Atmoſphere is extend[illegible] Rarefaction to a monſtrous Size, and [illegible] more replete with Vapours than ever, w[illegible] like the Steam of a boiling Cauldron [illegible] been continually riſing into it, the Ra[illegible] the Sun have a great Way to go with[illegible] after they are ſo far refracted towards [illegible] other, as to render the Atmoſphere ri[illegible] So that the Tail now appears at its [illegible] Length; but from this Time grows co[illegible] ally ſhorter and ſhorter (as the Atmoſph[illegible] the Comet's loſing its Heat contracts it[illegible] menſions, and the Vapour floating th[illegible] ſubſides on to its Body) till the Comet is [illegible] Sight.

F *Common Senſe*, March 13. N° 289.

Obſervations on the Reign of Richard II. [illegible] *nued.* (*See p.* 89.)

PArliaments, in thoſe Days, were [illegible] that was the Conſtitution: Our Mi[illegible] Buſineſs dreaded the Meeting of a Parli[illegible] but Money was not to be had without it: [illegible] the Meeting, therefore, of a Parliament, [illegible] retired from Court, the King pretending [illegible] had done with them; at the ſame Time [illegible] Means of *the Tools whom they had placed* [illegible] *his Perſon, they retain'd their Influence*

…rtly pushing him upon Measures for …ruction. As soon as Supplies were … and the Parliament was up, they …gain in the same Power as before, …ks in a Pond, who dive to elude the … of the Dogs, then rise again with …our.

…ommission having been appointed by A …ent for inspecting the publick Accounts, …nisters put a Stop to the Proceedings … Commission, having found some of …ges complaisant enough to give it as …inion, that the King might legally … for which, and some other Things, … them were afterwards hang'd at *Ty-*…

…e mean Time the publick Resentment B …g against the Ministers, they thought … to put their Scheme of making the … arbitrary in Execution: To this Pur… they carried the poor King, who was no …han a Puppet in their Hands, to be …ff for their Use, down to *Nottingham*, …h Place having sent for the Sheriffs of … Counties, they made the King him- C …per with them for two Purposes: …s to raise Forces, which he frankly … was to keep those in Awe who should … his Ministers Measures: The second … return such Persons to Parliament … next Elections, as he and his Ministers … direct them to return.

… Attempt was very ill concerted, for …eriffs having been appointed before, and D … enter'd upon their Office, and consist… … usual, of the Gentlemen of the Coun… … not to be prevail'd upon to contri… … so wicked a Design. On the contrary …nswer'd, that these were Orders which …ould not execute without a Breach of …rust reposed in them, nor could they, … they were inclined, put such Orders in …tion, for that the great Men, who had E … his Ministers, being the Favourites of …ople, none would list or engage against … That they dare not return any but … were fairly elected, and if they could …ould not.

…s did the Ministers foolishly shew their … before they play'd their Game; thus …ey take off the Mask in the Beginning …ir Plot, and put the Nation more upon …ard than it had been before.

…cessity now makes them change their …es. The poor King is to be turned … like a Weathercock!—The great Men …ere at the Head of the Opposition are sent … Court, the King is to wheedle them, …s them, to assure them that he wishes …thing more than to take the Sense of G …ople in a free Parliament.

… the very Time that the Ministers had …he King upon giving these Assurances, …were carrying on a Treaty with the Court of *France*, by which the *French* were to keep a Body of Troops in Readiness to send over to the Assistance of the Court, in case they should be demanded, in Consideration of which *Calais* and *Cherbury* were to be yielded up to *France* for ever.—Not content with this, the Duke of *Ireland* (the worst of the Gang) went himself to *Wales*, to try what he could do towards raising an Army there.

The Heads of the Opposition had Intelligence of all these Steps, by which they saw plainly that no Promises, no Engagements cou'd bind the obstinate and unsteady King, so long as he kept any Correspondence with those People, and that there was no saving either themselves or the Nation, but by destroying that infamous Gang of Robbers the Ministers; they therefore summon'd all their Friends and Followers, and laying before them the Danger of the Nation, desired they would follow them,—accordingly they march'd to *London*—The King, frighten'd at this formidable Appearance, retired to the *Tower*.

The confederate Lords sent to desire a Conference with the King, which, however he might dislike, he did not think fit to refuse; they expostulate with him upon his Negotiations with *France*, his tampering with the Sheriffs to procure a pack'd Parliament, and his Attempt to raise an Army. Perceiving he was mov'd at their Discourse, they told him, they were sensible these Things did not come originally from himself, but that they were entirely owing to the Wickedness of his Ministers, and that if they were separated from him for ever, they did not doubt but he would fall into the Interests of his People. He consents to the Banishment of two of the Ministers, as well as of some others, a baser and wickeder Kind of Men, I mean those that had supported them, and the Estates of all were confiscated and applied to the publick Use.

The Parliament having finish'd these Acts of Justice, pass'd an Act of Indemnity, and by a Resolution of the House it was declared, That none of the Abuses or Corruptions that had crept into the Government, ought to be imputed to the King.

§. *To the Author of* COMMON-SENSE.

FRIEND,

I Take this Method to give thee my Thanks for thy long Endeavours to do thy Country Service: Thou hast attacked the Vice, Folly and Corruption of thy Contemporaries with a Zeal well-becoming so glorious a Cause. But there is a Grievance very seldom touch'd upon either by thyself or Brethren, that I look upon as the Origin and Source of all our Miseries, I mean the Irreligion of the Age. Mens Irreligion and Vice will naturally produce Injustice, Tyranny, Fraud, Luxury, and

all

all other Vices that are deſtructive to the Body politick; and where theſe Vices prevail in any Nation, that Nation muſt feel certain Degrees of thoſe pernicious Effects, and if they arrive univerſally to their higheſt Pitch, they will unavoidably end in total Deſtruction.

Are theſe Things ſo, or not? If they are, what doſt thou think of the preſent Generation of Politicians? I am acquainted, at this Time, with about half a Dozen young Men who would be thought very good Patriots, at the ſame Time that they ſhew the greateſt Contempt for the beſt Religion the World was ever bleſſed with. Let who will call them Patriots for me, I myſelf will never allow them that glorious Title: An Enemy to Religion, I ſhall eternally look upon as an Enemy to my Country. To me it ſeems plain, that Liberty and Virtue were made for each other; and if any Man wiſhes to enſlave his Country, nothing is a fitter Preparative than Vice: And nothing leads to Vice ſo ſurely as Irreligion.

This Spirit of Irreligion of which I am complaining, has been growing upon us for near this Century paſt, I ſhould be glad to know what hath grown up with it; the only Bleſſing we can boaſt of is Luxury, that ſame Luxury that makes a Nation, like a diſeaſed, pampered Body, look full and fat with one Foot in the Grave:

I muſt crave thy Patience a little longer, the Spirit within me is grieved and conſtraineth me to ſpeak. Know then, that I live in a Street called the *Strand*, not far from a noted Tavern, where People of great Fortunes and fine Cloaths meet every *Lord's Day*, during the Winter Seaſon, to play at Cards.—What Treatment do theſe People deſerve, who are not only wicked and profane, but alſo very ſtupid, in thus openly trampling upon all Order and Decency?—The Women too, loth to be behind in any Thing that is laudable, have erected Aſſemblies (not of Saints) at their own Houſes on that Day. What all this will end in God only knows,—no true Lover of his Country can delight himſelf with the Proſpect.

I am Thine,
EPHRAIM FAITHFUL.

HEADS of the Evidence on the Merchants Petition, as ſummed up by Mr. GLOVER.
(See p. 47.)

MR. *Glover* in opening the Subject Matter of the Petition ſet forth, that the Merchants finding themſelves neglected by thoſe, from whom they had Reaſon to hope for Countenance and Redreſs, and depriv'd of that Care and Protection, which is due from the Publick and its Officers to every Individual, more eſpecially in Times of War and Danger, were under a Neceſſity of appealing to Parliament for Relief.

He then proceeded to explain the Nature and Order of the Evidence he had to produce in Support of the ſeveral Facts alledged in the Petition.

After the Examination of the Witneſſes and reading ſeveral Papers and Letters, ſum'd up the whole Evidence.

He made his Acknowledgments to the Committee for their Indulgence and Attention, repeated his firſt Propoſition, that the Merchants had been depriv'd of all Care and Protection, which he attributed to one ſettled form and continued Deſign.

Upon the Head of Captures, he proved that the Neglect of Trade in the preſent War, far ſurpaſs'd the ſame Miſconduct which was the Subject of Complaint in the laſt.

He then expatiated on the Inhumanity of ſuffering many Thouſands of *Britiſh* Subjects to lie expos'd to Want and Miſery in the Dungeons of *Spain*, notwithſtanding the Willingneſs of the Enemy to promote a regular Exchange of Priſoners; a Neglect on the Side of *England* ſo unprecedented, ſo repugnant to the Practice of Nations, as no thing could probably account for, but an inflexible Reſolution of bringing upon Trade every imaginable Difficulty from every Quarter; and this he imputed to an expreſs Deſign of promoting, in every Shape, a Meaſure known, that original and favourite Plan of making the Merchants uneaſy with the Miniſtry.

He then made ſeveral Obſervations upon Liſts of Cruiſers, and other Papers laid before the Houſe by the Admiralty; which among many other Particulars, he took Notice, that preſſing Veſſels, and all Sir *Charles Norris*'s Squadron of firſt and ſecond Rate Men of War, were ſet down, without Shame, as Cruiſers againſt Privateers; and further ſhew'd, that the ſtrongeſt Evidence of Neglect was contain'd in thoſe Papers.

Upon the Head of Convoys he ſhew'd, that by detaining for twelve Months the Fleet bound to *Portugal*, for Want of Proviſions and Convoys, the Admiralty had given the *French* an Opportunity of introducing their Woollen Manufactures into the Portugueſe Market, and had greatly injured that valuable Branch of the *Britiſh* Trade in many other Inſtances, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt Notices and Warnings they had received from the Merchants reſiding both at *Lisbon* and *London*.

He then touch'd upon the flagrant Neglect of Trade in *North America*, and dwelt upon an inhuman Inſtance of arbitrary Impreſſing in *South Carolina*, where a Man was murder'd, the Law violated, the Civil Magiſtrate ſet at open Defiance, and the Mob

…itted, by a Mock Trial in a Court
…
…en proceeded to ſet forth the Indiffe-
…Diſregard, and Inſolence, which the
…lty had ſhewn the Merchants upon
…moſt reaſonable Applications, and ex-
…the cruel and malignant Meaning of
…ver given to them, *It is your own*
and you muſt take it for your Pains;
…he ſaid, originally iſſued from a cer-
…arter, where it was firſt determin'd,
…de ſhould be deprived of Protection,
…y Hardſhip heap'd upon the Mer-
…ill he ſhould be brought to acknow-
…s Error, and repent of the War.
…en concluded in the following Words.
…hom then could we appeal for Relief,
…you, the Redreſſors of Grievances,
…ardians of the Publick? Could we
…ecourſe to thoſe, who had treated our
…nes with Indifference and Scorn, and
…d openly declar'd themſelves to be a
… Execution only, and not of Order?
…r Protection, the *Britiſh* Trade throws
…s Day; the Sailor, the Merchant,
…nufacturer are all ſolliciting your Juſ-
…ploring your powerful Interpoſition to
…em from the Malice of their Ene-
…home, and from the Artifice of their
…Rivals, who are watching to take
…ge of our unredreſs'd Misfortunes:
…ds of his Majeſty's moſt uſeful Sub-
…th equal Anxiety and Submiſſion, are
… and earneſtly intreating, that you
… ſuffer them to ſink utterly in Ruin,
…tify the pernicious Views of thoſe,
…ry them abroad, and of thoſe, who
…em at home; that you will take
…uſe into your Conſideration, that you
…vide for their future Security by a
…at you will humble and puniſh their
…th, that you will reſtore Diſcipline,
…w Spirit and Vigour into the Admi-
… of the Navy, and by your Wiſdom
…ice render the very Thought of in-
…the *Britiſh* Trade again a Terror to
…eding Times. But the Ways and
… of accompliſhing theſe great Ends
…h all Humility, ſubmitted to the
… of this Houſe."

…mmon Senſe *of* March 20. N° 266.

…hinks I could wiſh that ſome Author
…ld given us a Hiſtory of Preferments
…aces, at a certain Time when one
…ded it over his Country. I ſhould
… to read the Birth, Parentage, and
…n of all his Tools, with an Account
… eminent Abilities, and the ſignal
… they perform'd for their Country;
…ncy, if the laſt dying Speeches and
…ns of ſome of them ſhould be an-
… would not make the Hiſtory the

leſs entertaining to the courteous Readers.

Cardinal *de Retz* tells us, that there is a Time when to be diſgrac'd at Court leſſens a Man's Merit in the Opinion of the World; but (ſays he) there is alſo a Time when to be diſgrac'd at Court, raiſes a Man's Character, caſts a Luſtre over all his good Qualities, and obtains Quarter with the World for all his Faults.

When Government is executed with a juſt Regard to the Rights of the Subjects at home, and the Glory and Intereſt of the Nation are maintain'd abroad, it is no Shame for a Man to wiſh to be in Favour at Court.

When the natural Friends and Allies of a Country are protected and defended, and its Enemies humbled, a Man might reaſonably wiſh to be in Favour at Court.

When Men are preferr'd merely for their Abilities, and laid aſide where a Want of Abilities is diſcover'd, a Man would certainly think it an Honour to be in Favour at Court.

When there is a Court compoſed of Miniſters and Counſellors choſen out for their Wiſdom and Abilities in the Buſineſs of the State, of Divines rais'd for their Learning and Chriſtian Piety, and of Soldiers preferr'd for their Valour, and Conduct in the Wars; who would not think it an Honour to be in Favour at Court?

On the other Side: When the Subjects are oppreſſed with Taxes for maintaining the Minions of an overgrown Miniſter in Luxury, it is a Time for a Man to think it an Honour to be diſgrac'd at Court.

When the Protection of Trade is neglected, when Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures are ſtarv'd, and all Kinds of Vice is encouraged, a Man would wiſh to be diſgrac'd at Court.

When a Nation is inſulted by a weak and defenceleſs Enemy, and having more than ſufficient Strength to do itſelf Juſtice, yet by the Incapacity of thoſe at the Helm knows not how to uſe that Strength, a Man need not be aſhamed to be diſgrac'd at Court.

When the ſole executive Part of the Government is uſurp'd by ſome one bold overbearing Man, with ſcarce Abilities for the loweſt, a Man would certainly wiſh to be diſgrac'd at Court.

When a ſervile Proſtitution to the arbitrary Will of this one Man is the Tenure by which every Man holds his Employment, what Man of Spirit can ſerve, and who that hath the leaſt Feeling for the Wrongs of his Country, or Regard to his own Reputation, but would think it an Honour to be diſgrac'd at Court?

All we can ſay to the old Patriot's Sermon, is, that a little while ago we thought our Salvation *not ſo near, as now we believe it is.*

VALENTINE's DAY.

A POEM *addreſs'd to a young Widow Lady.*

By RICHARD SAVAGE, *Eſq;*

ADIEU, ye rocks, that witneſs'd once my flame,
Return'd my ſighs, and echo'd *Cloe*'s name!
Cambria, farewel!—my *Cloe*'s charms no more
Invite my ſteps along *Llanelly*'s ſhore;
There no wild dens conceal voracious foes;
The beech no fierce, amphibious monſter knows;
No crocodile there fleſh'd with prey appears,
And o'er that bleeding prey weeps cruel tears;
No falſe hyæna, feigning human grief,
There murders him, whoſe goodneſs means relief;
Yet tides, conſpiring with unfaithful ground,
(Though diſtant ſeen) with treach'rous arms furround.
There quick-ſands, thick as beauty's ſnares, annoy,
Look fair to tempt, and whom they tempt, deſtroy.
I watch'd the ſeas, I pac'd the ſands with care,
Eſcap'd; but wildly ruſh'd on beauty's ſnare.
Ah!—better far, than by that ſnare o'erpower'd,
Had ſands ingulph'd me, or had ſeas devour'd.
Far from that ſhore, where *Syren* beauty dwells,
And wraps ſweet ruin in reſiſtleſs ſpells,
From *Cambrian* plains, which *Cloe*'s luſtres boaſt,
Me native *England* yields a ſafer coaſt.
Cloe, farewel!—now ſeas with boiſt'rous pride
Divide us, and will ever far divide;
Yet while each plant, which vernal youth reſumes,
Feels the green blood aſcend in future blooms;
While little, feather'd ſongſters of the air,
In woodlands tuneful woo, and fondly pair,
The Muſe exults, to beauty tunes the lyre,
And willing *Loves* the ſwelling notes inſpire.
Sure, on this day, when hope attains ſucceſs,
Bright *Venus* firſt did young *Adonis* bleſs;
Her charms not brighter, *Cloe*, ſure than thine,
Tho' flush'd his youth, not more his warmth than mine.
Sequeſter'd far within a myrtle grove,
Whoſe blooming boſom courts retiring love;
Where a clear ſun, the blue ſerene, diſplays,
And ſheds, thro' vernal air, attemper'd rays;
Where flow'rs their aromatic incenſe bring,
And fragrant flouriſh in eternal ſpring;
There mate to mate, each dove reſponſive coos,
While this aſſents, as that enamour'd woos,
There rills amuſive ſend from rocks around,
A ſolitary, pleaſing, murm'ring ſound;
Then from a limpid lake, the lake ſerene
Reflects the wonders of the bliſtful ſcene,
To love the birds attune their chirping
And on each breeze immortal muſic
There, ſeated on a riſing turf, is ſeen
Graceful, in looſe array, the *Cyprian*
All freſh and fair, all mild, as *Ocean*
The goddeſs, riſing from the azure
Diſhevel'd locks diſtil cœleſtial dews,
And all her limbs divine perfumes
Her voice ſo charms, the plumy, throngs,
In liſt'ning wonder loſt, ſuſpend their
Its ſounds, 'Why loiters my *Adonis*?'
'Why loiters my *Adonis*?' rocks
'Oh, come away!' they thrice, ſay;
And *Echo* thrice repeats, 'Oh, come
Kind *Zephyrs* waft 'em to her lover's
Who inſtant, at th' inchanting call,
Her placid eye, where ſparkling joy
Benignant, with alluring luſtre ſhines,
His locks, which in looſe ringlets view,
Float careleſs, lucid from their amber
A myrtle wreath her roſy fingers
Which, from her hand, his poliſh'd claim;
His temples fair a ſtreaking beauty
As ſmooth, white marble ſhines veins,
He kneel'd; her ſnowy hand he
Juſt lifted to his lip, and gently
The meaning ſqueeze return'd, its lore,
And enter'd, at his palm, thro' ev'ry
Then ſwell'd her downy breaſts, till cloſ'd,
Faſt-heaving, half conceal'd and half
Soft ſhe reclines; he, as they fall
Hangs hov'ring o'er them with eyes,
And warm'd, grows wanton—As he mir'd,
He pry'd, he touch'd, and with
Half angry, yet half pleas'd, her guiles
The boy to fear; but at his fear
The youth leſs tim'rous and the
Supinely am'rous, they reclining
More am'rous ſtill his ſanguine
In wiſtful glances, to her ſoft'ning
In her fair eye her ſoft'ning ſoul
To freedom, freedom, boon to
With conſcious bluſh th' impaſſion'd burns,
And bluſh for bluſh th' impaſſion'd
They look, they languiſh, ſigh pain,
And wiſh and gaze, and gaze
'Twixt her white, parting boſom boy,
And more than hope preludes
Thro' ev'ry vein the vig'rous
Strung ev'ry nerve, and brac'd man.

ing yet yielding, half o'erpower'd ſhe
pants,
to deny, and yet denying, grants.
like the tendrils of a curling vine,
limbs with limbs in am'rous folds en-
twine:
eſs on lips, careſſing and careſt,
ye darts flame to eye, and breaſt to
breaſt;
reſigns, as dear deſires incite,
pt, he reach'd the brink of full delight.
ift compreſs'd in his exulting arms,
ms, explores, and rifles all her charms;
in extatic bliſs, th'expiring fair,
illing, melting, neſtling, riots there.
long the rapture laſts, how ſoon it
fleets;
t it pauſes, and how oft repeats;
joys they both receive, and both be-
ſtow, [know:
may gueſs; but wives experienc'd
ys, like theſe, (ah, why deny'd to me?)
freſh, blooming boy, my fair, from
thee.
, a new *Adonis*, lift his creſt,
he florid grace of youth confeſt!
him learn to liſp your lover's name,
hen he reads, here annual read my
flame.
eauty firſt ſhall wake his genial fire,
firſt tingling ſenſe excite deſire;
he dear object of his peace poſſeſt,
nd ſtill gains on his unguarded breaſt;
ay he ſay, as he this verſe reviews,
ight mother charm'd the poet's muſe.
rt thus flutter'd oft 'twixt doubt and
fear,
'd with hope and ſadden'd with deſpair,
ſome rival did ſhe ſmile too kind?
ad—what jealouſy diſtracts his mind!
he on him? He imag'd rays divine,
'd and gladden'd with a love, like
mine.
elt her praiſe upon his raptur'd tongue?
hen ſhe frown'd, what plaintive notes
he ſung? [tell!
ld ſhe frown on him,—ah, wherefore,
, whoſe only crime was loving well?
may thy ſon his pangs with mine
compare,
iſh his mother had been kind as fair.
n may love the myrtle wreath en-
twine,
e ſad willow ſuits a woe like mine.
nay the filial hope, like me, com-
plain!
ever ſigh and bleed, like me, in vain!
n death affords that peace which love
denies,—
!—far other ſcenes my fate ſupplies!
arth to earth my lifeleſs coarſe is laid,
r it hangs the yew or cypreſs ſhade;
ale I flit along the dreary coaſt,
leſs lover's pining plaintive ghoſt;
Here annual on this dear returning day,
When feather'd choirs renew the melting lay,
May you, my fair, when you theſe ſtrains
ſhall ſee,
Juſt ſpare one ſigh, one tear to love and me;
Me, who in abſence or in death adore
Thoſe heavenly charms, I muſt behold no
more.

A SONG.

1.

AT St. *Oſyth* by the mill,
There lives a lovely laſs;
Oh, had I her good will!
How gayly life wou'd paſs:
No bold, intruding care
My bliſs ſhou'd e'er annoy;
Her ſmiles wou'd kill deſpair,
And brighten ev'ry joy.

2.

Like Nature's rural ſcene,
Her art leſs beauties charm;
Like them with joy ſerene,
Our wiſhing hearts they warm.
Her wit, with ſweetneſs crown'd,
Steals ev'ry ſenſe away;
The liſt'ning ſwains around
Forget the ſhort'ning day.

3.

Health, freedom, wealth and eaſe,
Without her taſteleſs are;
She gives them pow'r to pleaſe,
And makes them worth our care.
Is there, ye Fates, a bliſs
Reſerv'd my future ſhare?
Indulgent hear my wiſh,
And grant it all in her.

The ſame in LATIN.

CANTILENA.

1.

QUA mala, qua pratum, qua ruris gloria, villa eſt,
Incolit hic tenuem virgo tenella caſam;
Quam placide fungar fugientis munere vitæ,
Si blanda hæc virgo! ſi ſit amica mihi!
Hinc procul audaces curæ, procul eſſe dolores,
Et quodcunque animum triſte fatiget onus:
Induat O frontem ſi virgo forte ſerenam,
Gaudia ſalvete hinc fervida! cura vale!

2.

Flora aperit Veneres, ſimplexq; arridet amœnum,
Gratia ſic nymphæ ſimplicitate nitet:
Simplicitate nitet ſylveſtris ad inſtar honoris,
Et dat lætitia fervidiore frui.
Acrius ingenium dum exercet, languida mulcet,
Ingenii, ſenſus organa, dulce melos:
Nec, quæ circumſtat, paſtorum arrecta corona,
Præcipitem ſentit præteriiſſe diem.

3.

Ni grata hæc adſit, grata eſt nec copia rerum,
Ni placida hæc adſit, nec placet ipſa ſolas.

Hinc sit quod liber, sit quodvis valentior esse,
Hinc sit quod nummis ditior esse velim.
Dicite, quin Parcæ! maneant mea qualia vota?
Num me deliciæ? num manet ulla Venus?
Dicite, & O nostris faciles succedite votis!
Hæc sit deliciæ, sit mea sola Venus. P. R.

ADVICE *to a* PAINTER.

BOLD limner! if thou dar'st to trace
The beauties of *Clarissa*'s face,
With artful pencil try to mix
The softest charms of either sex;
One sex, alone, thou'lt find too poor,
To furnish out the boundless store.
Take from whole Nature ev'ry grace,
And blend them in her blooming face.
But wou'dst thou shew thy utmost art,
Copy *Clarissa* from my heart;
For she herself is not more fair,
Than thou wilt find *Love* paint her there.

To the AUTHOR *of the Verses inscrib'd, to Miss* Molly H—— *in* W—shire. (*See our* Mag. *for* Dec. *last, p.* 613.)

Fallere credentem non est operosa puellam
Gloria ——————

INgratitude, farewel, and know I scorn,
A man so meanly and so basely born.
If you for life instructions strive to find,
Be this advice recorded in your mind:
Go, search the brute creation all around,
Fidelity in all, and gratitude abound,
Then let your reason act, since reason can,
To learn the savage, and forget the man.
My constant friend, you say, you stand confest;
Know, I such friendship and such friends detest.
MARIA.

Upon AMITY.

AMITY! thou sweetest name,
That harmonious sound can frame!
Gentle ardour! that inspires
Honest wishes, fair desires,
Happy are the breasts that beat
With thy sacred, mutual heat,
Being by thy pow'rful art
Animated with one heart.
Earth is undeserving thee,
Blest angelic amity!
Thou to heav'n dost grateful prove,
Crown of all the joys above;
Where thy pow'r chaste minds unites
In pure love's mysterious rites.
Heaven is thy proper sphere,
Seldom 'tis we see thee here;
Yet thou mak'st some souls below
With thy hallow'd ardour glow:
Souls distinguish'd from the rest,
Worthy of so great a guest:
But if thou disdain not earth,
Thou best lov'st thy place of birth.

On the Majesty of GOD. *Out of*

HE spoke, and straight this
frame,
Call'd by th' omnific word, from
He bound the parts with adamantine
And pois'd in air, the pond'rous globe
His pow'r the fruitful earth's wide
spread,
And made for the rich ore its genial
'Tis he unlocks the flood-gates of the
And hides, as with a veil, the
night:
He pours from his eternal stores the
T' enrich the glebe, and moisten
plain;
His breath unbinds the fetters of the
Renews the fields, and beautifies the
At his command thick clouds obscure
And thro' the horrid gloom his lightn
He shakes the solid mountain from its
And rocks dissolve like wax before his
Sad nature owns the terror of her God
And sinners fear the vengeance of his
He draws, as from a magazine, his
And clothes with fleecy snow the
vale:
His frost congeals the earth's prolific
And with its charms the torrent's
strains.
Astonish'd at his whirl-wind's furious
With horror struck, the nations stand
The sea, uptorn by fits, confus'dly
And threatens to o'erwhelm the
shores; [to
While the conflicting clouds on
And the earth trembles for the
heav'n,
But if he bid the dreadful discord cease,
The elements obey, and all is peace.
He holds of nature, in his hands, the
And his wide rule unlimited maintains.

EPISTOLA LATINA.

EST mihi meosem superantis unum
Nectaris puri cadus; est in arca
Mira vis potûi; nitet & tuborum
Fictilis ordo:
Promptus huc adsis; facilem sodalem
Te simul multi volumus; benignos
Cura Lucinæ mihi nuper almæ
Reddidit ortus.
Ridet in cunis mihi parvus infans,
Hostibus forsan metuendus olim,
Qui fero Hispano prohibebit arces
Ense * Britannas;
Castra vel Belgis inimica ponet,
Aut maris vindex retonante dextra
Diruet falso reparata furtim
Mœnia † Gallo;

* Gibraltar. † Dunkirk.

r forſan bonus) & leone
campis ruet in remotis
vitæ, & gravibus tyrannis
Triſte flagellum.
d at fatis placitum eſt, beatorum
tandem numero, tuique
, quæſo, decores puſillum
Nomine fratris *M. R.*

FRIGHTED FARMER.

TALE. [*Continued from p.* 44.]

W, on he jogs, with great content,
Rejoic'd at having paid his rent:
aving partly got his load,
nſteady manner rode;
this way, that way, backward, forward,
em'd it proper, now, to ſpur hard.
o' he were not fairly fuddled,
elt himſelf a little muddled.
valiant grown, couragious *Roger*
t, he cou'd make a ſpecial ſo'dier;—
no mortal of a louſe;—and
cou'd kill,—at leaſt, a thouſand.
all this valour nought avail'd him;
his courage quickly fail'd him,
rongly arm'd with ſtout *October*,
ty *fright* ſoon made him ſober;
ns'd away the drowſy god,
, now and then, had forc'd a nod,
ſſing o'er a dreary green,
dreadful *ſpectres* had been ſeen,
zy coxcomb half aſleep,)
Roger ſideways chanc'd to peep,
e no ſooner dar'd to do,
—he ſaw,—('tis very true;)
—a ſad, tremendous *ſight*,
caus'd his hair to ſtand upright:
—that well-nigh made him ſwoon;
ly ſhone the ſplendent moon.
—a ſhocking kind of *ſhade*,—
an not that his body made;
beſides, he ſaw another,)
ade him tremble, quake, and ſhudder.
he turn'd his head;—and then,
k'd,—and turn'd,—and look'd again.
an was in a muck-wet ſweat,
ink of what behind him ſat;
onder'd, in the name of G—d!
rueful creature with him rode,
caſt—(he horribly ſuſpected,)
nonſtrous *ſhade* he ſaw projected.
lf he bleſſes!—and, at length,
ning courage, ſenſe, and ſtrength,
r one ſhoulder glanc'd:—but O!
horror did he undergo,
plainly thus reveal'd to ſight,
ok'd upon th' infernal *ſpright!*
now, forſooth, to make appear
uſe of all this *panic* fear.
then, there was, where *Hodge* had been,
ne'er before by *Roger* ſeen;
—there liv'd, at this ſame hall,
, that men—a *Monkey* call,
(For great-folks then, all muſt allow,
Odd fav'rites had, as well as now.)
To pleaſe the lady *Pug* was kept;
And he, to pleaſe himſelf, had leapt—
(The mimic brute with hideous mien,
Damſels oft do the ſame, had ſeen,)
Behind poor *Roger*, on the horſe:
Of what enſu'd,—this, this, the ſource.
Let's now return to that ſame wight,
We left in ſuch a woful plight.
At ſight of this tremendous *Monkey*,
How did he ſtare!—and O—how ſt—nk he!
For ev'ry time the poor man ſtarted,
It ſeems, he ſomewhat more than ſ—rt—d.
Hodge ne'er had ſeen (nor had his wife,)
So ſtrange a thing in all his life.
And, having once of this foul *Imp's*
Uncouth grimace receiv'd a glimpſe;
At this firſt interview, (O ſad!)
That *Roger*, and the *Monkey* had,
Hack-back-cack-keck, the *Goblin* cry'd,
And grin'd, in griſly ſort, beſide.
O!—how did then the poor man pant,
How mend his pace!—ſays he, *avaunt!*
Satan, avaunt!—thee I reſiſt;
(He ſpoke,—and felt himſelf bep-ſt.)
And do thou, Satan,—from me—fly:
Satan, avaunt!—I thee—defy,—
Thee I—defy!—then let—me go:
I am,—as all—my neighbours know,
A righteous man,—and good pſalm-ſinger;
Nor long—to pay my rent—e'er linger.
Beginning now to feel the ſpur,
Brock-gallop'd wi' th' wrong foot before:
And *Pug* around poor *Roger's* neck,
Claſping his paws, cry'd;—*back back keck.*
(*Self-preſervation* is, by nature,
The beſt of ev'ry living creature:
'Tis common for the worſt of *ſlaves*,
T' endeavour to *ſecure* themſelves.)
The *farmer frighted* worſe than ever,
All o'er, like *Aſpen* leaf, did ſhiver,
And he who lately did ſo goſter,
Strove now to ſay the *pater-noſter*.
Like culprit mounted on the ladder,
Stamm'ring, ſays he,—*Our fa-fa-father*,
Which art—in ha-ha-heaven,—(Oh!
Satan, avaunt!—and let me go;)
Hall ha-ha-hallowed be thy name:
(To drink ſo much,—I was to blame.)
Thy king—thy ke-ke-kingdom—come:
(O! that—I were but ſafe—at home!)
Thus pray'd poor *Hodge*, and homeward hy'd,
Thus *Pug*, with *kack-back-keck*, reply'd;
And held him by the *farmer* faſt:
Who (heav'n be prais'd!) got home, at laſt.
Roger forthwith began to roar,—
Open, dear wife, at once, the door;
Make haſte!—make haſte!—or I'm undone:
Joan came, as faſt as ſhe cou'd run.
She ſtar'd to ſee that monſter, *Pug*,
So cloſely thus her huſband hug,
Thus hang behind, like any *knapſack*,
And in ſuch horrid ſort his chaps hack.

O! come, and help, ſweet wife!—O bid thee!
Says *Hodge*,—*Sa-Satan, I defy thee!*
With goggling eyes, and ſcreaming tone,
And I defy thee too,—ſays *Joan*:
Nay,—and to let the *dev'l* in, loth,
Straight ſlams the door, and with an oath,
Adés,—*faith! and I defy you both.*
Alas!—misfortune on misfortune!—
In vain does *Hodge* his wife importune,
That in ſuch need ſhe'd not forſake him:
But e'en for her the *de'il* might *take* him.
What, what muſt now of him become!
Arriv'd (but O! not ſafe) at home.
He got, as well as he was able,—
He knew not how,—into the ſtable;
Accomp'ny'd by his *foul familiar*;
Nor ever, in his life, look'd filliet.
O dear!—what muſt the man do now?
He ſobs, and ſtares, and kens the mow;
To ſcramble up the cratch then ſtrives:
Fear gives him ſtrength, and *Satan* drives.
Unhappy *Hodge*!—think what you liſt on't,—
Joan prov'd a moſt *unmeet aſſiſtant.*
In troth, he well might weep and wail,
To ſee his boſom-friend turn tail.
O'er head in hay, now forc'd to creep;—
Yet cou'd not cry himſelf aſleep:
But watch'd, and pray'd, and quak'd all night,
And thought of nothing but the *ſpright.*
Thus, weltring in his muck, he lay;
And long'd moſt ardently for *day.*
Mean while, the dire, tremendous ſtranger
Lodg'd harmleſs underneath the manger.

The welcome *morn* arrives at laſt:—
And early comes, in murrain-haſte,
A truſty ſervant, from the *'ſquire's*;
Who, for eloping *Pug*, inquires.
For one, forſooth, had call'd to mind,
He 'ad ſeen him ſlily mount behind
Poor, honeſt *Hodge*:—Pug, o'er and o'er,
The like had practis'd heretofore;
And, near the block, it ſeems, th' *enchanter*
Happen'd, that night, *incog* to ſaunter.
But who'd ha' thought this *grim gallant*
Wou'd e'er ha' prov'd ſo complaiſant,—
Been thus diſpos'd ſo far to roam,
And wait upon the *farmer* home?

In ſhort,—(tho' I muſt own, my *metre*
Both ſhorter might ha' been, and ſweeter;)
The *'ſquire* his *Monkey* had again,—
Roger got rid of all his pain;—
Was really *frighted* more than *hurt*,
Requir'd, with ſhame, a *cleanet ſhirt*:
And as himſelf he went to mixen,
Curſt, all the way, the *wagrant vixen.*

DEMOCRITUS.

EPIGRAM.

SAYS the proud *Spaniſh Donna*, I'd willingly ſee [*hardy*,
My darling young *Philip* command *Lom-*
But the heretic fleets ſo block up the way,
They'll ruin my project by land and by ſea.
Says the *Cardinal*, *madame*, their fleets I'll extinguiſh, [with the
And you'll always be ſafe when
Fair *Lombardy*'s throne the young prince ſhall on, [to *G—*
With his face towards *France*, and

To the Author of the ÆNIGMA *in laſt, p.* 41.

SHALL I a *riddle* call your lines,
(Altho' I like them well)
Where I ſo ſoon your meaning ſee,
So ſoon your meaning *ſmell*?
I h'd ſcarce read half the *ſavoury* piece,
When, lo! upon my word,
I found that I was reading the
Deſcription of a T—D.

To the young LADIES *of* W—

NOW birds and beaſts their mates to court
With gentle play, ſpruce airs and
And now young men and maids in ſport
Hint pairing-time by drawing *Valen*
Now love, they ſay, does thro' all kin vail,
That works of procreation may not fa
But I'm too green in years to entertai
Such thoughts; within me no ſuch ſpring:
Wherefore content I ſhall a while re
Till kindly ripe, under my mamma
Cocks, ſpurs not grown, for matches ar
In fight prove cravens and deſert the
But ten years hence, perhaps, (fair take)
If ſo long death vouchſafe my life to
Beauty will warm, and ſtrong imp make;
Then have amongſt you all, ye ha
A ſweetheart muſt, no matter who,
Where all are prizes, no chance can
'Ah ſimple child!' perhaps you'll ſay
'Before love's gen'rous fire in thee ca
'Old wrinkled wives and mothers we
'Our daughters (one won'd think,
'ſerve thy turn.'
Troth! ſo they may; the project's good,
You ſpoil it not by ſcruples and delays.
Then be no longer coy, but wed with
For nuptial joys the bridal bed prepa
And quickly like yourſelves young breed,
Without pride handſome, without ſa
Left twice I diſappointed be; firſt told,
'Child, thou'rt too young,' then,
'you're quite too old.'

Feb. 14, 1741. SAM.

Epilogue to the Memory of Mr. M
the Verſes on Innocence, *and ſeveral o*
cei, in our next.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

ON *Feb.* 27. the Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the five following Malefactors receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Alexander Aſſlick*, for ſtealing a Shew-Glaſs.—*John Lowden*, for picking the of Mr. *Payne* of a Silver Watch.— *Plummer*, for a Forgery.—*Robert* for entering the Shop of Meſſ. *Simp- Ward*, Bankers in *Fleet-Street*, with ent to ſteal a large Sum of Money t.—And *Morgan*, alias *Martin Now-* r enliſting *Thomas Meredith* as a Sol- the *French* King's Service.

TUESDAY, *March* 2.

Night there were extraordinary Re- at moſt of the Taverns about the ge, and elſewhere, among the Mer- on Account of the great Regard had r Petition in Parliament, and the vi- Reſolutions taken for the better Pro- of their Trade and Commerce for the (See p. 144.)

uant to a late Reſolution, a Number ſmalleſt Men of War were appointed ze in the Channel, and about the to protect our Merchant-Ships from ults of the *Spaniſh* Privateers.

Writ of *Superſedeas* was ſent to *New-* to diſqualify *William Myddelton*, Eſq; eriff of *Denbighſhire*, (when Sir *Wat- liams Wynne* ſtood Candidate to repre- hat County, for which he has been eclar'd duly elected) for acting in the iſſion of the Peace for *Wales*. (See)

WEDNESDAY, 3.

Day the Centre Arch of the New t *Weſtminſter* was finiſh'd, upon which n Streamers were placed upon it, and of the Commiſſioners and other Per- Note went to view it.

FRIDAY, 5.

ire broke out at *Southam* in *Warwick-* which, in a few Hours, conſumed o Houſes, together with Out-Houſes, Stables and Ricks of Corn; by which many poor Families are reduced to moſt Extremity.

SATURDAY, 6.

Letters from Rear-Admiral *Haddock*, t *Port-Mahon*, *Feb.* 1. there was Ad- Commodore *Leſtock*, with the Squa- f his Majeſty's Ships under his Com- being arriv'd there; and that Mr. having received that Reinforce- ment, was preparing, with all poſſible Diligence, to put again to Sea.

WEDNESDAY, 10.

His Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, who was lately re-inſtated in the ſeveral Places he formerly enjoy'd, waited on his Majeſty at *St. James's*, and reſign'd the ſame. (See p. 102.)

The ſame Day the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Stair* arrived in Town from *Scotland*. (See the *Promotions*.)

THURSDAY, 11.

This Night there was a Meeting of a great Number of Lords and Gentlemen, Members of both Houſes, at the *Fountain* Tavern in the *Strand*, to conſult about Matters of the utmoſt Importance in the preſent Criſis of Affairs.

TUESDAY, 16.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to An Act for granting to his Majeſty a certain Sum out of the Sinking Fund towards the Supply for 1742, to the Mutiny Act, and 10 private Bills.

THURSDAY, 18.

Was held a General Court of the Bank of *England*, for the Purpoſe of declaring a Dividend, and other ſpecial Affairs; and a Dividend of 2 3-4ths *per Cent.* for Intereſt and Profits for the half Year ending at *Lady-Day* next was propoſed, and unanimouſly agreed to. The Court then took into Conſideration the applying to Parliament for a Prolongation of their Charter, and it being intimated that the Sum of 1,600 000 *l.* was expected for an Increaſe of 21 Years to their preſent Term, (which exiſts till *Auguſt* 1743) upon the Queſtion being put, the Court agreed to advance that Sum; and Propoſals to Parliament agreeable thereto were read and agreed to. By this Propoſal, an Annuity of 6 *per Cent.* on 1,600,000 *l.* formerly lent the Government, in K. *William's* Reign, will be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* as the Nation will have 3,200,000 *l.* till the Year 1764. for an Annuity of 100,000 *l. per Ann.* which includes 4000 *l. per Ann.* allow'd the Bank for the Charge of Management. (See a *New Bank-Scheme*, and Remarks upon it, in our *Mag.* for 1737, p. 57, 60, &c.)

Letters arriv'd from *Madeira*, which gave an Account, that the Lord *Bamff*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Haſtings*, had taken a rich outward-bound *Spaniſh* Regiſter Ship, bound to the *Havanna*, call'd the *Noſtra Senora del Aſſumption*; And that his Lordſhip had, the Day before, taken a large *Spaniſh* Privateer of 24 Guns; but not having

ving Men to ſpare, he ſkuttled the Ship, after having taken what he thought proper out of her.

His Majeſty's Ship the *Liverpool*, Capt. *Swanton*, alſo took and carried into *Madeira*, a very good Ship, loaden with Grain, call'd the St. *John*, belonging to the *Canaries*, and a *Spaniſh* Veſſel beſides, of little Value.

The *Fox* Man of War, Capt. *Edwards*, has taken a *Spaniſh* Privateer of 14 Guns and 80 Men.

The *Aaron* and *Thomas*, *Glover*, lately taken on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, was retaken by the *Grampus* Sloop, Capt. *Parry*, near *Viana*; who at the ſame Time deſtroy'd two ſmall *Spaniſh* Privateers.

Several of our Merchant Ships were taken about this Time by the *Spaniſh* Privateers, and carried, ſome into *Bilboa*, ſome to *Vigo*, and others to *St. Sebaſtian's*.

SUNDAY, 21.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Orford* paſs'd thro' *Whitechapel*, for his Seat at *Houghton-Hall*; attended by Dr. *Bland*, Dean of *Durham*, and 20 Servants on Horſeback.

THURSDAY, 25.

Was held a General Court of the Bank of *England*, when the Proceedings of the former General Court were read and agreed to.

The Hon. Houſe of Commons waited on his Majeſty with their Addreſs in relation to the Queen of *Hungary*.

To which his Majeſty returned the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen, *I thank you for this dutiful and loyal Addreſs: Your Unanimity on this Occaſion will, I am perſuaded, be attended with the happieſt Conſequences both at home and abroad. I recommend to you the laying aſide all Heats and Diviſions. I deſire nothing more, than to reign in the Hearts and Affections of all my People, which I look upon, as the greateſt Security to my Government and their Liberties.*

FRIDAY, 26.

The Poll concluded for Knight of the Shire for *Surry*, when Lord *Baltimore* (whoſe Seat had been vacated by his accepting a Place) had 1726 Votes againſt *George Woodroffe*, Eſq; who had 1702: But a Scrutiny was demanded by Mr. *Woodroffe*, which will begin on *Apr.* 1.

The following were choſen by Ballot to be of the Secret Committee to examine into Affairs for 10 Years paſt, *viz.* Sir John St. Aubin, Samuel Sandys, Eſq; Sir John Ruſhout, George Compton, Eſq; Lord Quarendon, —— Noel, Eſq; Sir John Barnard, Lord Limerick, Lord Cornbury, Nicholas Paſnakerley, Eſq; Henry Furneſe, Eſq; Lord Granard, Cholmondeley Turner, Edmund Waller, William Pitt, Thomas Prowſe, Wm. Bowles, Edw. Hooper, Eſqrs. Sir John Strange. The Numbers were equal for the four following, *viz.* John Talbot, Henry Lydall, William Finch, Alex. Hume Campbell, Eſqrs. ſo that they muſt be ballotted for again, for two to be choſen out of them, to make up 21.

Capitally convicted, at the Aſſizes a *bridge*, two; at *Huntingdon*, three; a *ford*, four; at *Reading*, four; at eleven, of whom 6 were for Sheep-ſ at *Saliſbury*, ſeven, among whom wa vant for aſſaulting his Maſter, *Charles wood*, Eſq; on the Highway, and wo him; at *Glouceſter*, ten, one of whom for the Murder of his Brother; at *M* ſix; at *Dorcheſter*, ſix; at *Thetford* folk, five, among whom was one for Sa and alſo for Murder in poiſoning a W

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

BENJAMIN *Bathurſt*, Eſq; M of Parl. for *Glouceſter*, to Miſs *Bro* only Daughter of the Rev. Dr. *Broo* *Iſaac Woollaſton*, Eſq; Counſellor at La the Reliſt of *Pell Gatward*, Eſq; a Pe of upwards of 30,000 *l.*—*Tho. Apreec* to Miſs *Dorothy Wright*, a 12,000 *l.* Fo —*Thomas Blackall*, of *Great Haſely* in O *ſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Bowles*, a 20,000 *l* tune.—Rev. Mr. *Sibthorp*, of *Plym* Miſs *Sally Curzon*.—Ducheſs of *Rutla* liver'd of a Daughter.—Lady of *Wm.* of *Wilton* near *Beaconſfield* in *Bucks*, El Daughter.—Lady of *Armine Wodehou* of a Son.—Lady of the Hon. *Charles* *Sheffield*, Eſq; of a Son.

DEATHS.

RIGHT Hon. *Charles* Earl of *Hopet* of the Thiſtle, and one of the 16 for *Scotland*.—Lady *Howarth*, Wife *Hum. Howarth*, Knt.—Rev. Dr. *Charl* *Motte*, Rector of *Warkton* in *Northam* —Hon. Mr. *Monſon*, third Son of the *Galway*.—*Francis Whitworth*, Eſq; Sur General of all his Majeſty's Woods Memb. of Parl. for *Minehead*.—Sir *Richa* *rard*, of *Eſſex*, Bart.—*Geo. Treby*, Eſq; of Parl. for *Dartmouth*, and late one Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.—*Geo. A* Eſq; late Chief Clerk in the Secret War's Office.—Hon. Miſs *Pulteney*, Daughter of the Right Hon. *Wm. Pu* Eſq; aged about 14.—Rt. Hon. *Richa* of *Cavan*, in *Ireland*.—*James Brid* late Gentleman Uſher to her Royal Hi the Princeſs *Amelia*.—*John Caſwall*, E a Banker in *Lombard-ſtreet*, and Mem Parl. for *Leominſter*.—Sir *John Aubr* formerly Knt. of the Shire for *Middl* Capt. *Worth*, an eminent Commander *Eaſt-India* Company's Service.—Hon. *Windſor*, only Son of Lord *Windſor* *Freeman*, of *Batteſford* in *Glouceſterſhi* only Son of the Rt. Hon. *Rich. Fran* who died Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. left an Eſtate of about 3000*l.* per *Ann* his Nephew, eldeſt Son of *Walter Ba* of *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, Eſq;—Rev. Mr *ter-Henry de Gaujeac*, Miniſter of the Chapel at *Wapping*: He was the thoſe Proteſtant Miniſters who left upon the Revocation of the Edict of in 1685.

…PTION on Mr. EMLYN's Tomb. …e our *Mag.* for 1741, p. 413.)

…he Remains of the Rev. Mr. THOMAS …YN, *eminent for his great Piety and …ing, ſtrong Parts and ſound Judgment:* …at Stamford *in* Lincolnſhire, May 27. …. *He was Paſtor to a Congregation of …ſtant Diſſenters at* Dublin, *which Office …charg'd during eleven Years with great …fulneſs, Diligence, and Applauſe: But …y maintain'd the ſupreme, unequal'd …ty of the* ONE *God and Father of all, …at (to the Shame and Reproach of a …ran Country) perſecuted even to Bonds …Imprisonment, and the Spoiling of his …: All which he endured with great …nce and Conſtancy, with ſuch Firmneſs …ortitude of Mind, as left no Room to …his Integrity: And in his Writings, …ted that important Truth with ſuch …gth of Reaſon and Clearneſs of Argu… as left no Room to make a Reply. At …, full of Days and ripe for Glory, he …ted this Life in Peace,* July 30, 1741, …yful Hope of a bleſſed Reſurrection to …al Life.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

…. *Angell Chauncey*, to the Living of *Childſley* in *Cambridgeſhire*.—Mr. *John* … made Prebendary of *Brecknock*, and …*mas Evans* Prebendary of St. *David's*; … the Room of Dr. *Davies*, deceaſed. *Taylor*, to the Rectory of *Elton* in *Nor…ſhire*.—*Abr. Okes*, D. D. to the Rec… *Long Melford* in *Suffolk*; and Mr. *John* … to the Vicarage of *Sbudy Camps*, in …m.—Dr. *Bulkeley*, to the Rectory of …d in *Eſſex*.—Mr. *Edw. Place* made … *Middleton* in *Yorkſhire*.—*Will. Aſh…*, M. A. made Dean of *Chichester* in …m of Dr. *Hargraves*, deceaſed.—*Will.* …, M. A. preſented to the Rectory of …'s in *Southwark*.—*John Browne*, M. A. … Rectory of St. *John's Horſlydown*.— …*riſt. Wilſon*, to the Rectory of *Coton* …*ridgeſhire*.—Mr. *Tanner*, Son to the …of St. *Aſaph*, to the Rectory of St. *Ed… King* and St. *Nicholas Acorn*, in *Lom…t*.—*Tho. Edwards*, M. A. to the Vi… of *North Leverton* in *Nottinghamſhire*.— …*lcombe*, M. A. made a Prebendary of …r.—Mr. *Rich. Cordukes*, to the Rec… St. *Mary Biſhopbill the Elder* in *Yorkſh.*

…OMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

…D *James Cavendiſh*, Member of Par…ment for *Derby*, made Auditor of the …s in *Ireland*.—Lieut. *Duncomb*, Com… of the *Terror* Bomb Ketch.—His …ohn Duke of *Montagu* made Maſter… of the Ordnance, in the Room of …e the Duke of *Argyll*, who (as be…rv'd) reſign'd that and his other Em…ts, to which he had been reſtor'd … Days before.—*Tho. Matthews*, Eſq; …ice-Admiral of the Red, *Edward* … Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the White, … *Haddock*, Eſq; Vice of the Blue; …*mer Ogle*, Knt. Rear-Admiral of the Red, and *Richard Leſtock*, Eſq; Rear of the White.—*Algernoon* Lord *Percy*, commonly called Earl of *Hertford*, only Son of the Duke of *Somerſet*, who a little before had been put out of his Poſts, as Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horſe Guards Blue, Governor of *Minorca*, &c. was made Col. of his Majeſty's Royal Reg. of Horſe Guards, in the Room of his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, who reſign'd; alſo Governor of *Guernſey*, &c. in the Room of the Marqueſs *de Montandre*, deceas'd.—Duke of *Ancaſter*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, made Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lincoln*, &c.—Earl of *Derby*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lancaſter*.—*John Byng*, Eſq; Governor of *Newfoundland*.—Mr. *Corniſh*, Chief Lieut. of the *Litchfield*, made Captain of Vice-Admiral *Matthews*'s Ship the *Namur*, of 90 Guns.—Right Hon. *Daniel* Earl of *Winchelſea* and *Nottingham*, *John Cockburne*, Eſq; and *Archibald Hamilton*, commonly called Lord *Archibald Hamilton*, Rt. Hon. *Charles* Lord *Baltimore*, *Philip Cavendiſh*, Eſq; *George Lee*, Doctor of Laws, and *John Morley Trevor*, Eſq; appointed Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, &c. And on the 13th Inſt. they met for the firſt Time, and open'd their Commiſſion.—Rt. Hon. *John* Earl of *Stair* appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General of the United Provinces. And ſoon after he was made Field Marſhal of his Majeſty's Forces.—Mr. *Everard Sayer*, of *Doctors-Commons*, appointed by the new Lords of the Admiralty, their Procurator General: And Dr. *Straban* High Advocate.

New Members choſen, &c.

Edward Bacon, Eſq; for *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, in the Room of the Earl of *Orford*.—Lord Viſcount *Duncannon*, Son-in-Law to the Duke of *Devonſhire*, for *Derby*, in the Room of Lord *James Cavendiſh*, who accepted a Place. ——— *Periam*, Eſq; for *Minehead* in *Somerſetſhire*, in the Room of *Francis Whitworth*, Eſq; deceas'd.— ——— *Shirley*, Eſq; for *Brackley* in *Northamptonſhire*, in the Room of Dr. *Lee*, one of the Lords of the Admiralty.—*Robert Williams*, Eſq; for *Montgomeryſhire*, in the Room of Sir *Watkyn Williams Wynne*, Bart. who made his Election for *Denbighſhire*.—*Richard Lydell* and *Thomas Foſter*, Eſqrs. declar'd duly elected for *Boſſiney* in *Cornwall*.—*Richard Williams*, Eſq; Brother to Sir *Watkyn Williams Wynne*, Bart. for *Flint*.—*Tho. Powell*, Eſq; for *Cardiganſhire*.—Dr. *Cotes*, for *Tamworth*.

Members re-choſen, who had accepted of Places.

Sir *John Ruſhout*, Bart. for *Eveſham*.—*Geo. Compton*, Eſq; for *Northampton*.—*Sam. Sandys*, Eſq; for *Worceſter*.—*John Trevor*, Eſq; for *Lewes*.—Admiral *Cavendiſh*, for *Portſmouth*.

An Error or two in our January *Account, p.* 50, *to be thus corrected:*

Capt. *John Moſtyn*, Brother to Sir *Thomas Moſtyn*, Bart. for *Malton*, in the Room of

Lord *James Cavendish*, jun. deceas'd.—*Henry Conway*, Esq; Brother to Lord *Conway*, for *Higham Ferrers*, in the Room of *Henry Finch*, Esq; who made his Election for *Malton*.—Lord *Henry Beauclerck*, for *Thetford*, in the Room of Lord *Augustus Fitzroy*, deceas'd.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Webber, of *Barnstaple*, Malt-maker and Grocer.—*Mark Firmin*, late of *Sudbury* in *Suffolk*, Inn-holder.—*Arthur Edmeston*, of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, Merchant.—*John Kitchen*, late of St. *Ann's Westminster*, Grocer.—*Joseph Gibbs*, late of *Amersham*, Innkeeper.—*Benj. Phillips*, late of *Carmarthen*, Chapman.—*Richard Benton* the younger, of *Oxford* Road, *Middlesex*, Stable-keeper and Dealer in Horses.—*George Graham*, of *Richergate* in *Cumberland*, Victualler and Vintner.—*John Darby*, of *Whitham* in *Essex*, Bay-maker.—*John Daulings*, of *London-Bridge*, Haberdasher of Hats.—*Wm. Sherman* the elder, of *Colchester*, Bay-maker.—*George Harrow*, of *Portsmouth*, Mercer.—*Harry Howe*, late of *Ockfordfitzpaine* in *Dorsetshire*, Maltster.—*John Pope*, of *Shillingoteford* in *Dorsetshire*, Cyder-Merchant.—*Wm. Popelwell*, of *Richmond* in *Surrey*, Inn-holder.—*Nich. Bradford*, of *Exeter*, Haberdasher of Hats.—*Thomas Ward*, late of *Ludgate-Hill*, Linen-draper.—*Thomas Renison*, late of *Birmingham*, Thread-maker.—*William Wood*, of *Cross-Lane*, *Yorkshire*, Flax-dresser.—*Christ. Threlkeld*, of *Bristol*, Bed-Lace and Fringe-Weaver.—*John Smith*, of St. *Paul's Churchyard*, Victualler.—*Gilb. Hunt*, of the *Strand*, Haberdasher of Hats and Linen-draper.—*Nicholas Smith*, of *Puddle-Dock*, near St. *Paul's* Wharf, Sugar-baker.—*John* younger, of *Tenbridge* in *Kent*, *John Wibird*, of *Gutter-Lane*, —*John Walker*, late of *York*, —*Richard Croft*, late of St. *Garden*, Vintner.—*Dewall* and *Dartmouth*, Merchants.—*James* *Mary Newington*, *Surrey*, Chapman.—*Strudwick*, of the Parish of *Slinford*, Grazier.—*Joshua Wilcocks*, of Merchant.—*Samuel Sherard*, late of *bunger*, *Salop*, Cheesmonger.—*wick*, of *Watford* in *Hertfordshire*, *Will. Porter*, of *Wandsworth*, Builder.—*Henry de Morin*, of *Throgmorton street*, chant.—*Tho. Crew*, of *Queen street*, Trimmer.—*J. Caswall*, of *London*, —*Joan Gatrel*, otherwise *Gartill*, of in *Hampshire*, Mercer.—*Roger Horn*, *Redbridge* in *Hampshire*, Miller and man.—*Alex. M'Cullough*, of *Bristol*, draper.—*Nicholas Waldren*, of *Morestead*, *Devon*, Serge-maker.—*Walsham*, of *Pope's-Head* Alley, *Cornhill*, —*Robert Long*, late of *Thames street*, Dyer.—*Edmund Chisbull*, of *London*, Cornfactor.—*Francis Etty*, in *Berks*, Bargemaster and Lighterman.—*Browne*, of *Frome Selwood* in Clothier.—*Joseph Judge*, of *Crooked-Lane*, *don*, Brush-maker.—*Thomas Yerbury*, *Bristol*, Haberdasher of Hats.—*Mary* of St. *Botolph* without *Bishopsgate*, draper.—*John Rea*, of *Fleet-street*, *Rawlins Hillman*, of *New Sarum*, *Edward Everard* the younger, late of *Leighs* in *Essex*, Dealer in Corn.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	104 ¼ a ½	*African*	10
—*Ann.*	113 a ⅜	*Royal Aff.*	85 ½ a 86
Bank	139	*Lon. ditto*	11
—*Circ.*	3*l* 15*s*	3 *p. C. Ann.*	100 ¼ a ½
M. Bank	113	*Salt Tallies*	⅛
India	158 ½	*Emp. Loan*	65
—*Bonds*	3*l* 19*s* a 4*l*	*Equiv.*	112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 2 a 2 ½	*Bilboa*	38
D. Sight	34 11 ½ a 35	*Legborn*	49 ⅜ a ¼
Rotter.	35 3 a 4	*Genoa*	53 ¼ a ⅜
Hamb.	33 7	*Venice*	51
Paris	31 ¼ a ⅜	*Lisbon*	5*s* 5*d* ⅛
Bourdx.	30 ⅜ a ½	*Porto*	5*s* 4*d* ⅜ a ¼
Cadiz	39	*Antw.*	35 7
Madrid	38 ¼	*Dublin*	11

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	26	27	*Pease*	24	26 6
Rye	19	21	*H. Pease*	21	23
Barley	17	18	*H. Beans*	20	22
Oats	10	13	*B. Malt*	21	22 6
Tares	23	27	*P. Malt*	23	24

Abstract of the *London* Weekly BILL, from *Feb.* 23. to *Mar.*

Christned	Males	561
	Females	556
Buried	Males	1284
	Females	1241

Died under 2 Years old

Between	2	and	5
	5		10
	10		20
	20		30
	30		40
	40		50
	50		60
	60		70
	70		80
	80		90
	90	and upwards	

Hay 48 to 50*s.* a Load

he Affairs of *Germany* are now the
ſt intereſting, we ſhall begin with
important and authentick Accounts
lately had from thence. The Queen
ary has now three Armies in the
ne in *Bavaria*, commanded by Count
uller, one in *Bohemia*, commanded by
te of *Lorain* and Prince *Lobkowitz*,
Army of *Hungarians* now aſſembling,
y to fall into *Sileſia*. Upon all Sides
s been continual Skirmiſhes, but no-
e a Battle ſince our laſt. *Khevenbul-*
ny has no Enemy in a Body to op-
m, and being Maſters of all *Bava-*
ept a very few fortified Places, they are
ing themſelves ſo as to intercept the
Reinforcements, that are marching
ance to join the Army of the Allies
ia.

Majeſty's Army in *Bohemia*, ſaid to
f 28,000 Men, acts only upon the
e, being inferior to the Army of the
which is ſaid to conſiſt of 35,000,
Saxons and *Pruſſians*; but as the lat-
preparing to lay Siege to *Egra*, a
Importance upon the River *Eger*,
the Duke's Army will ſoon be rein-
y ſeveral Detachments upon their
to join him, it is thought a general
etween thoſe two Armies may ſoon

Hungarian Army now aſſembling is,
Accounts from *Vienna*, ſaid to be
ſtrong; and as this whole Army is
to attack *Sileſia*, where they will
ith a great many Friends among the
People, it is thought the King of
will be obliged to withdraw all his
om *Moravia* and *Bohemia*, in order to
is own Dominions: Nay, by our laſt
from *Hamburgh*, he had already be-
do ſo; but theſe are not much to be
on. As the *Auſtrian* Huſſars are
ly beating up the Quarters of his
Majeſty's Troops in *Moravia*, a Par-
em lately were very near laying hold
for they took one of his General
, and one of his Pages, and his Ma-
nſelf would have ſhared the ſame
it had not been for the Fleetneſs of
ſe.

preſent Court of *Vienna* ſeem to be
nſible of the Advantage they may
raiſing a Sort of Enthuſiaſtick Spirit
he People, in favour of their Queen
young Prince her Son. For this
her Majeſty ſent lately the follow-
ter to Count *Khevenhuller*, with her
and that of the young Prince, fine-
in Miniature, *viz.*

have now before your Eyes a Queen
by all the World. What do you
muſt be the Deſtiny of this Infant?
not but perceive with what Confi-

dence your Sovereign commits to your Charge, as to that of a faithful Miniſter, all her Power, her Forces, and the whole Fate of her Kingdoms. Make uſe of this Confidence, great Hero, and faithful Vaſſal, ſo as not to be afraid of rendering an Account of your Conduct to God and Men: Let Juſtice be your Buckler, let Equity be the Rule of your Actions; but be inexorable to thoſe, who have forfeited their Oaths and Allegiance. Tread in the Footſteps of the great Prince *Eugene*, of glorious Memory, your Predeceſſor and Maſter: Imitate his immortal Example. Aſſure yourſelf, that we and our Deſcendants ſhall for ever have for you and yours a grateful Remembrance. This we proteſt to you in the Name of every Thing that is dear to us; and we wiſh you continual Succeſs."

Count *Khevenhuller* having read the above Letter at a full Table, every body preſent, fired by his Example, with Tears in their Eyes, ſwore to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to ſupport the Honour of their Sovereign. The Pictures were afterwards expoſed to the View of the Soldiers, moſt of whom ſhed Tears, and drew their Sabres, which they firſt kiſs'd, and then the Pictures, to the Originals whereof they ſwore an inviolable Fidelity, with reiterated Cries of *Long live* Maria Thereſa.

This Conduct ſhews the Wiſdom of her *Hungarian* Majeſty's Councils, and it ſeems to have the deſired Effect; for Letters from *Berlin* ſay, the *Auſtrians* diſcover on all Occaſions not Courage or Reſolution, but Madneſs and Fury.

Beſides theſe Armies in *Germany*, her *Hungarian* Majeſty is now forming an Army in *Italy*, and his *Sardinian* Majeſty having now openly declared in her Favour, a great Body of his Troops have entered the *Milaneze*, and his *Sardinian* Majeſty is preparing to ſet out for the Army, which, when aſſembled, will amount to above 30,000 Men, and is, 'tis ſaid, to march directly into the Eccleſiaſtical State, to give Battle to the *Spaniards*. On the other hand, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter is, by an Order from his Court, retired from *Turin*, and the *French* are aſſembling a Body of 25,000 Men in *Dauphiny*, with which they threaten an Irruption into *Savoy*; but what is moſt ſurpriſing, a great Part of the third Convoy of Troops from *Spain*, conſiſting of 17 Tranſport Ships, without one Man of War to convoy them, is arrived at *Genoa*, without having met with the leaſt Interruption from the *Britiſh* Squadrons or Men of War in the *Mediterranean*.

ERRATA. *Page* 107, *Col.* 2, *Line* 14, *dele* which. *P.* 109, *C.* 1, *L.* 43, *for* is *read* is. *P.* 121, *C.* 2, *L.* 22, *dele* be-

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 121.

The Debate begun in our laſt, the next Speech we ſhall give, was that made by M. Valerius Corvus, *the Report of which was as follows, viz.*

Mr. Preſident,

I R,

BEFORE this Motion was made, I expected, and, I find, I am not diſappointed, that Endeavours would be uſed to perſuade the [illegible], that we ought not to addreſs for removing a Miniſter, unleſs we have ſuch Proofs againſt him as may be a ſufficient Ground for impeaching him. This ſeems to be the Scope of the Argument that has been uſe of by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, and if this Doctrine is to be admitted, there never can be any ſuch Thing as an Addreſs to remove a Miniſter; for if a Miniſter has been guilty of Crimes, how can any Member of this Houſe have Information thereof, and conſequently Evidence for ſupporting the Charge, he ought not to move for an Addreſs to remove ſuch a Miniſter, it would be his Duty to lay his Information fully before the Houſe, and to conclude with a Motion for impeaching him, either of High Treaſon, or of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, according to the Nature of the Charge. The moſt weak, the moſt continued Series of blundering Conduct, could never be admitted as a Foundation for addreſſing our Sovereign to remove him; and thus, if he continued in the Favour of his Prince, which is not at all impoſſible, he might go on blundering, till he had blundered himſelf, his King, and his Country into irretrievable Perdition.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that this Houſe has ſeldom proceeded to addreſs for the Removal of a Miniſter, unleſs he was ſuſpected of ſomething that was acknowledged to be criminal, but this did not proceed from its being neceſſary to alledge ſomething criminal as a Foundation for ſuch an Addreſs, but becauſe weak Miniſters are generally wicked as well

as weak: By their Weakneſs they run themſelves into Meaſures which they find they cannot juſtify, and for which they ought to be removed, and then to prevent their Removal, they lead themſelves into Meaſures for which they ought to be puniſhed. This is the true Reaſon why ſuch Addreſſes have generally been founded upon the Suſpicion of Wickedneſs as well as Weakneſs; becauſe when there were two Reaſons for removing a Miniſter from the King's Councils, the Houſe was certainly in the right to inſiſt upon both. But let it be Weakneſs, or let it be Wickedneſs, for which a Miniſter is to be removed, will any Gentleman ſay, that it is neceſſary to mention particular Facts, and that we ought to have a Proof of theſe Facts, before we can addreſs for the Removal of a Miniſter? The Hon. Gentleman talks of bare Surmiſes and general Arguments, as if they could not afford the leaſt Ground for ſuch an Addreſs. Sir, they not only afford ſome Ground, but they are the only Ground upon which ſuch an Addreſs can be founded; becauſe when there is any Thing farther than a bare Surmiſe, we ought, as I have ſaid, to go farther than a bare Addreſs.

But by ſuch an Addreſs, it ſeems, we are to blacken the Character of an Hon. Gentleman who has ſerved his Country for many Years, and during ſeveral Reigns, with great Wiſdom and Integrity. It is a great Misfortune, Sir, to thoſe who have ſo high an Opinion of his Wiſdom and Integrity, that the general Voice of their Country is againſt them, and that the Situation of Affairs, both at home and abroad, ſeems to be a demonſtrative Proof againſt them; but let the Hon. Gentleman's Character for Wiſdom and Integrity be ever ſo great, it cannot be blackened by the Addreſs of this Houſe, becauſe a Man's Character does not depend upon what a C of Juſtice does or refuſes to gainſt him, but upon the O the World has of what a Co Juſtice ought to do. Should dreſs the King to remove one generally ſuppoſed to be an and wiſe Miniſter, would that dreſs blacken his Character? Sir, it would only blaſt our Should we refuſe to addreſs the to remove one who is gen thought to be a weak and Miniſter, would that Refuſal bri his Character? No, Sir, but it blacken the Character of this in the Eyes of all thoſe wh ſuch an Opinion of him.

I hope, Gentlemen will co this, and if they do, I am they muſt reflect more ſe upon the Conſtitution of this than they ſeem to do, when ſay, that the Sentiments of th jority of the better Sort of in the Nation, are to be ju from what appears to be the ments of the Majority of this It is well known, Sir, how une the Nation is repreſented Houſe. I believe, it will lowed, that the Cities of and *Weſtminſter*, the Boro *Southwark*, and the County o *dleſex*, contain at leaſt *one* the People of the whole N yet they have but *ten* Repre tives in this Houſe, which not quite a 55th Part of the ber of Members in this Aſſe and what is very remarkable, lieve, it will appear, whatev be the Fate of this Motion, t theſe *ten*, there will be *eigh* the affirmative Side of the Q If we conſider our Countie great Cities, and compare with our little Boroughs, th proportion will be found a great, which ſhews, that we not to judge of the Sentim the better Sort of People, fro

rs to be the Sentiments of the
rity of this Houſe; and if we
er, that ſeveral Gentlemen of
Houſe take upon them to vote,
ny Queſtions, againſt the de-
Sentiments of their Conſtitu-
the Fallaciouſneſs of this Way
dging will appear ſtill more
nt. Therefore, I would not
Gentlemen plume themſelves
uch in a Majority of this
, or conclude from thence,
hey have a Majority of the
Sort of People upon their
of the Queſtion; for if the
ers of this Houſe are to be
ed to ſpeak the Sentiments
eir Conſtituents, and if we
r the Places and not the Per-
at vote upon each Side of the
on, it will appear, that the
ents of the Majority of the
Sort of People, are often very
nt from what appears to be
ntiments of the Majority of
Houſe.

ve judge by this Rule, Sir,
is the only proper Way of
g, we ſhall find, that this Mi-
Conduct, almoſt in every re-
ble Step, with regard both to
and domeſtick Affairs, has
iſapproved of by a great Ma-
of the better Sort of People
Nation, tho' not by a Ma-
of this Houſe; and I am
o Man that knows any Thing
t paſſes without Doors, will
to deny his being complain-
and even exclaimed againſt
reat Majority of the People.
ner Times, Sir, *Vox Populi eſt*
i, was held to be a Maxim
all thoſe who called them-
Whigs, and even Miniſters
lves, of whatever Denomi-
were obliged to ſhew a great
to it; but ſince we have
into the Cuſtom of keeping
nerous ſtanding Armies, this
has been deſpiſed by our
rs, even by thoſe Miniſters

that called themſelves *Whigs*, and the Populace, or what Miniſters and their Friends call, the Mob, has been held in Contempt, as if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe, that the Populace, or meaner Sort, can be generally diſcontented, when the better Sort are generally pleaſed with the Conduct of our publick Affairs. The Populace in all Countries are the Servants, and, unleſs when agitated by ſome Flaſh of enthuſiaſtical Madneſs, ſpeak the Sentiments of the better Sort. The latter, as they have ſomething to loſe beſide their Lives, may not, perhaps, be ſo ready to break out, or to fall into outragious Meaſures againſt an eſtabliſhed Government, but except in the Caſe I have mentioned, the meaner Sort, or the Mob, never become outragious, unleſs they are ſpirited up by the Diſcontents and ſecret Grumblings of their Maſters. A wiſe and a good Miniſter will always, therefore, aim at Popularity even amongſt the meaneſt Sort of People, becauſe from them he may moſt certainly learn his real Character among thoſe of the better Sort. The former have nothing to hope for by flattering him, and much leſs to fear than their Maſters, from uttering thoſe Complaints openly and freely, which are in a ſecret, or indirect Manner inſtilled into them by thoſe that give them Bread.

The People I ſhall grant, Sir, are in all Countries fond of Changes of Miniſters or Magiſtrates. In free Countries they are fond of them, becauſe ſuch Changes are neceſſary for the Security and Preſervation of the Rights and Liberties of the People; and in abſolute Governments, as Miniſters and Magiſtrates are generally oppreſſive, the People have Reaſon to be fond of any Change. This Fondneſs is therefore in all Countries founded upon ſolid Reaſons, and accordingly we find, that

People of all Ranks and Degrees, except Miniſters themſelves, and their Creatures, are equally fond of ſuch Changes; but to ſay, that the People of any Degree in a Country that ſubſiſts by Trade and Induſtry, delight in War, is, I think, a very great Miſtake. If we examine the Hiſtories of our own Country, we ſhall find, that the Nation has been led into unneceſſary and deſtructive Wars by the Whims of a Court, and that by the ſame Sort of Whims, we have ſometimes remained at Peace, when we ought to have declared War; but we ſhall never find, that the People in general were for entering into an unneceſſary War, or for our continuing in Peace when it appeared neceſſary to declare War. In King *James* IIſt's Time, it was certainly the Intereſt of this Nation, and would have redounded very much to our Honour, to have ſupported the *Proteſtant* Intereſt in *Germany*, by entering heartily into that War; but we had at that Time ſuch a pacifick Court, that neither the Honour nor Intereſt of this Nation, nor the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, could prevail with our Court to declare War, or to give the *Proteſtants* any effectual Aſſiſtance. What did the People do upon that Occaſion? Did not they declare almoſt unanimouſly for War? Did not they exclaim againſt the then Miniſters, for allowing the *Palatinate* Family to be ruined, and the *Proteſtant* Religion extirpated both in the *Palatinate* and in *Bohemia*. In K. *Charles* IId's Time, we were involved by our Court in two Wars againſt the *Dutch*: I believe, no Man will now ſay, they were neceſſary: I believe it will now be admitted, that both were contrary to the true Intereſt of this Nation, and deſtructive to the Balance of Power in *Europe*: Accordingly, the People declared againſt both. And laſtly, Sir, I believe, we all remember, how ſ rally the People declared for a with *Spain*, long before our M ſter could be prevailed on, e by the Inſults of *Spain*, or the C plaints of our own People, to clare War againſt that Nation. Event has ſhewn, that the P were in the right. What had often foretold in this Houſe, a appeared to be true, That wi a War it would be impoſſible to tain either Satisfaction or Sec from the *Spaniards*; and ſure muſt now be allowed, that if had begun this War eight Y ago, when the *Emperor* was attac by the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, it w have been greatly to our H as well as Advantage, and m have prevented the preſent m choly Poſture of Affairs in *Eu*

Thus, Sir, if we examine own Hiſtories we ſhall find, th all Times, when our Miniſters People have differed in Op with regard to War or Peace, People have generally been in right; and for this it is eaſy to ſign a Reaſon, becauſe the P can be directed in their Judg by nothing but the general In whereas Miniſters are too often rected by particular Intereſts of own, or by the particular In perhaps the particular Whim their Sovereign, in complying which, Miniſters are apt to b tremely complaiſant, for the of continuing themſelves in P eſpecially when they think, can by Corruption, or any Method, prevent their being to an Account in Parliament.

From hence, Sir, we may that the Unpopularity of our M ſter does not proceed from an u ſonable Fondneſs in our People War, or from any childiſh Def being aſtoniſhed with extraord Events, but from their having b better, and more diſintereſted

rcumſtances of our foreign
and the true Intereſt of their
; and if he has incurred
pleaſure of all Ranks of Peo-
on this or any other Ac-
his Character is already brand-
cannot be farther branded
Addreſs of this Houſe to re-
him: On the contrary, it
that Means be vindicated;
after his Removal, and not
n, a ſtrict and impartial In-
may be made into his Con-
nd by that Inquiry his Cha-
may be cleared of thoſe Suſ-
that now lie ſo heavy upon
his, I ſay, may be the Con-
ce of the Addreſs propoſed,
n he may again be employed
Majeſty; but whilſt he la-
under a general Suſpicion of
neſs or Wickedneſs, will any
y, he is fit for being in his
y's Councils, and far leſs for
his Majeſty's ſole Adviſer?
he People be never ſo bad
of a Man's Virtue or Wiſ-
Let the Clamours againſt the
er's Conduct be never ſo
lleſs, can his Majeſty expect
onfidence from his Parliament,
his Councils are directed by a
er againſt whom there is a
l Suſpicion and Clamour.
ly, Sir, if there be any Con-
between the Sentiments of
ajority of this Aſſembly, and
entiments of the People: If
e to judge of the Sentiments
People, by what appears to
e Sentiments of the Majority
s Aſſembly, we may, on the
hand, judge of what will be
entiments of the Majority of
Parliament, from what are the
t Sentiments of the People;
f the Majority of next Parlia-
ſhould conſiſt of ſuch as have
ame Opinion of this Miniſter
e People generally have, can
ajeſty expect any Confidence
ſuch a Parliament? Can it be
expected that they will truſt the Government of their Country to a Man who, they think, will ruin it by his Weakneſs, or betray it by his Wickedneſs? Sir, the Chuſing of a new Parliament, whilſt ſuch a Miniſter is, or is ſuppoſed to be the ſole Director of our publick Councils, muſt neceſſarily be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, either to our happy Conſtitution, or to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. If the People are left to their free Choice, in the preſent Humour they are in, they will certainly chuſe ſuch for their Repreſentatives as have been the moſt profeſſed and ſteady Enemies to him; and among them a Majority may get in of ſuch as are ſecretly diſaffected to the Illuſtrious Family now upon our Throne, which would certainly be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. On the other hand, if the People ſhould not be left to their free Choice, if they ſhould be directed in their Choice by Corruption and other illegal Practices, and thereby a Majority ſhould be choſen conſiſting of ſuch as are the Creatures and Tools of the Miniſter, what might we not apprehend from ſuch a Majority during the long Courſe of a *Septennial* Parliament? Could we expect, that ſuch a Majority would have any Regard to the Liberties and Privileges of the People? Muſt we not expect, that they would put an End to our happy Conſtitution, when we conſider, that the future Safety both of themſelves and their Patron would depend upon its final Overthrow?

It is ſo apparent to me, Sir, that one or other of theſe Dangers muſt be the Conſequence of having a new Parliament choſen, whilſt ſuch an unpopular Miniſter is at the Helm of Affairs, that I cannot believe, any Man, who conſiders the Queſtion in this Light, will be againſt

gainſt it, unleſs he be a ſecret Enemy, either to our Conſtitution, or to our preſent Eſtabliſhment. If there be any amongſt us, as I hope there are not, who are afraid of having our Conſtitution reſtored to its priſtine Vigour, by the Choice of an independent and free Parliament, they have Reaſon to be againſt this Motion; and I am ſure, if I were a *Jacobite* in my Heart, there is nothing I ſhould wiſh more eagerly than to ſee a Negative put upon the Queſtion, becauſe I ſhould from thence expect, that my Friends would ſtand a fair Chance, in every Part of the Kingdom, of getting themſelves choſen Members of this Houſe at the next enſuing Elections.

I hope, I have now ſhewn, Sir, that the Miniſter propoſed by this Motion to be removed, muſt be allowed to be a very unpopular Miniſter; that his Character can be no Way blackened by this Addreſs farther than it is already, but, on the contrary, may be cleared of the Cloud of Suſpicion which now hangs lowering over it; and that his Continuance in Power muſt be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, either to our Conſtitution, or to our preſent Eſtabliſhment. I have no Occaſion to prove, and, indeed, it is impoſſible to prove, that he is the chief Adviſer, and ſole Director of all our publick Affairs: It is ſufficient for my Argument, if he be generally ſuppoſed to be ſo; and that this Suppoſition is general without Doors, is apparent from the continual Application made to him in all Branches of publick Buſineſs: No Man, we ſee, expects to get any Buſineſs done with, or to obtain any Favour from the Crown, without making ſome Sort of Application to him; for if he puts a Negative upon it, that Negative has often been found to prevail againſt the ſtrongeſt Intereſt that could any other Way be made in its
This is the Caſe, this has
the Caſe, with regard to all
of a domeſtick Nature; and
regard to thoſe that are
not we know, that ſome
A Friend of his has been
in all our Negotiations that
any great Importance to
tion? Our other Miniſters
haps, have had from him
berty to nominate a Reſident,
Envoy to ſome of the
B Crowns, or to ſome of the
Princes of *Germany* or *Italy*
when any important Negotiation
was ſet on Foot with *Holland*,
or *Spain*, every one knows
are that have been always
ed, and by whoſe Recommendation
C they were appointed; and our
fruitleſs Negotiations, and
leſs Treaties, have ſufficiently
fied their great Abilities.

Theſe Circumſtances, Sir,
moſt juſtly created a general
ſition, that this Miniſter has
D for many Years, and is ſtill, the
Director of all our publick Affairs;
and this Suppoſition it will be
poſſible for our other Miniſters
remove, by ſimply aſſerting,
is not ſo. I have, Sir, a very
Opinion of their Veracity; but
E does not depend upon their Veracity
but their Judgment; becauſe a
ful Miniſter may make them
lieve, they act freely and
Direction, when all but themſelves
ſee, they can do nothing
his Conſent or Connivance.
F ever, I muſt tell them, that
have not in this Caſe an equal
tle with others to be believed,
cauſe their own Honour is
much concerned in the Queſtion
for as a Prime Miniſter is
ſiſtent with our Conſtitution,
G any one Miniſter, by his
with the Prince upon the
uſurps the ſole Direction of all
publick Affairs, no Man of

en continue in the Admi-
n, becauſe he does not then
is Prince, but his Prince's
Miniſter. This is what no
any Pretence to Honour
nfeſs, and therefore, when
ts the contrary, he has not
l Title to be believed with
who are neither in Honour
reſt concerned in the Que-

erefore wiſh, Sir, that ſome
entlemen would ſave them-
he Trouble of denying, that
blick Affairs are now under
e Influence of this Miniſter,
, conſidering ſome late Cir-
nces, and their known Inte-
the Queſtion, they cannot
to be believed, and becauſe
y Suppoſition of its being ſo,
ient for the Argument I have
ed. The very Suppoſition,
his Miniſter is a ſole and
Miniſter, muſt expoſe our
Eſtabliſhment to Danger at
t general Elections; but this
from being the only Danger
expoſed to by this Miniſter's
uance in Power. We know
ſent tickliſh State of the Af-
Europe: We know what a
the Balance of Power is
; and we know what a Diſ-
his paſt Conduct has brought
ur Councils at every Court in
If he is ſuppoſed to conti-
the chief Direction of our
Affairs, can we expect a
nce from any of thoſe Courts?
expect, that any of the Po-
s of *Europe* will enter into an
e with us, for reſtoring or
ing the Balance of Power?
Experience we know how lit-
able he is of conducting any
ation; therefore, if he con-
but one Year longer at the
of our Councils, we have
to apprehend ſome falſe Step
der, which may put it out
Power of any future Admi-

niſtration to recover our Affairs, or to form any Scheme for ſecuring the Liberties of *Europe*; and if all the Powers thereof ſhould be obliged to ſubmit to the Direction of our moſt dangerous Rival, what can this Nation at laſt expect?

This Danger, Sir, is ſo apparent, and is now become ſo imminent, that our complying with this Motion is, in my Opinion, a Duty we owe both to our King and Country. Suppoſe I thought this Miniſter guilty of no Crime; ſuppoſe I had approved of every Step of his paſt Conduct, yet the Weakneſs of his Meaſures appears now ſo plain from their Effects, both abroad and at home, that I ſhould be for addreſſing to remove a Miniſter, who had led me, as well as his Country, into ſuch fatal Errors. Political Meaſures, Sir, are of ſuch an abſtruſe Nature, and ſo often admit of a falſe Gloſs, that a Miſtake can no Way derogate from the Underſtandings of thoſe, who are obliged to judge of them, without having all the Lights neceſſary for forming a right Judgment. I know there are many Gentlemen in this Houſe, who have approved of moſt of this Miniſter's Meaſures: According to the Lights they viewed them in at the Time, they appear'd wiſe and right; but will any Gentleman now ſay, they were ſo? Will any Gentleman now ſay, the Treaty of *Hanover* was a right Meaſure? Will any one now approve of the Meaſures taken, and the Expence we put ourſelves to, in Purſuance of that Treaty? Will any one now ſay, we ought to have gone precipitately into a general Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, without ſtipulating the leaſt Satisfaction for any Prince in *Germany*, with regard to the Claims he had upon the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Surely, Sir, before we entered into that Guaranty, we ſhould have taken care, that more than one Half

of

of *Germany* ſhould not be engaged in Intereſt to oppoſe that which we had guarantyed. The Claims now ſet up by *Pruſſia* were certainly known to our Miniſters, before we guaranty'ed the *Pragmatick Sanction:* For him at leaſt we ought to have ſtipulated ſuch a Satisfaction, as would in Intereſt, as well as by Treaty, have engaged him in the ſame Intereſt with us. If we had done this, neither the *Pragmatick Sanction*, nor the Liberties of *Europe* would now have been in any Danger; and therefore, I cannot think, any Man will now pretend to juſtify our having ſo precipitately entered into a general Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction:* Nay, I believe, even our Miniſter himſelf would not have done ſo, if he had not been forced to it, in order to extricate himſelf out of the Dilemma he had brought himſelf into by the Treaty of *Seville*; for however jealous ſome of the neighbouring Princes of *Germany* may be, of an Increaſe of Power in the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, ſurely no *Engliſh* Miniſter could be actuated by any ſuch Jealouſy; and therefore, I believe, even our Miniſter himſelf would have ſtipulated Satisfaction for the King of *Pruſſia*, with regard to his Claims in *Sileſia*, before entering into that Guaranty, if he had not been forced to it by the Dilemma I have mentioned.

By theſe Meaſures, Sir, and by our neglecting to perform our Guaranty to the *Emperor* in the Year 1733, the Balance of Power, and the Liberties of *Europe* have been brought into their preſent Danger. This Danger is not owing to the *Emperor*'s Death, as the Friends of our Miniſter endeavour to inſinuate; for if we had taken right Meaſures, if we had not taken wrong Meaſures, nay, if we had not purſued a long Series of wrong Meaſures, the *Emperor*'s Death could have made little or no Alteration in the Affairs of *Europe*; ſo that the *Emperor*'s [illegible] had nothing in it fatal to the [illegible] ties of *Europe*, but its happening [illegible] fore this Nation had an Opportunity to get rid of this Miniſter, and rectify the Errors it had been led into by him. This, indeed, is very unfortunate, and if he continues but for one Year longer to have the ſame Influence upon our Councils, I may propheſy, that without ſome very ſignal Intervention of Providence, it will be fatal to the Liberties of *Europe* in general, and conſequently to the Liberties of this Nation in particular. At the reſpective Times theſe Meaſures were taken, they were ſet in ſuch a Light by our Miniſter and his Adherents, that I do not wonder at their having been approved of by every one, who had any Confidence either in his Wiſdom or Integrity; but their Weakneſs, I ſhall now ſay, Wickedneſs, appears now ſo plain from the Effects they have produced, that no Man, not even the Miniſter himſelf, can approve of them; and therefore every Man muſt think he ought at leaſt to be removed for his Weakneſs. His purſuing ſuch Meaſures, his undertaking, as he did by the Treaty of *Hanover*, to pull down the over-grown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, may perhaps have proceeded from Wickedneſs: It may have proceeded from his having a greater Regard for a foreign Intereſt, becauſe it coincided with his own, than he had for the Intereſt of his native Country; but this will not be made appear, as long as he is Maſter of all the Proofs, and of all the Favours of the Crown at his Diſpoſal; and therefore, the firſt Step we muſt take towards diſcovering his Wickedneſs, muſt be to remove him for his Weakneſs, with regard to the general Intereſt of *Europe*, muſt now, as I have plainly appear, even to thoſe

hitherto had the beſt Opinion
Conduct.
d now, Sir, with regard to the
ular Intereſt of this Nation,
any one now ſay, that it was
or right to allow *Spain* to a-
us, for ſo many Years toge-
with trifling Negotiations, e-
lly as they were, during the
Time, interrupting our Trade
Navigation, and daily plunder-
ur Merchants? Will any one
ſay, it was wiſe or right to
ude with *Spain* a ſham Treaty,
a Convention, without ob-
g any Satisfaction for paſt In-
, or any Promiſe of Security
ſt future, nay, without obtain-
ſo much as a Promiſe for an
miſſion of Inſults? When any
happens to be in diſpute, by
the Nation is not expoſed to
immediate Loſs or Suffering,
Miniſters may negotiate about
d about it: They may even
ude inſignificant Treaties re-
to it, in order to avoid an
diate Rupture, by inſiſting up-
n immediate Diſcuſſion; but
we ſuffer daily and greatly
e Point in diſpute, and have it
r Power to command an im-
te Diſcuſſion, ſurely our Mi-
s ought not then to allow them-
to be amuſed with tedious
tiations or unmeaning Treaties;
much leſs after they have put
Country to a great Expence in
ring for a Rupture, which was
aſe at the Time we concluded
nſignificant Treaty, called the
ention.
am really ſurpriſed, Sir, to
an Attempt now made to juſ-
that ridiculous Treaty, or to
any one ſay, the Court of
had an Inclination to grant us
real Satisfaction or Security.
ſe they had by the Treaty
ſly allowed, as they did not,
200,000*l.* was due to us in
e of Damages for the Injuries
we had ſuffered, but that they ſhould, out of this 200,000*l.* deduct, upon ſham Pretences, no leſs than 173,000*l.* ſo as to leave no more than 27,000*l.* to be actually paid to us; muſt not every one ſee, A that this would have been no more than a complaiſant Conceſſion, made by the Miniſters of *Spain* to the Miniſters of *Great Britain*, in order to furniſh the latter with ſomething wherewith to amuſe their own People? And as it now appears from B the Papers upon our Table, that *Spain* not only inſiſted upon her Right to ſearch our Ships in the *American* Seas, but that we had no Right to ſail in thoſe Seas, unleſs we obſerved what they might be pleaſed to call a *due Courſe*, it is C very ſurpriſing to hear it ſtill aſſerted, that *Spain* had ever the leaſt Thought of granting us a free Navigation, or the leaſt Inclination to live in Peace with us, unleſs we continued to allow their *Guarda Coſta's* to interrupt our Navigation, D and to plunder or ſeize our Merchant Ships. Theſe Pretences were not ſet up by verbal Declarations made to our Miniſter or Negotiator in *Spain*, but by written Memorials delivered or tranſmitted to our Court here; and as all theſe Memorials muſt have been taken into E Conſideration in his Majeſty's Cabinet Council, it is equally ſurpriſing to hear it pretended, that our Chief Miniſter was, or could poſſibly be, ignorant of them.

I ſhall conclude, Sir, with a ſhort F Reply to what has been ſaid in Anſwer to the Charge againſt this Miniſter, of his having endeavoured to obtain a corrupt Influence over both Houſes of Parliament. This the Hon. Gentleman admits to be a heavy Charge; but, ſays he, It is G a Fact which, if true, may certainly be proved; and for this Purpoſe he provokes any Member to riſe up, and ſay, that the Miniſter

ever desired him, or tempted him, either by Threats or Promises, to vote against his Conscience in Parliament. Can it be supposed, Sir, that any Minister would be such a Fool as to talk so to a Member of this House? Is there the least Occasion for him to expose himself in this Manner? Two or three Examples: Two or three Gentlemen being turned out of their Posts, after having opposed the Minister's Measures in Parliament, will be a sufficient Warning or Threatning to all the rest of the Members of either House of Parliament, that hold any Office or Employment at the Pleasure of the Crown, and also to all those that hope for, or expect any Favour from the Crown. By these Examples every one will see, that none of the Favours of the Crown are to be held or expected, but by resigning their Consciences in Parliament to the Dictates of the Prime Minister; and this will be as effectual upon all those of venal Minds or necessitous Circumstances, as if the Minister had taken them one by one aside, and threatned them expresly with the Loss of their Employments, or with a Disappointment to their Hopes, in case they should oppose any of his Measures in Parliament.

This is therefore the only Proof we can have of a Minister's endeavouring to gain a corrupt Influence over both Houses of Parliament; and can it be said, Sir, that we have no Proof of this Kind against the Minister now proposed to be removed? Do not we all know, that many eminent Members of both Houses of Parliament have been lately removed from every Office they held at the Pleasure of the Crown, soon after their having opposed some of this Minister's Projects in Parliament, and that no Cause for their Removal ever was, or could be assigned, but their having voted according to the Dictates of their Conscience, in Opposition to the Dictates of the Minister? Do we all know, that it has been a constant Maxim of his Administration, to confer none of the Favours of the Crown, but upon such as voted according to his Direction in Elections or in Parliament? Nay, Sir, he has gone farther than any Minister before him ever did: He has declared this to be his Maxim openly: He has avowed it in the Face of this very Assembly; and shall we desire or seek for a Proof of a criminal Fact, which the Criminal himself has avowed and boasted of in this very Assembly?

The Excuse made for this open Attack upon our Constitution, is a new Confession of the Minister's Guilt. Is the Minister, is the King himself to take Notice of the Opposition made by any Gentleman in Parliament? Has the Minister, has the King himself a Right to judge or determine, whether or no an Opposition be indiscreetly or indecently carried on, or whether it proceeds from Resentment or from Conscience? Sir, there would be an End of the Freedom of Speech in Parliament, at least with regard to all Gentlemen, who held or expected any Office or Place dependent upon the Pleasure of the Crown, if the King himself should assume such a Right; and therefore, any Minister that advises him to do so, must be guilty of a very high Misdemeanor. If any Gentleman should speak or behave himself indecently or indiscreetly here, the House will certainly take Notice of it; but whilst a Gentleman behaves himself decently and discreetly, whatever Opposition he makes to any Question in this Assembly, must be ought to be supposed to proceed from Motives of Honour and Conscience, and not from Motives of Malice or Resentment. If the

ther the Miniſters of the Crown, allowed a Right to judge in Caſes, every Word ſpoke a- t them would be deemed to be ent, and every Oppoſition to Meaſures would be ſuppoſed roceed from Malice or Reſent- ; and thus they would con- , they had a juſt and legal on for turning every Man out e Service of the Crown, that d oppoſe any of their Meaſures rliament.

, the King may, 'tis true, ex- ſome of the Prerogatives of Crown without aſking the Ad- of any Miniſter; but if he make a wrong Uſe of any of Prerogatives, his Miniſters muſt r for it, if they continue to be Miniſters. This, Sir, is one of dvantages of our Conſtitution, it is a very high Advantage; ſe it makes it dangerous for ſters to endeavour to gain a ior Degree of Favour with the by humouring the Paſſions Frailties of human Nature, by h Kings, as well as other Men, oo apt to be governed. But dvantage we loſe, Sir, when appen to have an unpopular ſter, or one who fears the Re- ent of the People, and has no to guard againſt it, but by g a corrupt Majority in Par- nt; for ſuch a Man muſt for wn Safety endeavour to hu- his Sovereign in all his Paſſi- nd Frailties, for the Sake of ving his Favour, upon which his perſonal Safety, as well as wer, depends; and if ſuch a ſhould, by ſuch Means, ſolely s the Favour of his Maſter, ereby gain a corrupt Majority th Houſes of Parliament, I be glad to know what Con- he is under, or by what legal s our Conſtitution could be d. This unlucky Situation ay fall into by having the ſame Miniſter too long continued in Power. This Danger we have, I think, ſome Reaſon to apprehend from our preſent Miniſter's being longer continued in Power; and therefore I ſhall be for agreeing to the Motion now under our Conſideration.

The next Speech we ſhall give upon this Subject, was that made by Cn. Octavius, *which was in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I Do not ſtand up at this Time of Night, either to accuſe or to flatter any Man. Since I have had the Honour to ſit in Parliament, I have oppoſed the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, becauſe I thought them wrong; and as long as they are ſo, I ſhall continue to give as conſtant an Oppoſition to them. The State of the Nation, by the Conduct of our Miniſters, is deplorable: A War is deſtroying us abroad, and Poverty and Corruption are devouring us at home. But whatever I may think of Men, God forbid, that my private Opinion ſhould be the only Rule of my Judgment: I ſhould deſire to have an exterior Conviction from Facts and Evidence; and without theſe I am ſo far from condemning, that I would not cenſure any Man. I am fully ſatisfied in my own Mind, that there are thoſe who give pernicious and deſtructive Counſels; and, I hope, a Time will come, when a proper, legal, parliamentary Inquiry may be made, and when clear Facts and full Evidence will plainly diſcover, who are the Enemies of their Country.

A noble Lord, to whom I had the Honour to be related, has been often mentioned in this Debate: He was impeached and impriſoned; by that Impriſonment his Years were ſhortned; and the Proſecution was

carried on by the Hon. Perſon, who is now the Subject of your Queſtion, though he knew at that very Time, that there was no Evidence to ſupport it. I am now, Sir, glad of this Opportunity to return Good for Evil, and to do that Hon. Gentleman and his Family that Juſtice, which he denied to mine.

We ſhall next give the Subſtance of the Speech made by M. Cato *upon this Occaſion, which was as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THO' it is now very late, yet I did not, at firſt, think of ſpeaking ſo early in the Debate, becauſe I had a Mind to have heard firſt what the Hon. Gentleman had to ſay in his own Vindication; but ſince the Houſe ſeems to be of Opinion, that he ought to be the laſt Speaker in this Debate, I find myſelf obliged to alter my Intention, and to give you my Sentiments upon the Queſtion, before I hear what he has to ſay. As this, I ſay, ſeems to be the Opinion of the Houſe, I ſhall not preſume to ſay it is partial; but I muſt obſerve, that it is contrary to the eſtabliſhed Practice in all other Caſes in this Houſe, and in all the Courts of Juſtice I have ever heard of; for both in this Houſe, upon all other Occaſions, and in all other Courts, the Petitioner or Proſecutor is always allow'd to reply; and if this Method had been obſerved upon this Occaſion, I ſhould have reſerved myſelf for the Reply, in which Caſe I ſhould have taken particular Care not to have mentioned any new Charge, but would have confined myſelf intirely to thoſe Facts, that had been before mentioned in the Debate. This ſhould have been my Method, had I been allowed to ſpeak by Way of Reply; but now, I think, I may take the Liberty, if I think [fit] take Notice of ſome Facts that [have] not been yet mentioned in the [De]bate; and I hope the Houſe will give me Leave to explain a little farther, ſome of thoſe wicked Meaſures that have been already mentioned.

To begin, Sir, with our foreign Affairs: I muſt go a little further back than the Treaty of *Hanover*, in order to ſhew the Weakneſs of that Treaty; and if I can prove that the Miniſter, whoſe Conduct is now the Subject of Debate, muſt himſelf have been conſcious of the Weakneſs of that Treaty, it will be then wicked in him to approve of it, or to purſue that pernicious Syſtem of Politicks, upon which it is founded. Sir, the Plan, and the right Plan of Politicks, which had been purſu'd during the whole Reign of King *William*, and the whole Reign of Queen *Anne*, till towards the latter End of it, when a new Miniſtry began to take new Meaſures, was to diminiſh the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and add to the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in order to preſerve a proper Balance of Power in *Europe*. In Proportion of this Plan we joined, not as Auxiliaries, but as Principals, in two dangerous Wars againſt *France*. We expended many Millions; we run ourſelves many Millions in Debt, moſt Part of which remains as a Load upon this Nation; and the Earl of *Oxford*, our Miniſter at the End of the Queen's Reign, was impeach'd the Beginning of laſt Reign for not purſuing this Plan. The chief Article againſt that Miniſter was, his having, by the Peace of *Utrecht*, left the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* too ſmall in *Italy*, *Flanders*, and the Kingdom of *Spain*, under a Sort of Dependence upon the Court of *France*. This, I ſay, was the chief Article of Impeachment againſt that noble Earl,

our preſent Miniſter could not ignorant of, becauſe he was irman of that very Committee, ch drew up thoſe Articles of eachment, and was then one of warmeſt Proſecutors of that no- Earl.

o remedy one of the Faults d with the Treaty of *Utrecht*, entered into a Negotiation, ſoon r the Acceſſion of his late Ma-, for giving *Sicily* to the *Empe-* in Exchange for *Sardinia*, which hange was eſtabliſhed by the aty of *London* in the Year 1716, as that Treaty was ſigned by very Gentleman, he could not ignorant of the Plan of Politicks n which it was founded. In port of this Plan, we were obli- to engage in a War againſt *in*, which occaſioned our de- ying their Fleet in the *Mediter-ean* in the Year 1718; and this y Plan was the chief Foundation the *Quadruple Alliance*, which *in* afterwards acceded to, tho' Conditions of that Acceſſion not, as yet, I believe, fully own. Thus we got one of the ults found with the Treaty of *recht* amended, and as to the o-er, it was by the Hand of God y ſoon removed; for by the ath of the late King of *France*, d the Regent's ſetting aſide his ill, which, luckily for this Na-n, happened ſoon after his late ajeſty's Acceſſion, the Depen-nce of the Court of *Spain* upon t of *France* was remov'd, and an mity eſtabliſhed between the two urts, which ſoon after broke out o an open War.

By theſe Means the two chief ults that had been found with the reaty of *Utrecht*, were both recti-d; and thus the Affairs of *Europe* od, when this Miniſter began firſt have an Influence over our Coun-ls. Whilſt a Jealouſy, or rather mity ſubſiſted between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, it was reaſonable enough for us to keep a Correſpondence with the Court of *France*, eſpecially as at that Time we had a Diſpute with the Court of *Spain*; but as that Enmity ceaſed by the *Regent*'s Death, and as a good Correſpondence was reſtored between theſe two Courts, by the young King of *France*'s being married to the *Infanta* of *Spain*, we ought then again to have begun to be upon our Guard againſt the Ambition of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and for this Purpoſe we ought to have continued to cultivate a good Correſpondence with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and we ought to have endeavoured, by all the artful Means we could think of, to interrupt that Correſpondence, which had been re-eſtabliſhed between the Courts of *France* an *Spain*, and to accommodate all the Differences ſubſiſting between the Courts of *Spain* and *Vienna*. According to the Plan of Politicks purſued ever ſince the Revolution, theſe ſhould have been the Ends propoſed in all our Negotiations; and for accompliſhing theſe Ends, a moſt happy and unlook'd-for Accident occurred, by the Court of *France*'s ſending back the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and getting their King married to his preſent Queen.

This, Sir, was one of the moſt lucky Accidents that could have happened for this Nation, and for *Europe*, if we had known how to have made the right Uſe of it. The Court of *Spain* immediately broke off all Correſpondence with that of *France*, and offered to refer all their Differences with the Court of *Vienna* to our ſole Mediation; but our preſent Miniſter had then got almoſt the ſole Direction of our publick Councils, and upon this Occaſion the Plan of Politicks he had laid down to himſelf, firſt began to appear: This Plan was, That as long as the Court of *France* did nothing

thing to disturb or interrupt his Poſſeſſion of Power in this Kingdom, he would do nothing that might diſpleaſe them; but on the contrary, would do all they deſired, and connive at what they had a Mind to do, as far as was conſiſtent with his Safety here at home. This, I ſay, was his Plan: That it is the Plan he has ever ſince purſued, I ſhall make appear from the whole Tenor of his Conduct; and, when we conſider the Nature of it, we cannot wonder at his having employ'd ſuch a near Relation, in concerting and eſtabliſhing ſuch a Plan. ——In Purſuance of this Plan, and directly contrary to that Plan of Politicks we ſhould have purſued, and for which we had expended ſo much Blood and Treaſure, he refuſed to accept of this ſole Mediation offer'd us by *Spain*, or to make any Advantage of this Difference that had happened between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*. From our refuſing to accept of this Mediation, the Court of *France* had ſome Reaſon to hope, that the Differences between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* might remain unaccommodated, till ſhe ſhould find an Opportunity for making up the Breach occaſioned by ſending back the *Infanta* of *Spain*; but the Court of *Spain* were ſo irritated at the Affront put upon them, that they reſolved at any Rate to accommodate their Differences with the Court of *Vienna*, and for this Purpoſe they ſent a Miniſter privately to *Vienna*, by whoſe Means Treaties of Peace, Guaranty and Commerce were concluded between the two Courts in the Beginning of the Year 1725.

The Concluding of theſe Treaties, Sir, and the good Correſpondence thereby eſtabliſhed between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, gave a moſt juſt and reaſonable Alarum to *France*. As the Court of *Spain* was highly and moſt juſtly irritated againſt her, and as the [illegible] of *Auſtria* was her moſt dan[gerous] and moſt inveterate Enemy, ſh[e] great Reaſon to be afraid of a Union between theſe two Pow[ers] She had even ſome Reaſon to [fear] an immediate Attack. But all other Powers of *Europe*, and Nation in particular, accordin[g] our ancient and right Plan of liticks, had Reaſon to rejoice this Union: Even ſuppoſe the *peror* and *Spain* had jointly attac[ked] *France*, we might have look'd with Indifference, till one of Parties had begun to puſh her Q[ue]ſts too far. Till this had happened, even the *Dutch* might look'd on with Indifference; tho' there was at that Time a pute ſubſiſting between them the *Emperor*, in relation to the Company, that Diſpute was not ſuch Conſequence as to occaſion Breach; and if the *Emperor* in Conjunction with *Spain*, reſolv[ed] to attack *France*, he would certa[inly] have ſacrificed that Compa[ny] for the Sake of gaining a Neut[ra]lity from the *Dutch*.

Accordingly, Sir, we ſaw, the *Dutch* teſtified no Apprehen[ſions] from thoſe Treaties, or from cloſe Union thereby eſtabliſhed [be]tween the *Emperor* and *Spain*. upon this Occaſion our Miniſter Plan of Politicks produced a Effect, which has been attended with many notable Miſchiefs to this Nation, and has now at laſt quite overturned the Balance of Power in *Europe*. As *France* had moſt juſtly taken the Alarum, and found ſhe could not inſtil any Fears into the *Dutch*, ſhe had Recourſe to our Miniſter here, in order to fill our Court with Apprehenſions from thoſe Treaties, that had been concluded between the *Emperor* and *Spain* at *Vienna*. For this Purpoſe, ſhe invented a Story of her having had certain Information from *Vienna*, that

three

were ſome ſecret Articles, by
h the *Emperor* and *Spain* had
d to take *Gibraltar* and *Port*
n from us, to defeat the Pro-
t Succeſſion by reſtoring the
nder, and to ruin our Trade
Spain by granting many con-
ble Advantages to the *Empe-*
Subjects; and that the only
we had to guard againſt theſe
le Deſigns, was by entering
defenſive Alliance with her.
o' this Story was in itſelf ri-
ous, becauſe of its being im-
icable for the *Emperor* and *Spain*
ectuate any of thoſe Deſigns a-
t us: Tho' both the *Emperor*
King of *Spain* expreſsly denied
being any ſuch ſecret Arti-
Tho' they invited us to accede
e Treaties concluded between
; and tho' it was very much
Nation's Intereſt to do ſo; yet
was our Miniſter's Influence
our Councils, ſuch his Attach-
to the Plan of Politicks he
aid down for his own Conduct,
he prevailed on his late Majeſty
ve Credit to this improbable
b Story, and to conclude with
e the Treaty of *Hanover* in
mber 1725, which Treaty the
of *Pruſſia* was drawn into, by
ng him believe, that one of
Deſigns of it was, to reſtore the
ſtants of *Thorn*, and ſecure the
rvance of the Treaty of *Oliva*;
e ſoon ſaw, the other contract-
arties had no ſuch Deſign, and
fore he ſoon left them.

us, Sir, we were drawn in to
France againſt being attack'd
he *Emperor* and *Spain*, when,
ding to our ancient Plan of
icks, we ſhould rather have
oted that Attack; becauſe we
t eaſily have taken care that
er Side ſhould have puſhed the
too far, and in the mean Time
Trade would have greatly in-
ed by the Decay of the Trade
ance. I know, Sir, it will be
ſaid, that the Miniſter, whoſe Conduct is now the Queſtion before us, had no hand in that Treaty, becauſe he was not at *Hanover* when it was concluded; but as he had then the chief Direction of our Affairs, and as it is very improbable any *Engliſh* Miniſter at *Hanover* ſhould conclude a Treaty of ſuch Importance, without the Advice of the Council here, therefore the Treaty's being ſigned at *Hanover*, is no Proof of his having had no hand in it. But, I hope, it will not be pretended, that he had no hand in adviſing the Meaſures taken in Purſuance of this Treaty; and I ſhall now ſhew, that thoſe Meaſures were more pernicious, and more plainly demonſtrated his Dependance upon the Councils of *France*, than the Treaty itſelf. The Treaty was no more than a defenſive Treaty, and if *France* had been attack'd, we were thereby obliged to furniſh her with no more than 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, and that not till two Months after Application ſhould be made for them; ſo that we had not from this Treaty the leaſt Occaſion for putting ourſelves to the Expence of augmenting our Army, or of taking any foreign Troops into our Pay, till ſuch an Attack had been actually made; becauſe we ſhould then have had Time enough to provide our ſtipulated *Quota* of Troops. And ſuppoſe there had been ſome Truth in the Story of the ſecret Articles between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, we had no Occaſion to put ourſelves to the Expence of ſending out any Squadrons, till ſuch Time as we had certain Information of their providing a Fleet of Tranſports to invade us, becauſe we ſhould then have had Time enough to ſend out a Squadron ſufficient for diſappointing their Deſigns.

It is therefore impoſſible, Sir, to find out a Reaſon for the Meaſures

we

we took in Purſuance of this Treaty, any other Way than by conſidering what was the Intereſt, and what at that Time might be the Views of the Court of *France*. From thence, indeed, we may find a Reaſon, and it was, I am fully convinced, the only true Reaſon. *France* had a Mind not only to guard againſt her being attacked, but it was her Intereſt, and ſhe certainly intended, to break that Correſpondence which had been eſtabliſhed between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, and to chaſtiſe the Court of *Spain* a little for daring to take any Meaſures contrary to her Intereſt; and both theſe Ends they intended to accompliſh by Means of her Influence upon our Miniſter, without putting herſelf to any great Expence, or coming to any open Breach either with the *Emperor* or *Spain*. Was this poſſible? Yes, Sir, by making the Cat's Paw of this Nation, ſhe accompliſh'd all ſhe intended, and in the Manner ſhe intended. The Neceſſity of pulling down the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, became now the favourite Topick of all our Court Politicians and Pamphleteers; and in order to prevent the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* from carrying their dangerous Deſigns into Execution, our Miniſter prevailed upon us to ſend out two powerful Squadrons, one to inſult the *Spaniards* upon their own Coaſts, and another to prevent the Return of the *Galleons*; but as *France* did not intend, that we ſhould reap any Advantage to ourſelves, or do *Spain* any real Injury, therefore, our Squadrons were not to attack the *Spaniards* either by Sea or Land, but only to *perſuade* them, in caſe we met with them at Sea, to deliver their Treaſure into our Hands, in Truſt for the ſeveral Parties concerned.

Thus, Sir, *France* got us to chaſtiſe the Court of *Spain* for daring to take any Meaſures contrary to her Intereſt; and then ſhe made a ſpirit at that Court, of her having prevented us from doing any Miſchief to them, notwithſtanding their having declared War againſt us, and openly attacked our Town of *Gibraltar*. By this Means, ſhe laid a Foundation for getting herſelf reconciled with the Court of *Spain*, and by Means of that Reconcilement, and her Influence over our Miniſter, ſhe accompliſhed the other Point ſhe had in View, which was to create a new Breach between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. For this Purpoſe, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty became now the Mediator between us and the Court of *Spain*, and by his Mediation the Treaty of *Seville* was concluded, which created a new, and almoſt irreconcilable Breach between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*.

As by this Treaty we were brought upon the Brink of being forced to enter into a War, in Conjunction with *France* and *Spain*, againſt the *Emperor*, the whole Nation began to take the Alarum, that our Miniſter was obliged now to conſult his own Safety; and this drove him precipitately into the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, in order to prevail upon the *Emperor* to admit the Introduction of *Spaniſh* Troops into the ſtrong Places of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Piacentia*. The Treaty of *Seville* being, by this dangerous and falſe Step, fully executed upon our Part, it was natural to expect a due Performance on the Part of *Spain*; *France* having now by our Means recovered her Influence over the Court of *Spain*, and it being highly advantageous for the Trade of *France* to have Diſputes always ſubſiſting between us and *Spain*, *France* took Care that *Spain* ſhould perform every thing of what had been promiſed on her Part by the Treaty of *Seville*, except, I think, the Reſtitution

hip *Prince Frederick*, and per-
ſome of the other Ships that
been ſeized in the Ports of
at the Beginning of the Rup-
As to all our other Demands,
remained unadjuſted: The
for adjuſting them by Com-
ies expired; that Term was
and again renewed, and in
ean Time the *Spaniards* exer-
the Right they had ſet up, of
ing our Ships in the *American*
nd ſeizing ſuch of them, as
ny Goods on board, which
ere pleaſed to call *contraband*.
is, daily Depredations were
itted upon our Merchants in
eſt-Indies; daily Complaints
made to our Miniſter here;
us Affairs ſtood, when *France*,
junction with *Spain* and *Sar-*
thought fit to attack the *Em-*
n the Year 1733, with an a-
Deſign to ſtrip him of all his
ions in *Italy*.

the Beginning of the late
Sir, the Power of the Houſe
ria was thought too weak,
t the Addition of *Sicily* to
other *Italian* Dominions. A
er had been impeached for
that Houſe in ſuch a weak
ion by the Treaty of *Utrecht*:
d procured him *Sicily* at the
e of a War with *Spain*; be-
without that Addition, the
of Power in *Europe*, it was
t, could not be ſecured. We
herefore, three Reaſons for
with the *Emperor* in this new
one founded upon the gene-
ereſt of *Europe*, becauſe the
of Power would be over-
ſhould the *Emperor* be ſtript
talian Dominions: A ſecond
upon our own Honour, be-
e had but two Years before
yed the *Pragmatick Sanction*,
ch the *Emperor* was induced
t of the Introduction of *Spa-*
ops into *Italy*, which Troops
ow employed in attacking
him: And a third founded upon
our own particular Intereſt, becauſe
we could not otherwiſe expect to
obtain Satisfaction or Security from
Spain. Theſe, Sir, were weighty
Conſiderations; but the Plan of Po-
liticks our Miniſter had laid down,
prevailed over all theſe; and we
continued idle, tho' not expenceleſs
Spectators, till the Power of the
Houſe of *Auſtria* was diminiſhed by
the Loſs of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and
the Power of *France* increaſed by
the Acceſſion of *Lorain*.

During this War, the *Spaniards*
favoured us with ſome Sort of In-
termiſſion of Depredations; but as
ſoon as it was over, they renewed
them with more Vigour than ever,
and openly boaſted of their being
encouraged, and that they would be
protected againſt the Effects of our
Reſentment, by *France*. As our
Trade in general, as well as our
particular Merchants, ſuffer'd great-
ly by theſe Depredations, it was
highly the Intereſt of the Nation
to inſiſt peremptorily upon Satisfac-
tion; but as this was contrary to
the Intereſt of *France*, our Mini-
ſter's Plan of Politicks prevailed o-
ver the Intereſt of his Country, and
the Criss of his Countrymen. At
laſt ſomething muſt be done for his
Safety here at home, and at a great
Expence a Treaty was obtained, by
which we neither got Satisfaction
nor Security, but a Foundation for
another ten Years trifling Negotia-
tion. This, he found, the Nation
was too wiſe to be amuſed with,
and therefore he found himſelf un-
der a Neceſſity of entering into a
War againſt *Spain*: This War, Sir, the
Court of *France* was obliged to con-
nive at, rather than riſk the Loſs of
a Miniſter, who had ſhewn himſelf
ſo much their Slave; but how was
this War to be carried on? Accord-
ing to the Intereſt of this Nation,
it was certainly to be carried on in
the moſt vigorous Manner, in order

to make it of a ſhort Duration; and the moſt exact Care was to be taken of our Trade, becauſe there only the Enemy could hurt us: But according to the Intereſt of *France*, the War was to be carried on in that Manner, which might make it the moſt laſting, and moſt expoſe our Trade to ſuffer by *Spaniſh* Privateers; becauſe by this Means, our Trade might at laſt be ruined paſt all Redemption, and the Trade of *France* eſtabliſhed ſo, as to be out of our Power to hurt it. I ſhall leave Gentlemen to judge, in which of theſe Methods the War has been hitherto carried on; for if it has been carried on in the latter Method, it is a Proof that our Miniſter has to this very Day purſued that Plan of Politicks, which, I have ſaid, he laid down for his Conduct, at the very Beginning of his Adminiſtration.

I ſhall beg Leave, Sir, to mention two other Facts, as a farther Proof of this Plan. By the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk* were to be deſtroyed, and never to be repaired; and by a Treaty between his late Majeſty and *France*, in the Year 1717, it was ſtipulated, That no Port, Haven or Fortification ſhould be made or built at *Dunkirk* or *Mardyke*, or any other Place whatever along that Coaſt, within two Leagues of either of thoſe two Places: Yet, Sir, as ſoon as this Miniſter began to have the chief Direction of our Affairs, not only the *French* began to uſe *Dunkirk* as a Port, but it was admitted as ſuch, and as a *Flemiſh* Port too, notwithſtanding its being in the Poſſeſſion of *France*, even upon our Cuſtom-houſe Books; and great Quantities of *French* Brandies were not only allowed to be imported from thence, but to be imported as *Flemiſh* Brandies, by which they avoided paying the high Duties impoſed by Law upon *French* Brandies.

This Point being once gained, *French* ſoon began to repair the and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, ſo make the Harbour fit for very large Ships; and now they have begun to repair the tifications and erect Batteries that in Caſe of a War with we may expect to have our as much infeſted by *Dunkirk* teers, as ever it was in the War.

This, Sir, is a farther Proof our Miniſter's Complaiſance *France*; and in order to add ther to this, I muſt obſerve, both *France* and *Spain* have giments in their Service; but thoſe Regiments are ſaid to the Service of *France* or *Spain* receive their Pay from his Chriſtian or his Moſt Catholick jeſty, yet they are properly Service of the Pretender, knowledge him for their King chief Maſter. Therefore, if not Treaſon, it is ſomething like Treaſon, to aſſiſt or concur the Recruiting of thoſe Regiments in any of his Majeſty's *British* minions: Yet ſuch was our Miniſter's Complaiſance for *France*, at their Deſire he had like to incurred being guilty of this Crime. Nay, he would certainly have incurred it, and thoſe Regiments would have been recruited in theſe Kingdoms, and with Conſent of our Adminiſtration, ſome of thoſe whom he has look'd on as his Enemies, have warned him of his Danger, ſhews, that their Oppoſition to Meaſures did not proceed from lice and Reſentment, as he has ways inſinuated, but from a Regard to the Good of their try; for ſurely a malicious would have been glad to have him commit ſuch a crime, and would, therefore, have Care not to prevent his being

by fore-warning him of his
er.
ving now, I hope, Sir, ſuffi-
y demonſtrated our Miniſter's
of Politicks with regard to fo-
Affairs, I ſhall now endeavour
veſtigate and demonſtrate his
of Politicks with regard to our
ſtick Affairs; and here, he
to have laid it down as a
To govern by the ſole Means
ibery and Corruption, and for
urpoſe, to prevent our being
to leſſen our Debts, or aboliſh
f our Taxes, by running the
n every Year into extraordi-
and unneceſſary Charges, and
very other Method he could
ve. Upon his firſt Acceſſion to
le Direction of our publick Af-
we were in a fair Way of being
n a ſhort Time to pay off every
g of our publick Debt. The
Sea Scheme, by its being ſo
dly conducted, had, indeed,
many private Men, but it
f ſingular Service, and might
been made of much greater
e to the Publick. Our Irre-
bles were thereby made Re-
able: The Intereſt payable
moſt of our publick Debts
o be reduced in a few Years
five to *four per Cent*; and the
Sea Company were obliged to
ff *ſeven Millions* of our Debts
ce, by ſinking ſo much of
Capital. By theſe Means, the
g Fund would have been ſo
increaſed, that if it had been
ouſly applied, our publick Debts
have been by this Time al-
entirely diſcharged, and all
rievous Taxes aboliſhed; but
ould have very much leſſened
iniſter's Fund for Corruption,
moliſhing many of thoſe Poſts
laces which he has at his Diſ-
and therefore, according to
lan, this Effect was by all
to be prevented: The pub-
Charge was to be yearly in-
creaſed, in order to oblige us to apply the Sinking Fund to the current Service, or to run as much in Debt with one Hand, as we paid off with the other; and the Land Tax was to be repreſented as the A moſt grievous Tax to the Nation, becauſe it furniſhed him with the leaſt Means for Corruption.

In Purſuance of theſe Maxims, the *ſeven Millions* due by the *South Sea* Company to the Publick was generouſly releaſed, and the Expences B of the Civil Liſt were ſo much increaſed, that a new Debt of 500,000 *l.* was contracted in the Year 1725, for paying the Debts of the Civil Liſt, tho' the like Sum had been granted to his late Majeſty, for the ſame Purpoſe, but *four* C Years before; and upon his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion, an Addition of 100,000 *l.* a Year was made to the Civil Liſt Revenue, beſides the 115,000 *l.* which was granted for making good a pretended Deficiency in that Revenue. But what D furniſhed him with the beſt Pretence for increaſing the publick Charge, was the famous Treaty of *Hanover* in the Year 1725. For preventing the Dangers with which *Europe* was threatned from the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he did not think it ſufficient E to put this Nation to the Expence of augmenting our own Armies, and fitting out ſeveral Squadrons, but we muſt likewiſe take foreign Armies and foreign Princes into our Pay. Surely, Sir, if *Europe* had at F that Time been in any Danger from the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, this Nation was the laſt, and had the leaſt to fear, therefore we ſhould have been the laſt that put ourſelves to any Expence for guarding againſt that Danger; and G yet we were not only the firſt, but the only Power in *Europe* that put itſelf to any Expence upon that Account. The *Dutch* that lay moſt

expoſed, were ſo very little apprehenſive, that they did not ſo much as accede to the Treaty of *Hanover* till near a Year after it was made; and the *French* who had moſt to fear from an Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, put themſelves to little or no Expence, nor gave us any Aſſiſtance when we were openly attack'd by *Spain*, on Account of what we did for preventing the Danger they lay expoſed to. Whereas, we took 12,000 *Heſſians* immediately into our Pay, granted Subſidies to the King of *Sweden*, the King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Wolfembuttle*; and what was moſt extraordinary, the Subſidy to the Duke of *Wolfembuttle*, was not granted till Half a Year after we had made up Matters with the *Emperor*, and the *Heſſian* Troops were continued in our Pay for ſeveral Years after.

I muſt therefore conclude, Sir, that all the extraordinary Expence we put ourſelves to on Account of, or conſequent to the Treaty of *Hanover*, could proceed from nothing but a Deſign to prevent our paying off any conſiderable Part of our Debts, or aboliſhing any of our Taxes; and the aboliſhing of the *Salt* Duty in the Year 1730, in order to diminiſh the Sinking Fund, and reviving it again in the Year 1732, in Eaſe of the Land Tax, is a farther Proof of this Deſign. But as it would be tedious to mention all the Arguments that might be brought in Proof of this Deſign, and as I have taken up too much of your Time already, I ſhall trouble you with no more of them, except the defeating of that Scheme which was offered to this very Parliament, for reducing the Intereſt payable upon all our Funds, or for putting it out of the Power of any future Miniſter to prevent the Nation's getting rid of its Debt by Degrees. We muſt all remember by what Means, and by wh that Scheme was defeated, and ſidering how practicable it wa that Time, which, I'm afraid will never be again, we muſt think, conclude, that the Mi who defeated it, could have no ſign that our Debts ſhould ever paid, or our Taxes diminiſhed.

Before I have done, Sir, with Miniſter's Conduct, I muſt take tice of one Thing which has too often practiſed under all M ſters, and that is, the letting publick Securities ſtand out, out any Fund for their Pay till they run to a great Diſc when they are bought up by Miniſter's Friends and Tools, haps in Truſt for himſelf, and a Fund is provided for paying off at the full Price. This, has been too often practiſed all Miniſters, when they could any Opportunity for it, and has not been left unpractiſed this Miniſter. We all know a prodigious Sum the Debts du the Army, and to foreign S were at laſt brought to, which tinued for ſeveral Years to circ under the Name of Army D tures, at an Intereſt of *four per* without any Fund for paying off Principal. Moſt of thoſe D tures that were certified before 21ſt of *March* 1719, were ſubſ bed into the *South Sea* Comp but of them there remained ſcribed near 400,000*l.* and afte 21ſt of *March* 1719, new Army bentures were made out for D not before certified for near 550 ſo that for ſome Time before Year 1727, there was near a *lion* circulating in Army Debe at *four per Cent*, without any tain Fund for paying the Princ for as the Sinking Fund had appropriated to the Payment Debts contracted before the 1716, ſome People doubted

be applied to the Payment of Debentures; and as there was ys a great Number of them at ket, they came at laſt to be at above 30 *l. per Cent.* Diſ- t. But towards the latter End e Year 1726, all that could be at any Diſcount were bought nd a certain Shop in this City particularly noted for the pur- ng of ſuch Debentures. At upon the 7th of *March* 1726, ſolution was come to in this e, to pay off all thoſe Army ntures, of which publick No- was given, and by an Act of ſame Seſſion, the Sinking Fund appropriated to the paying off l theſe Debentures at their full , by which the laſt Purchaſers n a few Months above 30 *per* clear Profit.

hether the Miniſter himſelf was nally concerned in this Jobb, ll not pretend, Sir, to deter- , but ſome of his Friends were n to be concerned in it; and her he was concerned or no, is, ſure, a Queſtion that can ne- e determined as long as he has ole Direction of all our publick rs. If he was perſonally con- d, or even if he gave private ce to his Friends, it was cer- highly criminal; but as a of ſuch Facts cannot be ex- d whilſt he is in Power, and as this Motion we have no Occa- for alledging ſuch particular es againſt him, much leſs for ng them, I ſhall not men- any more of them, tho' there others, of much the ſame Na- of which he has been ſuſpect- I ſay, Sir, we have no Occa- for alledging or proving any Crimes for ſupporting this Mo- and I muſt ſay, I am greatly zed to hear, that ſome Gen- n who, I believe, mean well, ially an honourable Gentleman ſpoke ſome Time ſince, ſhould not be able to diſtinguiſh between a Motion for impeaching a Miniſter, and a Motion for removing him from the King's Councils. A Motion for an Impeachment muſt be ſupported by ſome particular Allegations of a criminal Nature, and by ſome Sort of Proof of thoſe Allegations, before this Houſe can agree to it; but a Motion for removing him is ſufficiently founded, if from the whole Tenor of his Conduct it appears in general, that he muſt either have bad Deſigns, or muſt be a very weak Man. I have explained this Miniſter's Plan of Politicks with regard both to foreign and domeſtick Affairs: I have ſhewn, I think, ſuch ſtrong Preſumptions of this being his Plan of Politicks, that we muſt conclude him either a very wicked, or a very weak Miniſter. Let us conſider, Sir, what we have to do next Summer: We are to have a general Election for a new Parliament: We are to form Alliances, and concert Meaſures for preſerving a Balance of Power in *Europe*, otherwiſe it will be irrecoverably loſt. Can we expect a fair or a free Election, whilſt we have a Miniſter at the Helm, who has laid it down as a Maxim, to govern by the ſole Means of Bribery and Corruption? Can we expect, that any of the Powers of *Europe* will enter into any Alliance or Concert with us, whilſt our Affairs are under the ſole Direction of a Miniſter who has ſhewn himſelf ſuch a Slave to *France*?

What a Danger then, Sir, muſt the Liberties of this Nation be expoſed to; what a Danger muſt the Liberties of *Europe* be expoſed to, by continuing this Miniſter but for one Year longer in Power? If the Hon. Gentleman would conſider this, Sir, I am ſure, he would not talk of returning him Good for Evil, or of doing this Miniſter and his Family that Juſtice which he denied

denied to his. To vote for continuing a Man in a Poſt which he has ſhewn himſelf to be very unfit for, is doing him neither Good nor Juſtice: It is like putting a Sword in the Hands of a Madman or Ruffian; and to continue him in the ſole Direction of our publick Affairs at ſuch a critical Conjuncture, is doing the greateſt Evil, the greateſt Injuſtice to our Country. Therefore, I hope, every Gentleman who, from this Miniſter's former Conduct, and from the preſent melancholy Situation of Affairs, both abroad and at home, thinks he has Reaſon to ſuſpect his being either a very wicked, or a very weak Miniſter, will give his Affirmative to the preſent Queſtion.

The next, and the laſt that ſpoke upon this Subject, was M. Tullius Cicero, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I CONFESS, I am at a Loſs what to ſay, or how to juſtify myſelf on this Occaſion. I had often heard, that ſome ſuch Motion was deſigned againſt me; but I was always at a Loſs to conjecture what the Hon. Gentlemen might have to ſay in Support of their Motion. My own Innocence convinced me, they had no real Crime, nor any wilful Neglect to lay to my Charge; and I therefore ſuppoſed, they had heard ſome malicious Stories, which they had given too much Credit to, and which I might eaſily ſhew the Falſehood of, when I came to hear them explained. But now I have heard the whole Charge againſt me, I do not think there is any one Part of it, except one ſingle Fact, which is not a Charge, not only againſt his Majeſty and all thoſe of his Council, but alſo againſt both Houſes of Parliament, as well as againſt me. If I were to anſwer for myſelf alone, I ſhould think my Task eaſy; but as I am to anſwer for King, Lords and Commons, it gives me great Pain, leſt their Cauſe ſhould ſuffer thro' any Incapacity in me: Yet, dangerous and painful as the Taſk is, I muſt undertake it, and ſhall be as conciſe, as the Nature of the Caſe will admit of.

I have, indeed, this Advantage, Sir, that all the Objections that can be made to the Conduct of the Adminiſtration, have been already anſwered to the Satisfaction of a Majority of both Houſes of Parliament, and I believe, to the Satisfaction of a Majority of the better Sort of People in the Nation; therefore, I need only repeat a few of thoſe Anſwers that have been already, which I ſhall do in the Order of Time in which the ſeveral Tranſactions happened, and conſequently muſt begin with our refuſing to accept of the ſole Mediation offered us by *Spain*, upon the Breach between that Court and the Court of *France*, about the latter's breaking off the intended Marriage between their King and the *Infanta* of *Spain*. I hope it will not be ſaid we had any Reaſon to quarrel with *France* upon that Account; and therefore, if our accepting of the Mediation might have occaſioned our quarrelling with *France*, we had no Buſineſs with it, unleſs we had ſomething very beneficial for ourſelves to expect by the Acceptance. A Reconciliation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* was, 'tis true, what was to be wiſhed for by all *Europe*, as well as by us, provided it had been brought about without any Deſign to diſturb our Tranquility, or the Tranquillity of *Europe*; but both Parties were then ſo high in their Demands, that we could hope for no Succeſs; and if the Negotiation had ended without Effect, we might have expected the

com-

oon Fate of Arbitrators, the
liging of both Parties. There-
as it was our Intereſt to keep
with both, I muſt ſtill think it
he moſt prudent Part we could
o refuſe the Mediation offered.
e next Step of our foreign
uſt found fault with, is the
y of *Hanover*. Sir, if I were
ve the true Hiſtory of that
y, which no Gentleman can
I ſhould, I am ſure, I could
juſtify my own Conduct; but
o not deſire to juſtify my own,
ut juſtifying at the ſame Time
ate Majeſty's Conduct, I muſt
ve, that his late Majeſty had
Information, as convinced not
him, but all thoſe of his Coun-
oth at home and abroad, that
dangerous Deſigns had been
ed between the *Emperor* and
, at the Time of their conclu-
the Treaty at *Vienna* in *May*
. Deſigns, Sir, which were
erous not only to the Liberties
is Nation, but to the Liberties
urope. They were not only to
Gibraltar and *Port Mahon* from
Nation, and to force the Pre-
r upon us, but they were to
Don Carlos married to the *Em-*
s eldeſt Daughter, who would
by have had a Probability of
ng in his Perſon, or in the Per-
f ſome of his Succeſſors, the
ns of *France* and *Spain* with
mperial Dignity, and the *Au-*
Dominions. It was therefore
y reaſonable, both in *France*
us, to take the Alarum at ſuch
gns, and to think betimes of
enting their being carried into
cution. But with regard to us,
s more particularly our Buſineſs
ake the Alarum, becauſe we
to have been immediately at-
'd.

ſhall grant, Sir, it would have
very difficult, if not impoſſi-
for *Spain* and the *Emperor*, join-
ogether, to have invaded, or
made themſelves Maſters of any of
his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Dominions; but
will it be ſaid, they might not have
invaded his Majeſty's Dominions in
Germany, in order to force him to a
Compliance with what they deſired
of him, as King of *Great Britain*?
And if thoſe Dominions had been
invaded on Account of a Quarrel
with this Nation, ſhould not we
have been obliged both in Honour
and Intereſt to defend them? When
we were thus threatened, it was
therefore abſolutely neceſſary for us
to make an Alliance with *France*;
and that we might not truſt too
much to their Aſſiſtance, it was
likewiſe neceſſary to form Allian-
ces with the Northern Powers, and
with ſome of the Princes in *Ger-
many*, which we never did, nor ever
could do, without granting them
immediate Subſidies. Theſe Mea-
ſures were therefore, I ſtill think,
not only prudent but neceſſary, and
by theſe Meaſures we made it much
more dangerous for the *Emperor* and
Spain to attack us, than it would
otherwiſe have been.

But ſtill, Sir, tho' by theſe Alli-
ances we put ourſelves upon an e-
qual Footing with our Enemies, in
Caſe of an Attack, yet, in order to
preſerve the Tranquillity of *Europe*,
as well as our own, there was ſome-
thing elſe to be done. We knew that
War could not be begun or carried
on without Money; we knew that
the *Emperor* had no Money for that
Purpoſe, without receiving large Re-
mittances from *Spain*; and we knew
that *Spain* could ſend him no ſuch
Remittances without receiving large
Returns of Treaſure from the *Weſt-
Indies*. The only Way therefore to
render theſe two Powers incapable
of diſturbing the Tranquillity of
Europe was, by ſending a Squadron
to the *Weſt-Indies* to ſtop the Return
of the *Spaniſh* Galleons; and this
made it neceſſary at the ſame Time
to ſend a Squadron to the *Mediter-
ranean*,

ranean, for the Security of our valuable Poſſeſſions in that Part of the World. By theſe Meaſures the *Emperor* ſaw it was impoſſible for him to attack us in any Part of the World, becauſe *Spain* could give him no Aſſiſtance, either in Money or Troops; and as for the *Spaniards* Attack upon *Gibraltar*, it was ſo vain, we had no Occaſion to call upon our Allies for Aſſiſtance: A ſmall Squadron of our own prevented their attacking it by Sea, and from their Attack at Land we had nothing to fear; they might have knock'd their Brains out againſt inacceſſible Rocks, to this very Day, without bringing that Fortreſs into any Danger.

I do not pretend, Sir, to be a great Maſter of foreign Affairs: In that Poſt in which I have the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty, it is not my Buſineſs to meddle with them; and as one of his Majeſty's Council I have but one Voice; but if I had been the ſole Adviſer of the Treaty of *Hanover*, and all the Meaſures that were taken in Purſuance of it, from what I have ſaid, I hope it will appear, that I do not deſerve to be cenſured, either as a weak or a wicked Miniſter on that Account; and now with regard to the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, I am really ſurpriſed to find that Meaſure objected to; it was ſo univerſally approved of, both within Doors and without, that till this very Day I think no Fault was ever found with it, unleſs it was that of its being too long delayed. If it was ſo neceſſary for ſupporting the Balance of Power in *Europe*, as has been inſiſted on in this Debate, to preſerve intire the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſurely it was not our Buſineſs to inſiſt upon a Partition of them in Favour of any of the Princes of the *Empire*. But if we had, could we have expected, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* would have agreed to any ſuch Partition, even for gaining of our Guaranty? The [illegible] of *Pruſſia* had, it is true, a Claim upon ſome Lordſhips in *Sileſia*, that Claim was abſolutely denied by the Court of *Vienna*, and not at that Time ſo much as inſiſted on by the late King of *Pruſſia*. Nay, if he had liv'd till this Time, I believe, it would not now have been inſiſted on; for he acceded to that Guaranty without any Reſervation of that Claim; therefore, muſt look upon this as an Objection which has ſince ariſen from an Accident, that could not then be foreſeen nor provided againſt.

I muſt therefore think, Sir, that our guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*, or our Manner of doing it, cannot now be objected to, nor any Perſon cenſured by Parliament for adviſing that Meaſure; but that was prudent and right in us to enter into that Guaranty, we were therefore obliged to enter into every Broil the Houſe of *Auſtria* might afterwards lead themſelves into; therefore, we were not in Honour oblig'd to take any Share in the War which the *Emperor* brought upon himſelf in the Year 1733, nor were we in Intereſt obliged to take any Share in that War, as long as neither Side attempted to puſh their Conqueſts farther than was conſiſtent with the Balance of Power in *Europe*, which was a Caſe that could not happen; for the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* was not diminiſhed by the Event of that War, becauſe they got *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, in lieu of *Naples* and *Sicily*; nor was the Power of *Spain* much increaſed, becauſe *Lorain* was a Province ſhe had always had and kept Poſſeſſion of, during every War ſhe has been lately engaged in. And as to our Diſputes with *Spain*, they were not then come to ſuch a Height, as to make it neceſſary for us to come to an open Rupture

had then Reaſon to hope, that Differences would be accommo- d in an amicable Manner; and ſt we have any ſuch Hopes, it never be prudent for us to en- ourſelves in War, eſpecially *Spain*, where we have always a very beneficial Commerce.

heſe Hopes, 'tis true, Sir, at proved abortive, but I never d it was a Crime in any one pe for the beſt. It was this of Hope that was the Cauſe of late Convention, and if *Spain* performed her Part of that minary Treaty, I am ſure, it d not have been wrong in us, ave hoped for a friendly Ac- nodation, and for that End to waited for *nine* or *ten* Months r, in which Time the Pleni- tiaries were by the Treaty to adjuſted all the Differences ling between the two Nations. as *Spain* failed in performing ſhe had agreed to by this Pre- ary, it put an End to all our s, and then, and not till then, came both prudent and neceſ- for us to begin Hoſtilities, h were accordingly begun as as poſſible after the elapſing of Time in which *Spain* was to paid the 95,000*l.* Thus the nt War began, and as I am er General nor Admiral, as I nothing to do, either with our or Army, I am ſure, I am o anſwer for the Proſecution of But were I to anſwer for every g, no Fault could, I think, be with my Conduct in the Pro- on of the War. It has from eginning been carried on with ich Vigour, and as great Care of our Trade, as was con- with our Safety at home, and the Circumſtances we were in e Beginning of the War. If ttacks upon the Enemy were ng delayed, or if they have een ſo vigorous or ſo frequent as they ought to have been, thoſe only are to blame who have for many Years been haranguing againſt regular Troops and ſtanding Armies; for without a ſufficient Number of ſuch, in Proportion to the Numbers kept up by our Neighbours, I am ſure, we can neither defend ourſelves, nor offend our Enemies.

I now come, Sir, to the Conduct of our domeſtick Affairs, and here a heavy Charge is laid, as if the Nation had been run into an extraordinary and unneceſſary Expence, in order to prevent our being able to pay off our Debts, or aboliſh our Taxes. Sir, if there be any Ground for this Charge, it is a Charge againſt both Houſes of Parliament, as well as againſt the Adminiſtration. No publick Expence has been incurred but what has been approved of and provided for by Parliament: The publick Treaſure has been duly applied to the Uſes to which it was appropriated by Parliament, and regular Accounts have been annually laid before Parliament of every Article of publick Expence. If by foreign Accidents, by the Diſputes of foreign States amongſt themſelves, or by their Deſigns againſt us, the Nation has often been put to an extraordinary Expence, that Expence cannot be ſaid to have been unneceſſary, becauſe, if by ſaving that Expence, we had expoſed the Balance of Power to Danger, or ourſelves to an Attack, it would have coſt us, perhaps, a hundred Times the Sum, before we could recover from that Danger, or repel that Attack.

In all ſuch Caſes there will be a Variety of Opinions. I happened to be one of thoſe who thought all thoſe Expences neceſſary, and I had the good Luck to have the Majority of both Houſes of Parliament on my Side of the Queſtion; but this, it ſeems, proceeded from Bri-

bery and Corruption. Sir, if any one Inſtance had been mentioned: If it had been ſhewn, that I ever offered a Reward to any Member of either Houſe, or ever threatned to deprive any Member of his Office or Employment, in order to influence his voting in Parliament, there might have been ſome Ground for this Charge; but when it is ſo generally laid, I do not know what I can ſay to it, unleſs it be to deny it as generally and as poſitively as it has been aſſerted; and, thank God! till ſome Proof be offered, I have the Laws of the Land, as well as the Laws of Charity in my Favour. Some Members of both Houſes have, 'tis true, been removed from their Employments under the Crown; but were they ever told, either by me, or any other of his Majeſty's Servants, that it was for oppoſing the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration in Parliament? They were removed, becauſe his Majeſty did not think fit to continue them longer in his Service. His Majeſty had a Right to do ſo, and I know no one that has a Right to aſk him, What doſt thou? If his Majeſty had a Mind, that the Favours of the Crown ſhould circulate, would not this of itſelf be a good Reaſon for removing any of his Servants? Would not this Reaſon be approved of by the whole Nation, except thoſe who happen to be the preſent Poſſeſſors? I cannot therefore ſee, how this can be imputed to me as a Crime, or how any of the King's Miniſters can be blamed for his doing what the Publick has no Concern in; for if the Publick be well and faithfully ſerved, it has no Buſineſs to aſk by whom.

Upon the Whole, Sir, it is a great Comfort to me to find, that my Enemies, after all their Boaſting; can lay no particular Crime to my Door, nor charge me with any one Tranſaction, at home or abroad, that has not had the Approbation of Parliament. And whatever People may think of the Wiſdom of the Adminiſtration, for I am ſure I ſhall not deſire them to think any of mine, their Conduct will ſpeak for itſelf. Our Tranquillity has been preſerved both abroad and at home notwithſtanding a moſt unreaſonable and violent Oppoſition to all our Meaſures: The true Intereſt of the Nation has been purſued: Our Trade has flouriſhed: A Part of our Debts has been paid off; and the Load of Intereſt has been very much eaſed with reſpect to that moſt unequal and grievous Burden, the Land Tax. I ſay ſo, Sir, becauſe upon Examination it will appear, that within theſe *ſixteen* or *ſeventeen* Years leſs than 8,000,000 of our Debts have been actually diſcharged, by the due Application of the Sinking Fund, and at leaſt 7,000,000 have been taken from that Fund, and applied to the Eaſe of the Land Tax; for if it had not been applied to the current Service, we muſt have ſupplied that Service by increaſing the Land Tax; and as the Sinking Fund was originally deſigned for paying off our Debts, and eaſing us of our Taxes, the applying it in Eaſe of the Land Tax was certainly as proper and as neceſſary an Uſe as it could be applied to.

But, Sir, I had almoſt forgot a Fact, which ſeems to be a particular Crime charged againſt me, I mean that relating to Army Debentures. I am ſurpriſed, Sir, that any Thing relating to this is charged upon me: Whatever Blame there may be in this Affair, it muſt be to be placed to the Account of thoſe that were in Power, when I was what they call it, the Country Gentleman: It was by them this Affair was ſet on Foot and conducted, and I came in only to pay off thoſe Publick Securities, which their Mana-

ent had brought to a great
nt, and conſequently to re-
our publick Credit from that
ch, which they had brought
t. Theſe Army Debentures
at a great Diſcount, was a
Reaſon, and the Reaſon that A
ed with the Parliament, to
he Sinking Fund firſt to the
off thoſe Debentures, but
could not apply the Sink-
und to that Purpoſe, till it
to produce ſomething con-
le, which was not till B
ear 1727. That the Sink-
und was then to receive a
Addition, was a Fact publick-
wn in the Year 1726; and if
People were quick-ſighted e-
to foreſee, that the Parlia-
would probably make this Uſe C
and cunning enough to make
oſt of their own Foreſight,
I help it, or could they be
d for doing ſo? But I defy
oſt inveterate Enemy to prove,
had any Hand in bringing
Debentures to a Diſcount, or D
had any Share in the Profits
by buying them up.

conclude, Sir, tho' I ſhall al-
be proud of the Honour of
Truſt or Confidence from his
y, yet I ſhall always be rea-
remove from his Councils and E
ce, when he thinks fit I ſhould
and therefore I ſhould think
very little concerned in the
of the preſent Queſtion, if it
ot for the Incroachment that
ereby be made upon the Pre-
ves of the Crown. But I muſt F
that an Addreſs to his Maje-
remove one of his Servants,
t ſo much as alledging any
lar Crime againſt him, is one
greateſt Incroachments that
ver made upon the Prerога-
f the Crown; and therefore, G
Sake of my Maſter, without
egard to my own, I hope all
that have a due Regard for
nſtitution, and for the Rights
and Prerogatives of the Crown, without which our Conſtitution cannot be preſerved, will be againſt this Motion.

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

Common Senſe, March 27. N° 267.

Obſervations on the Reign of Richard II. *continued from p.* 143.

FOR ſome Time after, Affairs were carried on as if with a View to the publick Good; but *Richard*, who ſeem'd as if he was made to ſerve as a Prey for Scoundrels, fell into bad Hands again: The Earl of *Wiltſhire* got Poſſeſſion of him, Body, Soul, and Underſtanding. The People, who were newly reconciled to the King, were, by the bad Meaſures this wicked Man put him upon, once more turn'd againſt him.

As Parliaments in theſe Days did not give away the publick Money without knowing why, or wherefore, the Court Minions could not divide the Treaſure of the Nation betwixt themſelves and their Slaves, as has been done in Times ſince then; they were forc'd to put the King upon extraordinary Methods of raiſing Money in order to enrich them; one of theſe was to demand Money of the City by way of Loan.

This Project did not anſwer; it was look'd upon no better than Extortion, it even occaſion'd Tumults; theſe little Tumults or Riots were talk'd of by the Courtiers as a Reſiſtance of Royal Authority, they were repreſented as a Kind of Rebellion: As a Puniſhment for which the City Charter was taken away, and the City was obliged to pay 10,000*l.* for having it renew'd again; ſo here was a fine Jobb!

By theſe Methods, the King loſt all the Remains of Affection in the Hearts of the Citizens of *London*;

and he found afterwards how weak, how fatal it muſt be for a King of *England* to draw upon himſelf the Hatred of the City.

The Miniſters perceived that all their Tricks could not procure them any real Security; as long as Parliaments kept their Integrity, the Sword muſt ſtill hang over their Heads, let their Favour and Power at Court be never ſo great, and neither Money nor Armies were to be had without Parliament.

They alſo ſaw plainly by what had already happened, that the King might be upon good Terms with his People at any Time, only by giving up his evil Counſellors: This was ſo dangerous a Situation for them, that it is no Wonder if they could not reſt quietly in their Beds, till they had contriv'd to mend it: They muſt therefore ſecure the King to themſelves at all Hazards, and how could that be done but by involving him in their Ruin, (if they muſt be ruin'd.) There was no Poſſibility of bringing this about, but by a pack'd Parliament.

They ſaw by what Kind of Miſtakes thoſe that had tried this Experiment before had miſcarried; they rectified this Miſtake, by ſeeking out in Time for ſome neceſſitous corrupt Man in every County to be named for Sheriff; they found Means of thruſting ſome Perſons of the ſame Stamp into ſome Cities and Boroughs to be returning Officers: Theſe deſperate Fellows, for ſome Reward that was offer'd them, undertook the Work, and effectually perform'd it; they got a Parliament of their own, a Parliament of Tools, a Parliament of Slaves, a Parliament of Placemen.

What an Alteration did this produce in all Affairs! One would have thought either that there had not been one indirect Thing done in all this Reign, or elſe that Parliaments had been inſtituted for nothing but to give a Sanction to the Rogueries of Miniſters. Every ſcandalous, every deſtructive Meaſure was voted to be good; no Account was given of publick Money, no Account was aſk'd.

It will be too long to enumerate all the arbitrary and wicked Proceedings of this *Rabble*, which they call'd a Parliament: Let it ſuffice that they did every Thing to defend the Nation's Enemies, and deſtroy its Friends.

I am ſorry that the Speeches from the Throne which were made to this Parliament, as well as the Addreſſes in Anſwer to thoſe Speeches, have not been tranſmitted to Poſterity; they would certainly be a Curioſity even at this Diſtance of Time: Thus much we know, that the Language of the Miniſters became the Language of Parliament, and we may be very ſure, that the Addreſſes from the Houſe, as well as the Speeches from the Throne, were the Work of the ſame Hand.

Let one Thing never be forgot, which all the Hiſtorians of this Reign have obſerv'd, That during the Sitting of this Parliament, (for I may call it a Parliament) and for ſome Time after, no Prince in the World was ever more arbitrary than *Richard* II. no Miniſters in the World ever thought themſelves more abſolute than thoſe rapacious Fellows who govern'd the Nation under him, or to ſpeak more properly, that govern'd both him and the Nation.

One weak, ignorant, corrupt Man, the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, at the Head of about 500 Perſons, of which this ſcandalous Parliament was compoſed, with thoſe in Employments, and ſuch as by arbitrary Tricks had been thruſt into the Magiſtracy of ſome of the Corporations, govern'd all call'd the Nation; while the Body of *England*, the Body of the Country, and the great Maſs of the

ion People were talk'd of and
d as a ſeditious and contemp-
Faction, that had a Mind to
a Rebellion:——Upon which
Hiſtorian makes the following
ious Obſervation:

The Time will come, (ſays he)
every individual Perſon muſt
ken into the Account; and
that fatal Day ſhall come, a
e and mercenary Gang of Place-
with their Dependants, will
und to be but ſmall in Num-
and infinitely ſmaller in Con-
tion, in Compariſon of the
e People."

he Temper and Moderation of
People in this Reign hath ſome-
in it very remarkable: Not-
ſtanding all the Grievances they
r'd during a long Courſe of
s, by the bad Meaſures of the
ernment, they never carried their
ntment higher than to the Mi-
rs; the Prince was treated with
ect and Tenderneſs, even when
had him in their Power, till
the Project of this pack'd Par-
ent had taken Effect; then in-
, and not till then, they thought
ceſſary to ſecure their Liberties
Methods not quite ſo tender.

Univerſal Spectator, April 3 and 10.

of the NEW DUNCIAD.

A LETTER *from a Gentleman in the* Temple, *to a Lady in the* Country.

MADAM,

Obedience to your Commands, I tranſmit to you the following Eliments on the *New Dunciad*, by ich your Doubts concerning the thor will be removed; by the ptations you will find, that only nobleſt Genius and beſt Satiriſt ur Age could, with ſo lively a it, laſh the Follies and Vices of Mr. *P**** has been in this e equal to himſelf, tho' ſome of our Town Criticks will not allow it: The Cenſure they paſs is, That the *Satire* is too allegorical, and the Characters he has drawn, are too conceal'd: That real Names ſhould have been inſerted inſtead of fictitious ones: In ſhort, that he ſhould have put on a Severity, which others would as heavily have cenſured. Some there are, who at this Criſis, when the *publick Dulneſs* of ten Years paſt is come under *Inquiry*, were in great Expectations of meeting with a *political Satire*; but the ingenious Author has given the World only a Satire on *Modern Life*, and the Conduct of it in general; from the *School* to the *Univerſity*, from the *Univerſity* to *Travel*, from *Travel* into the various Branches of *Dulneſs*; in which *falſe Wits* and Men of *falſe Taſte*, *falſe Philoſophers* and Men of *falſe Religion*, exerciſe their Faculties. The Poet has not particulariz'd many Follies of your Sex; however, he has not paid them any Compliment, as he has made the Sovereign of *Dulneſs* a Female, coming in all the Majeſty of a Goddeſs, to deſtroy *Science* and *Learning*: But then he has given to your Sex ſome of the greateſt Excellencies human Nature is capable of poſſeſſing. The Deſcription of *Science*, *Wit*, &c. Captives at the Footſtool of *Dulneſs*, is a Picture ſo full of Imagery, that every Figure as much preſents itſelf to your View, as if drawn by the Pencil of *Le Brun*.

Beneath her footſtool *Science* groans in chains,
And *Wit* dreads exile, penalties and pains;
There foam'd rebellious *Logick*, gagg'd and bound,
There ſtrip'd, fair *Rhet'rick* languiſh'd on the ground;
His blunted arms by *Sophiſtry* are born,
And ſhameleſs *Billingſgate her* robes adorn.
Morality, by her falſe guardians drawn,
Chicane in furs, and *Caſuiſtry* in lawn,
Gaſps, as they ſtraiten at each end the cord,
And dies when *Dulneſs* gives her page the word.
Mad *Mathefis* alone was unconfin'd,
Too mad for mere material chains to bind,

Now

Now to pure ſpace lifts her ecſtatick ſtare,
Now running round the circle finds it ſquare:
But held in ten-fold bonds the *Muſes* lie,
Watch'd both by *Envy*'s and by *Flattery*'s eye:
Oft to her heart ſad *Tragedy* addreſs'd
The dagger, wont to pierce the tyrant's breaſt.
Oft her gay ſiſter's life and ſpirit fled,
But *Hiſtory* and *Satire* held their head:
Nor coula'ſt thou, *Cheſterfield*, a tear refuſe,
Thou wept'ſt, and with thee wept each gentle *Muſe*.

The elegant Compliment paid to this diſtinguiſh'd Nobleman, is a juſt Tribute for the ſtrenuous Oppoſition he made to the Playhouſe Bill, which brought all theatrical Performances under the arbitrary Power of a Court Licencer; ſince which the Publick has been entertain'd with nothing new but Buffoon Anticks and *French* Capers. As juſt as this Compliment is to one Peer, the Satire in the following Deſcription is as juſt on ſeveral others.

When lo! a harlot-form ſoft-gliding by,
With mincing ſtep, ſoft voice, and languid eye;
Foreign her air, her robes diſcordant pride
In patch-work flutt'ring, and her head aſide,
By ſinging peers upheld on either hand,
She tripp'd and laugh'd, too pretty much to ſtand;
Caſt on the proſtrate *Nine* a ſcornful look,
Then thus in quaint *Recitativo* ſpoke:
O Cara! Cara! &c.

This Deſcriprion the Author in his Notes calls a detach'd Piece; but it is excellently introduced, as a Satire on hiring *Italians* to ſing detach'd Pieces of Compoſition, favourite Airs, and Sonatas, huddled into any Opera for Want of a Compoſer. Here the Author again pays a due Tribute to Merit, by ſhewing how injudiciouſly our Connoiſeur-Subſcribers to Operas ſuffered Mr. *Handel* to go to *Ireland*, when they give more for bad, incoherent Compoſitions in *England*. What can be nobler than theſe Lines from the Mouth of the *Phantom* call'd *Opera*, in her Addreſs to *Dulneſs*!

—Soon, ah! ſoon rebellion will commence,
If muſick meanly borrows aid from ſenſe.
Strong in new arms, lo! giant *Handel* ſtalks,
Like bold *Briareus*, with a hundred hands,
To ſtir, to rouſe, to ſhake the ſoul, he comes;
And *Jove*'s own thunders follow Mars's drums.
Arreſt him, empreſs, or you ſleep no more,
She heard, and drove him — to th' Hibernian ſhore.

Though *Satire*, Madam, in Name carries a common Idea Cenſure, not to ſay Spleen or nature; yet *Horace*, the beſt Satyriſt, in moſt Mens Opinions, an Opportunity, amidſt his Ridicule of Folly and Vice, to introduce Contraſt, and ſet up Merit and Virtue in Oppoſition to them: The intervening Light of thoſe were ſtrong enough for the Shade of the other. Our *Engliſh Horace* purſues this Method: Affected Learning, Want of publick Spirit, *&c.* are deſervedly expos'd; yet *Wyndham* and *Talbot*, *Freind*, *Alſop* and *Murray*, receive the Oblations due to Men of real Taſte, Learning and Merit.

A large Part of this Poem expoſes *flattering Dulneſs*, *cultivating* [illegible] *ken Talents*, *patronizing vile Scribblers*, *diſcouraging living Merit*, *ſetting up for Wits and Men of Taſte* in Arts *they underſtand not*.—As this is a *literary Hiſtory*, it is not ſo agreeable to the Generality of your Sex; but the ſhocking *Dulneſs*, which the Poet afterwards laſhes, every Lady who has a Son at School, will be affected with. A haughty, pedantick, tyrannical Schoolmaſter is a Character as odious and contemptible, as that of a humane, polite and learned one is amiable and worthy! Our dramatick Poets have never introduced this Species of Humour on the Stage; yet I have often thought it would make no bad Farce with proper Incidents. I would not lay the Scene in the School, for then it would become Tragedy; but the Character might be ſo repreſented as to expoſe ſeveral enormous Abſurdities which are attach'd to it.—As Mr. *P*——'s Poem is full of Machinery,

ry, you ſee all the Characters upon the Stage, as living *Dramatis Perſonæ*, or deſcending or aring upon it, like Deities and s at a Theatre.——Among ds of Dunces advancing to the ne, the Schoolmaſter is thus de-ed:

ile, lo! a ſpectre roſe, whoſe index hand
orth the virtue of a dreadful wand;
eaver'd brow a birchen garland bears,
ing with infant's blood, and mother's tears.
eſh is humbled, youth's bold courage cools, [ſchools.
ſhudd'ring, owns the genius of the
ale boy-ſenator yet tingling ſtands,
holds his breeches cloſe with both his hands.

the Speech which this formie Spectre makes, all the Errors ommon Scholaſtick Education pointed out; none are more gly or more juſtly mark'd, than univerſal Rule in our beſt-mod Schools and Royal Foundaof making all Boys make es, as if we were to have a on of Rhymers, inſtead of Men od Underſtanding. The Schooler very humorouſly ſays of his ils,

hate'er the talents, or howe'er deſign'd,
ang one jingling padlock on the mind;
et the firſt day he dips his quill;
what the laſt?——A very poet ſtill.
the charm works only in our wall;
loſt! too ſoon, in yonder houſe or hall.
truant *Wyndham* ev'ry Muſe gave o'er;
Talbot ſunk, and was a wit no more!
ſweet an *Ovid*, *Murray* was our boaſt;
many *Martials* were in *Pult'ney* loſt!

rom this the Author introduces arks on verbal Criticiſm, and very accurately depicted the Form, Look, and Speech of Maſter of *Tr*—— Coll—, *Cam-e*. A great Part of this Part he Satire is loſt to moſt Readers, not knowing the ſecret Hiſtory he venerable *Ariſtarchus*, and his ble 'Squire *Walkerus*: Nor hath profound *Scriblerus*, in his Notes, ſufficiently illuſtrated *Scipio Maffei*'s Remark, *De Compotationibus Academicis*.

From the Univerſity he changes the Scene to a modern fine Gentleman with his travelling Tutor, juſt arrived from his Tour; and the Doctor makes his *Exit* with,

But wherefore waſte I words! I ſee advance,
Whore, pupil and lac'd governor from *France*.

The learned Commentator on this Author has, contrary to modern Commentators, a Note worth tranſcribing;

Whore, pupil and lac'd governor.

"Some Criticks have objected to the Order here, being of Opinion, that the Governor ſhould have the Precedence before the Whore, if not before the Pupil: But were he ſo placed, it might be thought to inſinuate, that the Governor led the Pupil to the Whore; and were the Pupil placed firſt, he might be ſuppoſed to lead the Governor to her. But our impartial Poet, as he is drawing their Pictures, repreſents them in the Order in which they are generally ſeen; namely, the Pupil between the Whore and the Governor; but placeth the Whore firſt, as ſhe uſually governs both the other."

Theſe Characteriſticks are very ſevere on our *Petit Maîtres*, and their polite Governors, who make the Tour of *Europe* only to glean every Vice and Folly they meet with; but I am ſorry to ſay the Poet has confin'd himſelf to Truth, and there have very lately been known ſuch Tutors and ſuch Pupils. The Speech of the Governor to *Dulneſs*, in Recommendation of his Charge, is a juſt Cenſure on modern Education; I ſhall quote only that Part, which deſcribes his foreign Tour.

Intrepid then o'er ſeas and lands he flew,
Europe he ſaw, and *Europe* ſaw him too.

There

There all *thy* gifts and graces we diſplay,
Thou, only thou, directing all our way,
To where the *Seine*, obſequious as ſhe runs,
Pours at great *Bourbon*'s feet her ſilken ſons:
Or *Tyber*, now no longer *Roman*, rolls,
Vain of *Italian* arts, *Italian* ſouls;
To iſles of fragrance, lily-ſilver'd vales,
Diffuſing languor in the panting gales;
To lands of ſinging, or of dancing ſlaves,
Love-whiſp'ring woods, and lute-reſounding waves. [keeps,
* But chief her ſhrine where naked *Venus*
And *Cupids* ride the lion of the deeps.
Led by my hand, he ſaunter'd *Europe* round,
And gather'd every vice on Chriſtian ground;
Saw every court, heard every king declare
His royal ſenſe of op'ras and the fair.
The ſtews and palace equally explor'd,
Intrigu'd with glory, and with ſpirit whor'd.

This is, to the Shame of our young Gentry be it ſpoke, too juſt a Deſcription of their beginning and finiſhing their Travels; we have, however, ſome Exceptions, and ſome young Noblemen who have done an Honour to their Country *abroad*; and by acquiring a Knowledge of Men, of Commerce, of the Intereſts and Tempers of foreign Courts, with the different Policies of different Nations, will be of Service to their Country at *home*. Lord *Halifax* in the Houſe of Peers, and Lord *Quarendon* in the Commons, are illuſtrious Examples for the young *Britiſh* Gentry: Theſe have greatly ſerved their Country in the Senate, at a Time of Life when moſt others employ theirs in Pleaſure and Libertiniſm.

After the Poet's well-tim'd Cenſure on *modern Education*, he introduces a ſhort but excellent Satire on a Set of People, ſome of which you meet with almoſt in every Family; I mean the *Indolents*, to whom every Duty of Life, or neceſſary Buſineſs of it, is a Fatigue; on theſe, *Dulneſs* ſheds her Influence. You will be pleas'd at their Deſcription, and, I believe, more particularly ſo, becauſe if you change the Name of *Paridel* to *Arabel*, it is an exact Character of your Couſin.——The deſs, ſays the Poet,

——ſaw a lazy, lolling ſort,
Unknown at church, at ſenate, or
Of ever-liſtleſs loit'rers, that attend
No cauſe, no truſt, no duty, and no
Thee too, my *Paridel*, ſhe mark'd thee
Stretch'd on the rack of a too-eaſy
And heard thy everlaſting yawn confeſs
The pains and penalties of idleneſs.
She pitied, but her pity only ſhed
Benigner influence on thy nodding head.

From this Species of *Dulneſs* Author ſhifts the Scene, and duces a Character which, tho' has been drawn by other A is here repreſented with new mour. As this Satire was in to expoſe Triflers in Arts and ences, and thoſe who, thro' tation of Knowledge, were trons of them, the Author co ſuffer our modern *Antiquari* Gems and Medals to paſs ſured. It is incredible, wh ventions and Arts are practi make *Antiques*; which ſome ſons of Quality purchaſe at Rate, only becauſe they think are *antique*, and they poſſeſs Bit of Copper or Silver, the which very few in the World beſides themſelves. As partic mark'd as the Character of may ſeem, there are many of to be ſeen at *Cox*'s Auctions.

—— *Annius*, craſty ſeer, with
And well-aſſembled em'rald on his
Falſe as his gems, and canker'd as
Came, cramm'd with capons, from
Polio dines;
Soft as the wily fox is ſeen to creep,
Where baſks on ſunny banks the ſimple
Walks round and round, now
now there;
So he, but pious whiſper'd firſt this
Grant, gracious goddeſs! grant me
cheat,
O! may thy cloud ſtill cover the
Thy choicer miſt on this aſſembly
But pour them thickeſt on the
So ſhall each youth, aſſiſted by our
See other *Cæſars*, other *Homers* riſe;
Thro' twilight ages hunt th' *Athenian*
Which *Chalcis* gods and mortals call
Now ſee an *Atys*, now a *Cecrops*
Nay, *Mahomet*, with pigeon at his

* Venice, *whoſe Arms are a flying Lion.*

antient braſs, tho' not in gold,
his *Lares*, tho' his houſe be ſold;
s *Phœbe*, his fair bride poſtpone;
Syrian prince before his own;
n *Otbo*, if I vouch it true,
e *Niger*, till he knows of two.

e Impoſitions of our *Virtuoſi*,
Credulity and Folly of thoſe
come their Dupes, are more
expos'd by the Author's ha-
ade *Annius* himſelf confeſs
, and ridicule the laſt.
he Scenery of this Poem
, and new Characters ap-
e ingenious Author has fol-
he dramatick Rule, of ſhew-
Humour of each Character
nger, by ſhewing a contraſt
er to it. *Annius* has an Op-
Connoiſeur in *Mummius*, a
o in *Syrian* Coins and *Egyp-*
ummies; but the two Cha-
which will pleaſe you moſt,
at you are acquainted with;
oſo Floriſt, and Virtuoſo But-
ancier; they are deſcrib'd

e, with weeds and ſhells fantaſtick
own'd.

have a great Cauſe to try,
peal to the Goddeſs:

rſt thus open'd: Hear thy ſuppliant's
all,
at queen, and mother of us all!
om its humble bed, I rear'd this
ow'r;
and chear'd with air, and ſun, and
he paper ruff its leaves I ſpread,
ith the gilded button tip'd its head;
oon'd in glaſs, and nam'd it *Caroline*,
d cry'd, *charming!* and each youth,
vine!
re's pencil ever blend ſuch rays,
y'd light in one promiſcuous blaze?
ſtrate, dead, behold that *Caroline!*
cries, *charming!* and no youth, *di-*
ine!
the wretch whoſe vile, whoſe inſect
gay daughter of the ſpring in duſt;
him! or to the *Elyſian* ſhades
ny ſoul! where no *Carnation* fades!

pathetick Exclamation of the
ant is rais'd with a pleaſing
Solemnity, which is ſtill
n'd by

He ceas'd, and wept.

His Adverſary's plain Behaviour and narrative Speech are finely contraſted to the Paſſions being affected, and the Luxuriancy of Deſcription in the foregoing Quotation.

A ——With innocence of mein
Th' accus'd ſtood forth, and thus addreſs'd the queen: [wing
Of all th' enamell'd race, whoſe ſilv'ry
Waves to the tepid *Zephyrs* of the ſpring,
Or ſwims along the fluid atmoſphere,
One brighter ſhin'd; this child of heat and air
I ſaw, and ſtarted from its vernal bow'r
The riſing game, and chas'd from flow'r to flow'r;
B It fled, I follow'd; now in hope, now pain;
It ſtop'd, I ſtop'd; it mov'd, I mov'd again:
At laſt it fix'd——('twas on what plant it pleas'd) [ſeiz'd:
And where it fix'd, the beauteous bird I
Roſe or carnation was below my care,
I meddle, goddeſs, only in my ſphere;
I tell the naked fact, without diſguiſe,
C And to excuſe it need but ſhew my prize;
Whoſe ſpoils this paper offers to your eye,
Fair, e'en in death, this peerleſs *Butterfly*.

After this Conteſt the Goddeſs applauds them both; and, in a Speech, ſhe recommends it to the Inveſtigators of Nature to amuſe themſelves only in Trifles.—From hence the Author introduces an admirable Satire on Trifiers in Philoſophy and Religion,

And vindicates the ways of God to man.
Eſſay on Man.

E Here, Madam, the modern Freethinkers, that is, wild and enthuſiaſtick Scepticks, are not only cenſur'd, but confuted; and with the Satiriſt and Poet you find blended the Philoſopher and Divine.

F The laſt Scene of the Poem (to keep to my dramatick Paralle!) which is to produce the Cataſtrophe, ends with great Propriety. The Stage is full of all the Goddeſs's Votaries, whom ſhe receives with Pleaſure; to teſtify which, an *old Wizard* preſents them with the *Cup*

G of *Self-Love*,

Which whoſe taſtes, forgets his former friends,
Sire, anceſtor, himſelf: One caſts his eyes
Up to a ſtar, and like *Endymion*, dies;

A feather shooting from another's head,
Extracts his brain, and principle is fled;
Lost is his God, his country, every thing,
And nothing left but homage to a *king*.
The vulgar herd turn off to roll with hogs,
To run with horses, or to hunt with dogs;
But sad example! never to escape
Their infamy, still keep the human shape.

After having describ'd the endowing them with Impudence, Stupidity, Self-conceit, venal Interest, Degeneracy, Luxury, affected Wit, and affected Wisdom,

Then blessing all, Go, children of my care,
To practice now, from theory repair;
All my commands are easy, short and full;
My sons, be proud, be selfish, and be dull:
Guard my prerogative, assert my throne:
This nod confirms each privilege your own.

Which is for *Dukes*, *Earls* and *Lords* to personate *Running-Footmen*, *Jockies*, *Stage-Coachmen* and *Fidlers*, &c. &c.

The Conclusion of this Poem the Author has made like that of our modern dramatick Pieces—without any Conclusion at all.—*Deest* Finis may seem an odd Expression, but the Annotator thus explains it: "It is impossible to lament sufficiently the Loss of the rest of this Poem: It is to be hop'd, however, that the Poet compleated it, and that it will not be lost to Posterity, if we may trust a Hint given in one of his Satires,

Publish the present age, but where the text
Is vice too high, reserve it for the next."

I cannot, Madam, conclude without one more dramatick Comparison: As you have seen some Pieces on the Stage end in a universal *Groan*, or Chorus of *Yawns*, our Author concludes his Poem with an universal *Yawn*, and both are the Effects of *Dulness*. But in the Effects are so entertaining, that I cannot end my Epistle better than in transcribing the Description of them.

She *yawn'd*—all nature nods:
What mortal can resist the yawn of gods?
Churches and chapels instantly it reach'd,
(St. *James*'s first, for leaden *G–lb–t* preach'd)
Then catch'd the schools, the hall
awake,
The convocation gap'd, but could
Lost was the nation's sense, nor could
While the long solemn unison went
Wide and more wide it spread o'
realm;
Ev'n *Palinurus* nodded at the helm;
The vapour mild o'er each committee
Unfinish'd treaties in each office
And chiefless armies doz'd out the
And navies yawn'd for orders on the

Craftsman, April 3. N° [illegible].

REMARKS on a Pamphlet, *written by a* BY-STANDER.

Mr. D'Anvers,

FROM the Author's calling himself *Stander*, I suppose he would
believe he is intirely a disengaged
partial Writer; but he soon convinces
the contrary. The many Invectives
one Half of the Nation, the many
Passages, which can only tend to
plainly shew how interested the
and may sufficiently prove, that the
mance, if not written, is at least
by a *Person*, who has just Cause to
the Indignation of an injured People
has now no Shelter to protect him
Justice, but what he may hope to
spreading Jealousies, and fomenting
in those Places, and amongst those
whom the People look upon as
fenders and Protectors; like a Thief
when he has committed a Robbery,
to the House, that in the Hurry
fusion he may more easily escape.

All the Zeal and Party Madness
appeared just after the Restoration, to
saddle the present Set of *Tories* with
Behaviour, as dutiful Subjects, and
tion to their Neighbours, for many
past, have given no Foundation for
picions; and the Corruptions of the
Parliament, in *Charles* IId's Time,
pleased to ascribe to the same Person
Party Measure, with just as much
as if I should ascribe to the present
Whigs all the Corruption of this
and his Adherents, because they
to call themselves *Whigs*; which if I
should deserve to be branded for a
mous Incendiary and Liar.

The Corruptions of those Times,
some succeeding, are sufficient to
there are corrupt Knaves of all
which I hope will be an Admonition
ry honest Man, to let all Party
drop, and to unite together upon
mon Principle, to destroy Corruption
to preserve Liberty.

true, the *Tories* have been more ge-
and more conjointly, Oppoſers of
hemes of this *noble Perſon*, than the
at whoſe Head he artfully ſet him-
y which Device he gained many a
eaning Man into his Aid, which he
ever have done but by ſuch Deluſions;
beſt amongſt them have at laſt found
t, and I hope will uſe him accordingly.
never he could prevail upon a *Tory* to
the Oppoſition, he then became a
xcellent *Whig*: That has been his
ſtone: Oppoſe me, and you are a *Tory*
cobite, (for thoſe Names he has been
pleaſed to join;) but receive the Wa-
Sin, and be my Friend, and you are
a *Whig* as ever I deſire to employ.
ever will impartially compare the
s of this *noble Perſon*, and the Paſſages
hinted at in the *By-Stander*, muſt
e convinced, that he had no other
in fomenting Party Diſtinctions, but
was uſeful to him in his Schemes, of
ing the national Expence, and keeping
anding Army in Time of Peace.

cher Argument which the *noble Author*
uſe of for keeping up a ſtanding Army
ne of Peace, is, that the Princes on
ntinent, inſtead of ſpending their Mo-
on Tilts and Tournaments, *now em-
ir Expences in rendring themſelves terrible
r Neighbours; and fortified Towns and
s are the ſovereign Game they hunt after.*
on after he tells us, *that the regular
of France, in Time of Peace, amount to
00,000 Men, which, if there be Occa-
re readily augmented to* 300,000; *or a
greater Number, out of their eſtabliſhed
*; that the Troops of the King of
ia at preſent amount to about 50,000
and the late King of *Pruſſia*, in the
of profound Peace, kept up 100,000
ined Soldiers; and then moſt ſagely re-
, that their military Expences are not
for Pomp and Ornament.

By-Stander takes no Notice of the
of the late Emperor, which, in the
of the late King of *Pruſſia*, was not
inferior to the Power of *France*, and
by wiſe Management, have been
ed as a Balance to *France*; but the
of *Auſtria* has been too often forgot
noble Author*, and his Argument now
ſhews the Reaſon why; for if the
of *Auſtria* had been preſerved from
ction, and we had not run into the
of *Hanover*, and ſuch unnatural Trea-
nd Negotiations, but ſteadily perſe-
in the ancient Alliance, there could
been no Pretence for keeping up ſuch
my, which we have always had on
We therefore have now no Reaſon
nder why the Houſe of *Auſtria* was
ſted, and the Houſe of *Bourbon* protect-
he Whole is explained by the *By-Stand-*
er; and theſe are the Politicks, which have coſt ſo many Millions, and at laſt may end in the Deſtruction of our Liberties.

P. 27, he ſays, *Our publick Credit is now interwoven with the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; the Support of our Government, the Property of Millions, and the Continuance of our Trade and Manufactures depend upon this Credit; and it is certain, that any conſiderable Reduction of our diſciplined Troops would immediately affect it.*

Does the Author by *publick Credit* mean that *fictitious Wealth*, called *Paper Credit*; that imaginary Wealth, which has made us believe ourſelves worth Millions, without adding one Farthing of real Riches to the Nation; that Wealth, which has run us into the moſt prodigal Luxury, without any Foundation to ſupport it; that Wealth, which has made us wantonly uſe double or treble the Quantity of our Commodities and Manufactures at home, which ought to have been ſent to foreign Markets to have brought home real Wealth; that Wealth, which employs ſo many Labourers in making Gardens and building ſtately Edifices, which are of no Service to the Publick, in Prejudice to the laborious Farmer, by whoſe Care we ſubſiſt? And laſtly, is this the Wealth, which if you ſend ten Millions of it to any foreign Market, for an Ounce of Pepper, a Drachm of Silk, or a Pint of Wine; I ſay, ten Millions of it can't be traffick'd in a foreign Market, for the loweſt Commodities in Quantity and Quality, but there will be a Balance againſt us? Is this the Wealth, which the *noble Author* ſays ſupports our Government? And muſt this Wealth, which is only imaginary, be the Cauſe of keeping up ſtanding Armies and Taxes, which, we are ſure, is deſtructive of Trade, which is confeſs'd to be dangerous to Liberty? And muſt imaginary Wealth, burdenſome Taxes, and dangerous ſtanding Armies be kept up to preſerve a Government founded upon the Principles of Liberty? Yet this is the Compliment our *noble Author* pays to the Government.

Theſe Arguments are further Proofs, that the *noble Perſon* I have hinted at, during the Courſe of his Ad———n, has had nothing ſo much in View, as to make it neceſſary for the People of *England* to ſubmit to a ſtanding Army; but he has never opened himſelf ſo freely as to the Largeneſs of the Army before; which now he only ventures upon by Implication. Firſt, he endeavours to ſhew how eaſily we may be invaded, by giving ſeveral Inſtances of intended Invaſions, which have proved unſucceſsful; then he is pleaſed to make a ſpeculative Invaſion of 30,000 Men from one Part of *France*, and as many from another Part of *France*. At the ſame Time, *Ireland* and *Scotland* to be

invaded from *Spain* and *Sweden*; let us ſuppoſe 15,000 Men each, this will make an Army of 90,000 Men; our Fleet is to be of no Service, for that is to be employed in looking upon the *French* Fleet at *Breſt*, and another powerful *French* Army ready to embark. All the People of *England*, except the Soldiers, are intirely uſeleſs againſt *Men that are brought up with exquiſite Skill in the Art of ſlaughtering their Fellow-Creatures.*

The Queſtion is, how conſiderable an Army will be neceſſary to be kept on Foot to defend us againſt ſuch an Invaſion, ſo as to man our Sea-Coaſt againſt the *Enemy*, and not to leave the inland Country unwatched againſt the Malecontents at home. I ſhould think the leaſt that can be thought of in *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland* will be 200,000 Men. So this Argument I think proves how careleſs a *M——r* this *noble Perſon* was, that rather than let us know our Danger, he ſuffered the *Britiſh* Dominions to be expoſed to the Invaſion of *France* for ſo many Years together, with not above 30 or 40,000 Men to defend *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*. This ſeems to be a merry Argument; but really I think it is a natural one. Beſide this, I preſume it will prove what I have already obſerved, that his Intention of raiſing the Power of *France*, was to make a ſtanding Army neceſſary, and as the Power of *France* increaſed, he would have made it an Argument to increaſe the Number of our Land Forces.

Another Argument he makes uſe of, to ſhew that a ſtanding Army is not to be feared, is, that the Power of the Crown is not ſo conſiderable now as it was formerly; to prove the ancient Power of the Prerogative, he cites the Exactions of *William* II. and he might with the ſame Propriety have told us, *Cromwell*, by his Prerogative, canton'd out the Provinces of *England*, and put them under the abſolute Authority of his *Major-Generals*. If he ſhall ſay, that *Cromwell* was an Uſurper, what other Right had *William Rufus*, during the Life of his elder Brother *Robert*, but the Length and Sharpneſs of his Sword? To have proved the ancient Prerogative at this Time, he ſhould have ſhewn what it was under the *Saxon* Laws, not what it was tyrannically ſet up by a Conqueror and his Son.

This zealous *Whig* calls the lawleſs Exaction of *Ship-Money* in *Charles* Iſt's Time, an Act of the Prerogative; whereas, every Friend to Liberty diſclaimed and oppoſed it, and that Friend to Monarchy, Lord *Clarendon*, pronounced it to be an illegal Seizure of the People's Property, and founded upon ſuch Poſitions, as would give the Crown an equal Claim to the Remainder of their Eſtates. In ſhort, to prove that the juſt Power of the Prerogative was greater before the Revolution, than it was agreed to be, when Revolution was ſettled, he ſhould have ved the *Bill of Rights* to have been with Lies, ſince that Bill was only tory of what were the Rights of the ple.

A *Common Senſe* of this Day has from a Correſpondent, containing for ſettling the Affairs of *Europe*: upon it to be wholly chimerical, but juſt tell our Readers what it is, viz. cure *Europe* againſt *France*, by a ance of *England*, *Spain*, the *Italian* nions in the Hands of *Spaniſh* Princes, *dinia*, *Pruſſia*, the *Dutch*, and *Hanover*, B he propoſes to be ſurrendered to the upon his Marriage with a *Pruſſian* Pr and the Prince of *Orange* to have the *ſtrian Netherlands.*

Common Senſe, April 10. N° 169.

Upon the Subject of the foregoing Criti

C THE chief Scope and Drift of the *Stander* is, firſt, to ſupport a Not ever keeping up a ſtanding Army in Iſland; for he ſays, p. 11. that the Ma nance of a conſiderable regular Land For *at all Times* requiſite to the Safety and pineſs of this Country. In the next and indeed the Bulk of the Pamphlet D to be intended ſlily to furniſh Reaſon for a large Civil Liſt, and for a Miſa tion of the publick Money: I don't whether the preſent Civil Liſt will for his Scheme; for he ſpeaks of an *Æ brium* to be obſerved in regard to the of the Crown, and of the People; and culates that at the Revolution, the P tion of the Crown Revenue to that E People was as 1 to 41; ſo that he ſeem want near Half our Eſtates at once to bliſh an *Æquilibrium*: Nay, he carries Matter ſo far as to affirm, p. 110, that Weight of the Crown would have very conſiderably, *if K.* James *had* ſatisfied *with the Revenue then ſettled*; Revenue he repreſents to exceed two *per Annum*; and he adds, that *he could* F *have kept his Power fixed at the ſame without* ſeizing *upon an additional Share Property of the Kingdom.* Bleſs me! does he mean? Would there not be the Reaſon to do ſo at this Time—if were any Reaſon in what he ſays? I not be ſurprized after this, if ſome Blunderer did improve upon his Argu G and ſay that an *Æquilibrium* would keep Things ſtock ſtill, which is a Stop tion; or elſe would be wavering, a dangerous Struggle; and that there there ought to be an *Overpoiſe* in Behalf

own; or the whole landed Property in the King, as it is in *Turky* in the Signior.

other Part of this Writer's Drift, is to us, by reviving the unhappy fooliſh Names of *Whig* and *Tory*. Beſides, I it is plain, that the Pamphlet tends to provoke, and invite the *French* to own their Forces to the Provinces on aſt next to us; for it openly intimates, the Fitneſs of our putting ourſelves in dition to make a powerful Deſcent on ndy and *Britany*; at the ſame Time it out the Ways whereby *France* might us, p. 16, 17.

Author argues, p. 6, 7, from *France* in Time of Peace 200,000 Men of r Forces, and beſides 100,000 eſtab- Militia, that it is abſolutely neceſſary ery neighbouring State that would pre- its *Exiſtence*, to ſupport a conſiderable of diſciplin'd Troops; and that the ut- Vigilance of our Fleet cannot be ſure nder an Invaſion.

rk,——Are not the *Switzers* Neigh- to *France*? And tho' they are not en- d by the Sea, and are divided among ſelves into ſmall States, yet they have ne Regiment or Troop of what we call r Forces; but all are Militia, and were leſs afraid of *France* than in this pre- ge. How unhappily for his own Scheme this Writer mention that *France* has her ia trained; when it lays him open to Reply, Then why ſhould not we have Militia trained too? For this is the na- proper, ſafe, and well-pleaſing Man- f Defence for a free People: When our are in the Hands of thoſe we can rely ur Freeholders and Tenants, their Sons ervants, we are ſecure; but with what ity can we rely wholly on the common ry, ſeduced to liſt in the Service for a ea, and a Crown to be ſpent; whom nd, tho' the Service be nothing but Idle- nd Lounging, often to deſert at the Pe- their Lives; the only Action of Dan- hey are concern'd in; how, I ſay, ſhall ly on them, when double Pay, Premi- or Diſcharge, or whatever they will ſhall be offer'd on the other Side?

his Author is aware of two Inſtances h entirely deſtroy his own Poſition: firſt is, that the reducing the Land s to 7000 in K. *William*'s Reign, was ded neither with Danger or Fears; tho' *French* (as he ſays) had then 300,000 ve- Soldiers under our Noſes; and Plots Aſſaſſinations againſt our glorious Mo- were perpetually concerted. (His ſeem- o imagine, that a Force of about 20,000 kept up here, would have hindred , with its mighty Army cloſe-adjoin- from ſeizing the *Spaniſh* Monarchy for his Grandſon, is too ridiculous to be anſwer- ed.) The other Inſtance was in the late War in Q. *Anne*'s Reign in 1708, when we had but 7000 Men here, knew of the in- tended Invaſion, yet augmented not our Troops, nor ordered that any ſhould be brought from *Flanders* till Advice ſhould come that the *French* were landed. This he repreſents as a mighty Danger, and ſays, p. 9, that had the News of their Retreat been delayed a few Hours longer, *the Bank of* England *would have been abſolutely ruined.* Now, what Grounds can he have to ſay this? If the Bank had ſtopt Payment, it would not have been *ruined*, nor would any of its Creditors have loſt a Penny of their Money; for the Bank, it is well known, employs the Money depoſited with them in Loans on Parliamentary Securities, ſuch as are in a ſhort Time to be paid off, as the Land and Malt-Tax Tallies: There is but little employed in diſcounting Merchants Bills, which yet are uſually payable in two Months; ſo that if there be a Demand at any Time on the Bank for a greater Part of the Caſh de- poſited with them than they have at that Time in their Hands, they muſt neceſſarily ſtop Payment; but the Money is well ſe- cured, and they will pay again in a few Months without a Penny Loſs to any one. It is not the ſame Caſe as when a private Banker ſtops, who often, thro' Hopes of ex- traordinary Gain, puts out great Part of the deposite Money on hazardous Securities; and when he ſtops, it is becauſe the Money is loſt and gone.

But here, perhaps, it may be aſked, How comes it that we were ſecure in thoſe Times with 7000 Men, and cannot be ſo now? I anſwer, it was becauſe the People were then content with the Securities they had for the Conſtitution, and were very zealous for the Preſervation of it; I mean they had then in Force the Act for *Triennial Elections*, the darling Law and invaluable Privilege of the People, the beſt Event of the Revolution, the Law which Q. *Anne* ever conſider'd as ſa- cred; and which is now the earneſt preſſing Deſire of the People to have reſtored. The People then looked wholly to a Parliament for a ſpeedy Redreſs of every Grievance, and did uſually ſoon find one; and ſo will again, when this their moſt reaſonable Requeſt is granted.

Now let us come to his chief Point, which is to ſhew that K. *Charles* and K. *James* had each a monſtrous immenſe Civil Liſt, the Grants of which he calls *the pecuniary Exploits of the Tories*: Yet I muſt here remind him of his other Paragraph, where he reckons they were not enough for the due *Æquilibri- um*. In order to make out the Matter, he would have the Whole of the Money grant- ed for the publick Service, Part of which (in the

the Days of long Parliaments) might be misapplied by the Miniſters, to paſs for Part of the Civil Liſt, and calls it by the tender Phraſe of *Money* obtained *for the Civil Liſt*. I hope no ſuch Caſe has happen'd ſince, and that the Drift of this Pamphlet is not to palliate it with Pretence of Precedent, in Caſe a ſtrict Scrutiny ſhould happen, and ſuch a Thing appear.

In p. 48. he maintains, that before the Revolution the whole ordinary Revenue of the State was in the Power of the Crown, and called the Revenue of the Crown, without any Diſtinction of what was allotted for the Civil Liſt: Which Point concerning the Want of Diſtinction, upon which his whole Scheme depends, I do poſitively deny, and will ſhew the contrary from the Words of the Acts of Parliament.

At the Reſtoration, *viz.* 12 *Car.* II. the Parliament granted to the King, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, the *Poſt-Office* and the *Wine-Licences*, as an Addition to the Crown Eſtate. Beſides theſe, they granted to him, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, that Part of the Exciſe called the *hereditary Exciſe*: This was in the Nature of a Purchaſe, being in lieu of the Court of *Wards and Liveries*. Beſides this, they granted another like Exciſe, uſually called the *temporary Exciſe*; but this latter was granted to him, the *Act* ſays, as a *ſingular Piece of Gratitude*, and ſo was only during his Reign, and might or might not be continued to the Succeſſor. And theſe, *viz.* the *Poſt-Office*, the *Wine-Licences*, the *hereditary* and *temporary Exciſe*, together with thoſe called the *ſmall Branches of the Crown Revenue*, were all the ſettled, ſtanding Civil Liſt Funds that K. *Charles* II. had by the Grants made him at the Reſtoration.

It is true, there were ſome occaſional Gifts both then and after, during this Reign, (for the Exciſe Duties in thoſe Times produced nothing like what they do now) and what was ſo given for the King's Uſe appears by the Wording of the Acts; and what was given for the national Service, but its intended *Uſe* ſpecified in the Act, which is a plain *Appropriation*. So that (if we except two Items of the ſmaller Branches, *viz.* the *firſt Fruits* and the 4½ *per Cent.* on *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward Iſlands*, which have ſince been otherwiſe diſpoſed of) the ſettled, ſtanding Civil Liſt Funds were then exactly the ſame as at preſent; with this Difference however, that the Produce of them upon the Whole is now vaſtly more than it was then; and beſides, there is 120,000*l. per Annum* added to them from out of the Aggregate Fund, to be paid by weekly Payments. And moreover the *Guards* and *Garriſons* were then to be paid out of the Civil Liſt Funds; for the Parliament made no Proviſion for them: And according to this Author, the King then kept a Regiment of Foot and a Regiment of Horſe for his Guard.

The *Cuſtoms*, or what is called the Act on *Tunnage and Poundage*, was granted to the King for Life; but it was plainly appropriated by the Words of the Act, *appropriated for the national Service*, viz. *the Guarding and Defence of the Seas*, which included the whole Sea Service.

In about two Years after the Reſtoration, *viz.* 13 and 14 *Car.* II. there was granted to the King, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, an additional Revenue, called the *Hearth-Money*, which at firſt produced 100,000*l. per Annum*, and by the Time of the Revolution was improved to 245,000*l. per Annum*, which was the ſad Grievance on the People, helped to bring about that Event, and at the Revolution was abolished. But in the Year after the *Hearth-Money* was granted, the *Poſt-Office* and *Wine-Licences* were ſeparated from the Crown, and ſettled on the Duke of *York* and his Heirs Male.

K. *James*'s Civil Liſt Funds were the ſame as his Brother's, only with the Addition of what had been ſettled on him out of the Exciſe during his Brother's Reign. And the Duties mentioned in this Writer, of *Duties on Malt and Vinegar*, and on *Tobacco and Sugar*, which he calls *Crown Revenue*, are all appropriated by the Words of the Act, *for Repairs of the Navy and Ordnance, providing Stores for Navy and Ordnance, Payment of Debts due to his late Majeſty's Servants, and other important Occaſions*. The other Duty he mentions, which was granted *for five Years of the Impoſition on French Wines, &c.* which by his Account produced 93,710*l. per Ann.* was granted by the Words of the Act, *for extraordinary Occaſions, and ſuppreſſing the Duke of* Monmouth's Rebellion.

Now I will conclude with drawing up a *Propoſition*, in Imitation of the Author's Manner.

Prop. If upon an Increaſe of the Civil Liſt, the Demands thereon do increaſe in equal Proportion, and the Diſaffection of the People be increaſed on that Score; the Crown is no Ways enriched thereby, but have nothing more to beſtow, either in Grants, or in Expences that are purely Juntary: It may be nominal Plenty and real Want. But the true and beſt Method of increaſing the Civil Liſt is, by ſuch good Laws as the *Penſion Bill* and the *Place Bill*.

I am, Sir, &c.

Craftſman, April 10. N° 813.

One who ſigns himſelf Anti-Skreen, *ſends us Extracts from the* Caſe of the Merchants, *as ſumm'd up by Mr.* Glover, *of whom*

…e ſame Account in our laſt, p. 144, and ſhall only ſet down the Introduction to this …ter, as follows.

HAT a Man, who has been at the Head of *all* Offices, ſhould be called to …unt only for his Miſbehaviour in *one*, ap- to be a very extraordinary Strain of …y, and what very ill agrees with the …rſal Demand of Juſtice, that is ſtill …d from every Corner of the Kingdom. …r my Part, I ſee no Reaſon, why his …ence over the Secretaries of all Kinds, … of Trade, Navy, Victualling, Admi… Negotiators abroad, and Commiſſion… home, is not as liable to Suſpicion, …conſequently as worthy of Inſpection, as …onduct in his own immediate Depart…

…caſionally he has ſtood forth, and ac…ledged himſelf to be the *firſt Mover* of …hole Machine; has taken upon him to …er for the Succeſs of Treaties, the diſ…g Perſons from his Majeſty's Service, …eir conſcientious Behaviour in St. *Ste*… Chapel, the Conduct of the War, and …ſt every other Branch of Government. …t, not to inſiſt upon his own Confeſſion, …now he has done all Things, and there… nothing is more reaſonable, than that …ould be anſwerable for all Things. …hat this was the general Expectation, I …e nobody can deny; and why ſuch ex…inary Exemptions ſhould be made, as I …e nobody can, ſo I believe nobody will …pt to account.

…m led into theſe Reflexions by having …read over the *Caſe* of the *Merchants*, as …admirably ſumm'd up at the Bar of the … of Commons, by Mr. *Glover*; from …ce I cannot help concluding, that if he …o other Guilt to anſwer for, than what … chargeable with from the Cloud of …eſſes, which appeared on that Occaſion, …ught to have been impeached without …

Common Senſe, April 17. N° 270.

…ſion of the Obſervations on the Reign of Richard II. *(See p. 183.)*

…is a fundamental Maxim of the Con…itution, That the King can do no …g; of Conſequence his Counſellors and …ers muſt be anſwerable for all the Er… his Government.——This Maxim is …d in Juſtice and Wiſdom, for the King …es nothing himſelf: If without taking …dvice of his Council, he ſhould order … his Miniſters to do an unjuſt or an il… Act, they ought to refuſe it. (for Example) he ſhould command the …ellor for the Time being to ſet the Great Seal to ſome illegal Grant or Patent, or the Secretary of State to ſend Orders to an Admiral or General in Time of War, to let the Enemies gain ſome Advantages, they muſt anſwer theſe Things with their Heads, becauſe it was their Duty to ſet the King right; if after they have ſet the King right, he ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in having the Thing done, they ought to reſign their Employments, and this is the worſt that could happen to them: But if they are ſo paſſionately fond of Place, that they had rather be the Inſtruments of any Miſchief to their Country, than run the Hazard of being out of Favour at Court, and when they come to be called to an Account, plead the King's Orders,—— they are to be hanged,——ſo the Conſtitution is preſerved, and there is no great Harm done;——it is in this Senſe only, that the King can do no Wrong.

In one of our late Diſcourſes we took notice of the Tenderneſs, which the People ſhewed to the Perſon of *Richard* II. This Tenderneſs was at length worn out; as ſoon as they ſaw the Project of a pack'd Parliament put in Execution, other Sentiments ſucceeded.

As this Project was an Experiment that had never been tried before, it is no Wonder if our Miniſters (who were none of the wiſeſt) had not taken the Precautions neceſſary to make it operate to all the Purpoſes for which it was intended, that is to ſay, to diſable the Conſtitution for ever, or, to uſe the Language of our late Corruptor, *that all Miniſters might from that Time do what they pleaſed.* The Precaution they omitted was, that they did not raiſe and eſtabliſh an Army within the Kingdom, which this Parliament would certainly have given them, and would have tax'd the People for the Support of it: They were extremely weak to imagine, that the Nation would ſubmit to arbitrary Laws made by a pack'd Parliament, were they not kept in Awe by a military Force.

Notwithſtanding this, the Miniſters thought themſelves ſafe; the Heads of the Oppoſition were many of them dead, and many exiled, and the Conſtitution appearing diſabled, they ſaw nothing to check them. It is common for Men that want Judgment, never to ſee Danger till it is ready to fall upon them; it was the Caſe of our Corruptor the other Day, to which (next to his natural Diſpoſition) we may attribute his continual Inſolence.

Thus being free from Fear and Controul, all Affairs went worſe and worſe, and the Miniſters ſaw the Nation inſulted and deſpiſed by all the World without the leaſt Concern. The *Scots* ravaged the Borders, our Poſſeſſions in *France* were reduced almoſt to nothing, and the *French Corſairs* plunder'd our Merchants upon the Seas. In the Midſt

of

of these Ruins and Disgraces, every Project was put in Execution that might tend to encrease the King's Revenue, and, as if the sole Business of Ministers had been to rob, all the Tricks to draw Money out of the Pockets of the People, were talk'd of and represented by their Tools as Instances of their Wisdom and Abilities.

The Nation, sensible of its deplorable Condition, thought it Time to take care of itself; but how was this to be done? If they sought Redress from the Constitution, they must seek in vain, it had not Strength enough left to relieve them: What would it avail to demand Trials or Impeachments against the Ministers, or to apply for Justice in any Shape to such a Parliament as this? The certain Consequence would be to see Votes and Resolutions pass'd to give a Sanction to all their Thefts and Robberies, and to censure their Accusers; and what would be more grievous, to be obliged to bear the insolent Triumphs of that Gang of inferior Thieves, their Supporters and Dependants.

As no Redress could be had from the Constitution, the Nation turn'd its Eyes upon *Henry* of *Lancaster*, a Prince of high Reputation for his Valour and Wisdom, who had been wrongfully banish'd, and whose Estate had been confiscated by *Richard* (I should have said by the Ministers, for, poor weak Man! he did nothing) *Henry* was made acquainted with the State of the Nation, he was invited to come to its Relief, upon which Encouragements he made an Attempt with so small a Force as fourscore Men; great Numbers immediately flock'd in to him, no Succour was wanting which the People were able to give him; unfortunate *Richard* was left alone; what is not at all to be wonder'd at, the first Persons who deserted him were his scandalous Ministers; in this forlorn Condition he yielded to his Fate without any Resistance, and resign'd himself to be disposed of as his Rival should think fit.

A Parliament being call'd, an Instrument of Resignation was drawn up and presented to the King to sign, in which he owned himself incapable of governing; which, however it might have the Air of Compulsion, contain'd a Truth of which every Action of his Life was a Proof.

After this, Articles of Accusation were drawn up against him by Parliament: In one of which it was set forth, that without Discretion or Judgment he had put the Government of himself, and of his Kingdom, into the Hands of weak and wicked Men, which had occasion'd infinite Dishonours, as well as heavy Taxes to be laid upon the Nation.

That in negotiating with foreign States, so many Falshoods and Evasions had been practised, that it had brought such an Imputation of Breach of Faith upon the *English* Name, that foreign Powers would enter into Engagements with us.

That he had procured a pack'd and [illegible] Parliament, in order to subvert the Liberties of the People of *England*.

This last was look'd upon to be Cause sufficient for justifying the Nation for [illegible] a Prince, whose Title was undisputed, Son of a Father who had been the Idol and the Darling of the *English* Nation, mean the Black Prince.

Unfortunate *Richard*, who had been [illegible] to believe, that his Safety depended [illegible] protecting his Ministers, and whose Obstinacy was extolled as Steadiness, [illegible] sensible, when it was too late, that his [illegible] was owing to that Cause.

Thus ended the inglorious Reign of a weak Man, who first lost his Crown, his Life, by persisting to save two or Scoundrels from the Gallows.

Craftsman, April 17. N° 824.

Extracts from a Pamphlet, intitled, An Answer to the BY-STANDER. (P.

AS to the Statutes you give us a List p. 66, 67, if you had talk'd [illegible] or justly, and without a Design to [illegible] Party Spirit amongst us, you would have [illegible] us, that all those Acts were pass'd by [illegible] sionary Parliament.——Ministers, [illegible] Tory or Whig, will always be for laying [illegible] straints upon Liberty, and for increasing [illegible] Power of the Crown. If I were inclined [illegible] could make sufficient Reprisals upon [illegible] Ministers since the Revolution; but as I [illegible] no Occasion, I shall go no farther back [illegible] your own Administration, during which [illegible] following glorious Laws have been pass'd.

1st. 1721, *An Act to enable the South-Sea Company to ingraft Part of their Capital and Fund into the Bank of* England, &c. which the *Bank* was freed from their [illegible] *Bank Contract* with the *South-Sea* Company which had drawn in many Hundreds to [illegible] themselves, by depending upon the Performance of that Contract.

2d.—*An Act for the King's most gracious and free Pardon.* By which all [illegible] sterial Offences, especially those relating [illegible] the *South-Sea* Scheme, were pardoned, almost all other Crimes excepted.

3d.—*An Act for making several Provisions for restoring publick Credit*, &c. By which Annuitants were obliged to take South-Sea Stock at the Rate of 400*l.* for every [illegible] 6*l.* 8*d.* in Stock, in Lieu of their Annuities, and the *S. S.* Company released of 5 Millions out of 7, due by them to the Publick.

4th. 1722. *An Act to enable his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons*, &c. By which the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended above a Year.

—*An Act for reviving and adding* two
to the Capital Stock of the S. S. Com-
c. By which that Company was re-
rom the Payment of the remaining
illions due to the Publick.

7th, and 8th.—*Three Acts for inflict-*
ins and Penalties on John Plunket,
Kelly, *and* Francis *Lord Biſhop of*
ſter.

—*An Act for the more effectual puniſh-*
ked and evil-diſpoſed Perſons going arm'd
niſe, &c. Commonly call'd the *Black-*

—*An Act to oblige all Perſons being*
in Scotland, *and all Perſons in* Great
neglecting to take the Oaths, to regiſter
ames and real Eſtates. By which the
Engliſh Nation were ſet a ſwearing,
at Sums raiſed upon the *People*, with-
y Benefit to the *Publick*; but for what
this Act was not made ſo general in
d as in *England*, I ſhall leave for you
ain.

. 1723, *An Act for repealing certain*
payable upon Coffee, &c. *and for grant-*
nd Duties in lieu thereof, &c. By which
ws of Exciſe, and the Power of the
iſſioners, were vaſtly extended.

.—*An Act for explaining the Laws*
ng the Trial and Admiſſion of the ordi-
rds of Seſſion. By which the King
ower'd to appoint, if he pleaſes, a
for one of the Chief Judges of *Scot-*
who is no Way qualified for the ſame,
Laws of that Kingdom.

. 1724, *An Act for regulating Elec-*
within the City of London, *&c.* By
a Negative was given to the Court of
nen, and thereby a Power to the Mi-
by Means of Bribery and Corruption,
vent the Citizens of *London* from aſ-
their own or their Country's Rights,
Sort of corporate Capacity.

. 1725, *An Act for granting an Aid*
Majeſty, by laying a Duty upon all Vic-
in London *and* Weſtminſter, *&c.*
only called the *Pot Act.*

. 1727, *An Act for the better Support*
Majeſty's Houſhold, &c. By which
ol. per Ann. was added to the Civil
evenue, with this remarkable Proviſo,
the Funds appropriated to that Re-
ſhould produce leſs than 800,000 *l. per*
the People ſhould make it good; but
y ſhould produce more, the People
have no Right to the Overplus, but
hole ſhould belong to the Crown, and
the arbitrary Diſpoſal of the Prime
er; which is a very great miniſterial
age, but cannot be underſtood by
who are not thoroughly acquainted
the Methods of iſſuing Money from
chequer.

. 1731, *An Act for reviving the Du-*
ties on Salt, *for the Term therein mentioned.* By which theſe Duties, which formerly belong'd to the Sinking Fund, have been ever ſince applied to the Current Service.

17th. 1735, *An Act for laying a Duty upon the Retailers of ſpirituous Liquors*, &c. By which a new Addition was made to the Civil Liſt, the Powers of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, and the Vermin called *Informers*, vaſtly increaſed, and all the Keepers of Publick-houſes made Slaves to the Miniſter.

18th.—*An Act for indemnifying Perſons, who have been guilty of Offences againſt the Laws made for ſecuring the Revenues of Cuſtoms and Exciſe, and for enforcing thoſe Laws for the future.* Under this ſpecious Title is concealed, a Law of the moſt dangerous Nature to the Liberties of the Subject, by which the beſt Nobleman in the Kingdom may become liable to be tranſported as a Felon, if his Servant ſhould, without his Knowledge, have above ſix Pounds of Tea, or above the Value of 30 Pounds worth of foreign Lace in his Pocket.

19th. 1736, *An Act to explain and amend ſo much of an Act in* Q. Anne's *Reign, relating to Rogues, Vagabonds*, &c. *as relates to common Players of Interludes.* By which the Stage was laid under a *Licence*, as a Prelude to *licenſing the Preſs*; which, it is generally thought, you would have done, if the preſent Houſe of Commons had been as much under your Direction, as the laſt ſeemed to be.

Theſe, Sir, are ſome of the important Laws that have been paſſed during your Adminiſtration, and to theſe I ſhould add your Bill for ſubjecting *Tobacco* to an *Exciſe*, and your Bill for *regiſtring Seamen*, both which would have been paſſed into Laws, if you had ſucceeded in all your Attempts againſt the Liberties of your Country.——If to this Liſt of Laws and Bills, I ſhould add the many unconſtitutional Votes you have got paſſed, and the many excellent Bills and reaſonable Motions you have got rejected, it would make ſuch a *black Liſt*, as no *Tory Adminiſtration* could parallel; yet you have always affected to have your Adminiſtration called a *Whig Adminiſtration*; but it would be the Height of Injuſtice to charge thoſe called *Whigs* in general, with what you have done. Every one knows, that many of them have appeared with a great and laudable Zeal againſt you; and that the Majority, by which you have ſo long triumphed over the Conſtitution and Laws of your Country, has all along conſiſted of thoſe, who were influenced by the Honours, Places and Penſions, which a too-indulgent Maſter gave you the ſole Diſpoſal of, or of thoſe, who were influenced by a Party Spirit, which for this very End you have always moſt induſtriouſly endeavoured to keep alive.

I hope, Sir, your Attempt to revive Party Diviſions at this Time, that you may have an Opportunity to eſcape in the Scuffle, will prove fruitleſs and vain. Both *Tories* and *Whigs*, or at leaſt thoſe who formerly went under ſuch Denominations, have joined in *pulling you down*. If you deſerve it, I hope they will join in *hanging you up*; and I hope the World will excuſe me for treating you with ſo much Freedom.

Beſides thoſe we have inſerted in our *Magazines* for *February* and *March* laſt, a great many other Repreſentations in the ſame Strain were ſent to their reſpective Members in Parliament, from other Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the united Kingdoms; as, from the Counties of *Hereford*, *Denbigh*, *Montgomery*, *Flint*, *Carmarthen*, and *Devon*; from the City of *Litchfield*, and the Boroughs of *Tewkeſbury*, *Newcaſtle-under-Lyme*, *Honiton*, *Monmouth*, *Biſhop's-Caſtle*, *Preſton*, *Minehead*, &c. in *England*: From the Shires of *Edinburgh*, *Aberdeen*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Lanark*, *Cromartie*, and *Dumfries*; and the Towns of *Aberdeen*, *Stirling*, *Dumfries*, *Annan*, &c. in *Scotland*. They all of them ſtrongly recommend a ſtrict Inquiry into paſt Meaſures, and a proper Puniſhment to be inflicted on the Guilty; the Reſtoring Triennial Parliaments, and the paſſing other good Bills, particularly the Penſion and Place Bills: And ſome of them, beſides, remonſtrate againſt Party Diſtinctions, ſtanding Armies, and the Abuſes of Returning Officers, deſiring that theſe Grievances may be redreſſed; and recommend a Care for the Woollen Manufacture, and a vigorous Proſecution of the War. We ſhall only ſet down the following at Length, which is one of the moſt remarkable.

To Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, *Bart. Knt. of the Shire for the County of* Denbigh.

SIR,

WE ſhould think we were wanting to ourſelves, we ſhould think we were wanting to our Country, if we did not take this Opportunity of returning you our grateful Acknowledgments for your conſtant Attendance to your Duty in Parliament, as well as for the Share you have taken in the glorious Struggle that hath been made ſince the Beginning of this Seſſion.

We join with the Voice of the Nation in rejoicing for the Succeſs that hath attended your Endeavours; but we have a more than common Reaſon to rejoice, becauſe of the moſt arbitrary Methods that have been put in Practice, to deprive us of the very Birth-right of *Britons*, that of chuſing our own Repreſentatives. It is to the Succeſs of your Endeavours, that we owe our being repreſented in Parliament at all, as the *grand Corruptor* diſtinguiſhed you by exerting [illegible] Force of Corruption againſt you; it [illegible] cauſe he knew your Attachment to the Intereſt of your Country. He deſpair'd being able to prevail upon you to betray by whom you was truſted, therefore was honour'd with his more particular [illegible] We take it, Sir, that you ſuffered for Sakes, which muſt recommend you more than ever.

Altho' we have no Reaſon to doubt Endeavours to promote all Laws, that tend to the Security of our Liberties, you will give us Leave to recommend Things to you, that call for immediate dreſs.

We hope, Sir, you will do your [illegible] to procure an Act for limiting the Number of Placemen to ſit in the Houſe of Commons;——the whole World is ſenſible, the Want of ſuch an Act in our late Parliaments, brought us to the Brink of Ruin.

We likewiſe requeſt of you, that you endeavour, that a Law may be obtained prevent the villainous Practices of Returning Officers, and that ſome Puniſhment may be provided equal to the Heinouſneſs of the Crime. We have Reaſon to know, that the Freedom of Parliaments may be without ſuch a Law.

We muſt deſire you likewiſe to [illegible] ſtanding Armies in Time of Peace, a [illegible] Burden, altogether unknown to our Ancestors, that of late are become ſo numerous that like the Locuſts of *Egypt*, they cover the Face of the Land, living in Sloth, Idleneſs, and devouring the Labours of Induſtrious, that have coſt the Nation millions, and in twenty Years have not one Day's Service for their Country.

We alſo intreat you to do what you can towards healing that Wound made in the Conſtitution by the Septennial Act; that may be reſtored again at leaſt to Triennial Parliaments, that we and our Repreſentatives may not have Time to become Strangers to each other.

Above all, Sir, we muſt preſs you to for a fair and impartial Inquiry into ſhameful Conduct with reſpect to Affairs broad, as well as the corrupt Management home, Things which cannot be thought without Indignation. You have been inſtrumental in bringing one of the Tools of Corruption to Shame; we hope you will be inſtrumental in puniſhing him, who ſet the Tools to work. It is fit that you and ſhould underſtand one another. We have Right to ſpeak plainly to you, and we will tell you, Sir, that if the Man that [illegible] our Trade, diſgraced our Arms, [illegible] our Treaſure, negotiated away our Intereſt, impoveriſhed the Land,——in a Word, Author of all the Calamities and Diſ[illegible]

enty Years, ſhould (while the whole
is calling out for Juſtice againſt him)
h in Impunity, we ſhall be apt to
our Conſtitution is loſt.

We are, SIR,
Your humble Servants, &c.

nay be proper here to take Notice, that
enſion Bill and the Place Bill both
the Houſe of Commons, and were
d by the Lords; and that it was car-
gainſt repealing the Septennial Act in
of C——ns, by a Majority of 20.

PEECH of his Excellency the Earl
STAIR, *Ambaſſador Extraordinary*
Plenipotentiary from his Britannick *Ma-*
, at a publick Audience he had of the
tes General on the 10*th Inſtant.*

h and Mighty Lords,

HE King, my Maſter, cloſely united,
as he is, with your Republick, by the
eſt Ties of mutual Intereſt, whereby a
Correſpondence between his Kingdoms
our States is rendred abſolutely neceſ-
or the reciprocal Support of their com-
Liberty and Independance, is moreover
s, in this delicate and dangerous Con-
re, to give you the moſt convincing
of his perfect Friendſhip and entire
dence; and it is for this Reaſon that his
ty ſends me hither in Quality of his
aſſador Extraordinary, with full Powers
cert, and take jointly with your High
tineſſes, the proper Meaſures for pre-
g the Liberty of *Europe*, and re-eſta-
g a juſt Balance of Power; as likewiſe
aintaining the Independance of his own
doms, and of the Dominions of your
Mightineſſes, by preſerving the Houſe
ſtria, in Conformity to our common
ements, and to our mutual Intereſts;
his Majeſty flatters himſelf, that theſe
ures will be taken without Loſs of
.

e whole World is informed of the ge-
s Efforts, which your Anceſtors made
e Recovery of their Liberty, and the
ce of their Religion. The whole World
tneſs to the great Actions performed by
Republick for the Support of the Li-
of *Europe*: Thoſe glorious Actions do
llow the King to entertain one Mo-
's Doubt of the Magnanimity and of
Wiſdom of your Republick. You will
certainly, ſubmit now to the Servitude
t which you fought ſo gloriouſly. In
tire Perſuaſion of this Truth, the King
ſes himſelf to your High Mightineſſes,
ng you of his entire Friendſhip, and
dence, and at the ſame Time, of a
rful Aſſiſtance for ſupporting ſuch Mea-
as ſhall be jointly taken.

The King extremely commends your High Mightineſſes late wiſe Reſolution of augmenting your Land Forces, and putting Part of your Fleet to Sea. Your High Mightineſſes in a ſtrict Union with the King of *Great Britain*, will thereby become Maſters of the Sea, which is a very great Advantage; and on the other hand, you will be in a Condition to cover that Part of your Frontier, which you find at preſent to be the moſt expoſed; and in Caſe your High Mightineſſes judge it neceſſary, to procure an additional Defence on that Side, by a new Alliance, the King, as Elector, offers you, with the greateſt Cordiality, his Concurrence therein; and to the End that the Barrier may not be weakened by your Troops being employed in garriſoning that expoſed Frontier, the King has given his Orders, in Conſequence of the Requiſition of the Queen of *Hungary*, for the tranſporting a conſiderable Body of his *Britiſh* Troops into the Low Countries.

When your High Mightineſſes ſhall have thus put all your Frontiers into a Condition of not apprehending any Surprize, you will be able to protect your Allies in the Manner you ſhall think moſt convenient; and thereby other Princes, who might be willing to act in Conjunction with the maritime Powers for the Maintenance of the Liberty of *Europe*, would be able to do it with greater Freedom, and without Fear, which can never be the Caſe, without a perfect and declared Union of thoſe two Powers, and without their taking Meaſures in Concert for their own reciprocal Security, and for the Preſervation of their Allies, and of the publick Liberty.

All that we have lately ſeen muſt clearly convince us, that the moſt ſolemn Treaties are too weak a Support for the Liberties of *Europe*, and that more real Securities are neceſſary.

The King finds himſelf obliged to remonſtrate to your High Mightineſſes, that the ſolemn Faith of Treaties requires that the Queen of *Hungary* ſhould be aſſiſted. The King, on his Part, has given moſt convincing Proofs of his good Faith, and of his Friendſhip towards the ſaid Queen. The conſiderable Sums that were given her the laſt Year, and the ſtill more conſiderable ones which are granted for this preſent Year, demonſtrate his Majeſty's Exactneſs in the Performance of his Engagements, and his Readineſs to go even beyond them; and his Majeſty relies upon the good Faith of your High Mightineſſes, which is ſo well known, that you will not delay fulfilling, in the ſame Manner, your Engagements towards the ſaid Queen; and his Majeſty deſires your High Mightineſſes to conſider, that if that Princeſs ſhall be once oppreſs'd, it will be

more difficult to ſupport the general Independance of *Europe*.

The unanimous Conſent of his Majeſty's People, is ſuch a Security to your High Mightineſſes for his good and generous Intentions, as cannot but be very agreeable to you; and the King flatters himſelf, that the Subjects of your High Mightineſſes are in the like Sentiments for the Preſervation of their own Independance, and of the publick Liberty.

The Uprightneſs of my Heart, the Sincerity of my Intentions towards my Country, towards the King my Maſter, and towards your Republick, will, I hope, make up for many Defects. I will explain myſelf more fully, as ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe your High Mightineſſes to name Commiſſaries to confer with me.

M. de Haren, who preſided that Day in the Aſſembly, returned the following Anſwer to his Excellency.

Mr. Ambaſſador,

THE Friendſhip and Union which have ſo long ſubſiſted between the Crown of *Great Britain* and this Republick, have been always looked upon by their High Mightineſſes as too advantageous for them not to think themſelves obliged to employ their utmoſt Endeavours towards cultivating of them, and rendring them perpetual.

It is then not at all ſurprifing, if they have now the greateſt Pleaſure in being informed of the Deſire of his *Britannick* Majeſty, not only to confirm the good Underſtanding between the maritime Powers, but to eſtabliſh it upon more ſolid and laſting Foundations than ever.

The Neighbourhood, the ſolemn Treaties, and the Conformity of Sentiments, as well with reſpect to Religion, as with regard to Liberty, all contribute to make us feel the ineſtimable Value of a ſtrict Union between the two Nations. Their High Mightineſſes will always give convincing Proofs of it, as alſo of their profound Veneration, and of their perfect Eſteem for his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, and for all his Royal Family, for the Preſervation and Proſperity whereof they make the moſt ardent and ſincere Vows; and they cannot, Sir, but ſignify to you how much they are charmed with his Majeſty's having choſen you to come, hither on his Part, to give them ſuch Aſſurances as will tend to the Increaſe of their mutual Friendſhip. Nobody, Sir, was more proper than yourſelf for this Employment; you whoſe good Intention towards this Republick is known, and whoſe Merit is ſo univerſally applauded and admired.

Their High Mightineſſes will give their Attention to what you have juſt propoſed to them, by Order of the King your Maſter, and they will be ready to give you Audience, and to name Commiſſaries to confer with you as often as you ſhall deſire.

POETICAL ESSAYS, 1742.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THO' the World has been ſo many Years deprived of Sir *Samuel Garth*, that celebrated Poet and Phyſician, yet Perſons of true Taſte are ſtill ſo inamoured with all the Beauties of his Pen, as to render the Publication of the following beautiful Elegy on his Death, no diſagreeable Entertainment to the World. It has never been printed, as Mr. *Penny*, a very agreeable and ingenious Gentleman, once reſident at *Barbadoes*, informs me: There, it ſeems, it was written, at his Requeſt, by one Mr. *Thompſon*, who was then in ſome Employment on that Iſland, and who will not, if alive, be diſgraced by thus ſurrendring it to the Publick, who for a long Time have had a Right to it. The Reader need not be told, that *Congreve*, *Addiſon*, &c. were then alive, whom the Author mentions in his Elegy; and conſequently it was written juſt after Sir *Samuel*'s Death. *I am*, &c.

E. K.

An ELEGY on the Death of Sir Samuel Garth, *Knt. M. D.*

HOW juſt muſt be the tribute of my lays,
When virtue from its earthly manſion flies!
Sure, every *Muſe* will ſtrain a mournful voice,
For every poet ſhould attend thy hearſe.
But yet—the thought ſo ſad—ſo full of woe,
It ſhocks my ſoul—forbids the tears to flow.
Fain would my *Muſe* the heavy taſk decline,
Yet—I muſt pay the tribute of a line.
Hark!—or is't only fancy ſtrikes my ear?
By my ſad ſoul, 'tis muſic that I hear!
'Tis heavenly muſic! 'tis immortal ſong!
See *Milton*, *Cowley*, *Dryden* grace the throng,
Crowding to catch the accents of the ſweeter tongue.
Diſſolv'd in joy with ecſtacy they come,
To waft thy ſoul to its coeleſtial home.
Speak, greater bards, ye that have raiſed your voice
To heaven's high King, and gloried in your choice,
Why are you ſilent now? forget your pride,
And ſing, for that, if ought, muſt bring

ou'd ye once reach his melodious
ſtrain, [gain.
might relent—and ſend him back a-
it cannot—muſt not be—'tis too late—
'd with grief, we may complain of fate,
rovidential laws as too ſevere,
much worth ſhould be no more the
care [are.
ven—than other common mortals
the powers ſupreme, divinely good,
ne'er be injur'd by a thought ſo rude.
ious pens thy glories ſtrive to blaſt,
reflexions on thy name to caſt,
own great *Naſſau*'s—unſpotted it
ſhall laſt.
ndrous labours ſhall for ever ſhine,
ghty genius ſparkles in each line:
does malice whiſper—'tisn't thine.
more in poetry may *boaſt* ſucceſs!
ts thy wit, thy art, and gay addreſs,
r a lady's ſpirits in diſtreſs.
yſic *M——d* may claim an equal
ſhare, [thy air,
ere's thy muſe, thy humour, and
more than all his drugs—revives
the drooping fair?
may preſcribe, and in that art excel,
—juſtly talk of writing well;
aſts his learning—that diſplays his
wit,
h to his own province may be fit:
o ſingle virtues *Garth* was ne'er con-
fin'd,
p'd all nature, fathom'd human kind,
very art, and every ſcience too,
how to live, and practis'd what he
knew.
Congreve, *Addiſon*, ye knew him
well,
yet to come ye beſt can tell,
y'd be liv'd, and how deplor'd he
fell.
en your grief—begin without delay,
h in your tranſcendent lines diſplay:
eds muſt on the labour ſmile,
y *Muſe* will grace the pleaſing toil.
ithout delay, the ſong divine,
poet in the chorus join,
rate his pile, and conſecrate his
rine.

DEATH *of Mr.* Richard P——r,
late of Oxford.

r-muſing *contemplation*, ſhed
y ſacred influence round this penſive
head!
to yonder melancholy ſcene,
rs waving o'er the moon-light green;
k-ey'd crowds, that march along ſo
ow,
athetic weep each other's woe;
rnful herſe, that blackens all the
ace, [veys!
dread voice, that *duſt to duſt* con-

Shew me a youth juſt open'd into bloom,
Now pale and breathleſs in the ſilent tomb!
While ſpeechleſs o'er the cloſing earth in-
clin'd,
(O ſadly pleaſing luxury of mind!)
I, ever-thoughtful, ever-penſive, ſigh
His hapleſs doom, and learn of him to die.
Myſterious heav'n thus calls the good away
To golden manſions of eternal day:
Perhaps to ſave them from infectious times,
Perhaps to ſcourge a drowſy nation's crimes,
Perhaps in kind ſeverity to wean
Our partial fondneſs for this fading ſcene.
Unfriendly clime! where nought to ripe-
neſs grows,
But thorny ills and bitter-taſted woes;
Where flow'ry bleſſings meet untimely doom,
And fall or languiſh in their op'ning bloom.
Ah! what avail'd this youth to blow ſo
gay,
To ſeem ſo teeming with a golden *May!*
Ah! what avail'd, two bloomy nymphs to
ſhed
Their heav'nly graces o'er his drooping head!
With ſoft exceſs, around his couch to pour
Their ſorrows nightly in a ſilver ſhow'r!
Nor bloomy nymphs with heav'nly graces
crown'd,
Nor ſorrows ſhed in ſilver ſhow'rs around
With ſoft exceſs, extend his fleeting breath.
Behold it trembling at the ſtroke of death!
Beneath ſome lamp thus pale-ey'd *veſtals* weep
O'er midnight pray'rs, and holy *vigils* keep;
The ſacred fire, juſt ſpent with ſhining round,
But feebly quivers o'er the dark'ning ground;
Then dies away in dimly-gleaming light,
And leaves the mourners in a dreary night.
Hail, ſainted pair! you made affliction
ſmile,
And griſly death lay by his darts awhile:
'Twas double heav'n with you to yield his
breath;
And he was deify'd before his death:
For ſure the bow'rs of glory cannot ſhew
A whiter pair, than you be left below.
You ſtill he loves, as angels love their
mates, [pletes;
(Our love of heav'nly objects heav'n com-
While trav'ling o'er each *Empyrean* ſphere,
He reads your pictures in each ſeraph there.
Then ſoftly wipe thoſe ſilver-ſt'reaming eyes,
Behold him bending from yon azure ſkies!
Behold him glowing in yon radiant train!
Nor mourn an *angel*, whom you lov'd a *man*.
To paint his worth, be you the *Muſe*'s aid!
To ſing him living, as you wept him dead:
Till warm with life, the blended colours flow,
And, like your own, the heav'nly figures
glow.
His look was candid as his gentle mien,
Free without lightneſs, without pride ſerene;
His manners eaſy, as his heart ſincere,
Alike in honour and in conſcience clear:

Calm

Calm and untroubled ran his ſtream of life,
With ſtorms of paſſion, or with tides of ſtrife.
Nor taught by proud *ambition*'s waves to flow,
Nor yet by *avarice* to ebb too low;
But gently lifted by ſuch gales of love,
As thoſe that breath'd in *Eden*'s flow'ry grove.
His dove-like ſoul ſat ſmiling on his look,
Like ſome fair margin on a ſilver brook;
'Twas humble as the grave, as heav'n ſublime,
Like the tall *ladder* in the patriarch's dream.
There walk'd bright angels up and down in pairs,
As once upon thoſe viſionary ſtairs:
There ſober *learning*, veil'd in ſofter grace,
Look'd like ſome ruby in a golden caſe:
There ſilver-footed *virtues* danc'd around,
With conqu'ring palms, and virgin laurels crown'd;
While grave *religion*, like the higheſt ſphere,
Rul'd all the motions of this heav'nly quire.
But now pale-ey'd in cypreſs wreaths they mourn,
And mutter *dirges* o'er his hallow'd urn:
Or flying far to ſome long-ſounding caves,
Some howling waſtes, or intermingl'd graves,
Some low-brow'd nodding rock, or lonely deep,
His loſs in ſolemn ſad'ning ſilence weep.
Ah, where will frozen *piety* retire
To feed her altars with ſuch glowing fire!
Ah, where will ever-muſing *patience* go,
For ſuch a meek-ey'd partner in her woe!
Ah, where will white-rob'd *charity* e'er find
So fair an emblem of her dove-like mind!
Well might the heav'nly-penſive train bemoan
His early doom, that threatens thus their own! [grown,
Bleſt ſaint! where virtues were to ripeneſs
E'er yet the flow'r of downy youth was blown.
Sure, thou wert born with ripen'd honours crown'd,
Like thoſe fair trees in *Eden*'s ſacred ground.
Thy life by glories, not by days, be told!
Thou wert in nothing, but in goodneſs, old.

The following Lines to the Memory of Mr. *Milward*, were ſpoken by Mr. *Cibber* on the 9th of *March*, by Way of Epilogue to a Play that was acted for the Benefit of his Family. They were ſent to his Widow the Day before, by the Gentleman who wrote the *Man of Taſte*.

WHEN *Roſcius* died each gen'rous *Roman* wept,
Whilſt *Cicero*'s deathleſs page his plaudit kept;
Such was their harveſt in that golden age,
Who toil'd to till the vineyard of the ſtage:
The *Romans* wept!—more gen'rous *Britons!* ye
Dry up the tears of *Milward*'s family.
Your bounteous cares beyond the grave extend;
Lo! what a ſcene dead merit to befriend!
For merit ſure he ſhar'd in ev'ry part,
Merit moſt rare!—integrity of heart:
Whate'er of friendly, gen'rous, good, he
In ſcenes of real life he ſtill diſplay'd
Young *Hamlet*'s fable when he chaſe
Young *Hamlet*'s filial piety was there
When the fond lover *Phocyas* was
Each tender line ſprang glowing from
Or when *Macduff*'s dire anguiſh was
The huſband and the father bled in
Well might he pleaſe, when with
tuous thought
The poet penn'd, the player's
Such *Milward* was, as ſuch his
Calls down the pity of the fair and
Cut off juſt at the noontide of his
Juſt when he hop'd to have
praiſe;
The player ſteel'd to counterfeit the
Diſtills an undiſſembled eye-drop
Whilſt by this ſplendid circle fir'd,
With emulation burns, and claims
That his own *manes* may like *Milward*'s

On INNOCENCE.

THE beauteous mind with inno
du'd,
Is in the faireſt point of glory view'd
Still light on light irradiates the
And fills it with the pleaſures of
Each ſweet humane affection take
And crowns the brightning ſoul with
grace.
So the ſun ſhines unrival'd in the
And dazzles with his beams the
eyes;
Triumphant riſes in gay ſplendor
And fills the heavens with a flood of

JOSHUA DIN

To DAPHNIS, MIRTILLA's
playing with his LADY *in Bed.*
STACIE, *Eſq;*

HAPPY *Daphnis*, which can be
Of puppy-dogs compar'd to
On *Mirtilla*'s boſom lying,
Kiſſing her, for whom I'm dying,
O'er her endleſs beauties ſporting,
Whilſt the nymph is gayly courting,
And with hugs, and ſmiles, repaying
Skips, and bites, and wanton
Gentle whelp, all whelps excelling,
Let us change awhile our dwelling;
Whilſt ſome god who hears ſoft
Happieſt thou of ſons of bitches!
Lays me in thy form conceal'd,
On her lovely breaſt reveal'd.
Venus was not half ſo fair,
Meeting firſt the god of war!
Happy *Daphnis*, by thy aid
Could I preſs the charming maid,
Her *Adonis* then ſhould be
But a puppy-dog to me.

Dapbnis, 'twere in vain,
thy form again,
ambrofial kiſſes,
houſand tender bliſſes,
give, and I ſhould take,
phnis, for my ſake.
ndemn'd to ſecret anguiſh,
ſigher, thou ſhouldſt languiſh,
al, a lover
hope, or charm, to move her;
eams or willows flying,
late eſcape by dying.

A SONG.

When *Fanny* blooming Fair.

AT tho' thy face may vie
With roſes red and white,
y ſmiling eye
tle *Loves* delight?
ld thoſe beauties prove,
preſerve my heart:
k the chains of *Love*,
Fancy may diſpart!
e bluſhing morn
mes we take delight,
s her bluſhes ſcorn,
iſh the ſable night:
wn girl I may view,
ocks of gloſſy jet,
fair roſy hue
r new charms forget.
e ſhall e'er I find
le ſoul like thine,
chearful mind,
nd t' enliven mine?
le the bee ſhall drink
olet's balmy dew,
nat heart can think
mph ſo ſweet as you.

INVOCATION.

[Inſcrib'd to that much honour'd and worthy Patriot! Sir W—TK—N L—MS W—NE, *Bart.*]

READ!—dear, celeſtial maid,
rom heav'n direct thy flight;
me to poor *Britannia*'s aid,
r'd nation right.
the publick bane has been:
him from behind the *ſcreen*.
deſs of the golden age!
em at the helm;
with a becoming rage,
ardians of this realm:
e now, for once, be ſeen,
him from behind the *ſcreen*.
ſhall an enemy ſo great,
lent a man,
ſhame at defiance ſet,
'ry ſoul trepan?
Behold his proud, inſulting mien!
O drag him from behind the *ſcreen*.
Since now *corruption*'s overcome,
Let all her foes confeſs,
That ſtill *Britannia* dares *ſtrike home*,
And all her wrongs redreſs;
Dares help the brave *Hungarian* queen,
And ſwitch the *ſnake* behind the *ſcreen*.
Tutelar ſaint!—puiſſant *George!*
This worſt of *dragons* ſmite;
Make his great, glutted paunch *diſgorge*,
And own ſuperior might:
From thy brave lance, ſo long, ſo keen,
The monſter, O! may nothing *ſcreen*.
How will the nation ſhout for joy,
When, on thy briſk attack,
She ſees the *ſerpent* ſprawling lie
Upon his burniſh'd back!
The beaſt bedeck'd with *blue* and *green*,
May no pretence, or *colour ſcreen*.
Committee choice, of *twenty one!*
A ſtrict *inquiry* make;
Do well the work that you're upon,
And cauſe old *B—b* to quake:
Pull down the pond'rous, huge machine,
That totters thus behind the *ſcreen*.
From *ſenators* ſo wiſe, we, ſure,
Great things may well expect:
True Britons will our trade ſecure,
And *R—b—n*'s deeds detect;
The *veſſel* of the *ſtate* careen,
And ſink the *bulk* behind the *ſcreen*.
Brave, independent *Britons*, don't
Our expectations mock,
(No, no,—ſuch *worthy members* won't,)
But bring him to the block:
Let no vile hindrance come between,
No ſcurvy *act* of *grace*,—no *ſcreen*.
For here,—true *patriots*, one and all,
Compaſſion ſo miſplac'd,
A kind of *cruelty* muſt call,
Or *clemency debas'd*:
'Tis *juſtice*, not unchriſtian *ſpleen*,
That cries aloud, *no ſcreen, no ſcreen*.
Their lives ſhall *vulgar* villains end,
At *Tyburn*'s triple tree?
The ladder *little* rogues aſcend,
For robbing *two*, or *three?*
To ruin *realms* is worſe, I ween;
For ſuch, there *ought* to be *no ſcreen*.
Thrice noble, independent *peers!*
The faithful *commons* join;
Blow up,—brave *Britiſh* engineers,
And ſpring the curſed *mine*:—
Of ills the monſtrous magazine,
That latent ſkulks behind the *ſcreen*.

St. George's Day, Apr. 23, 1742. PHILOPATRIS.

We have receiv'd a Riddle, *the Lines ſign'd* E. K——r, *&c. which ſhall be in our next.*

THE

THE

Monthly Chronologer

MARCH 31, in the Morning, his Highneſs the Duke of *Saxe-Gotha* ſet out for *Harwich*, to embark for *Holland*, on his Return home. (See p. 99.)

SATURDAY, *April* 3.

The Earl of *Stair*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General, embark'd this Day for *Holland*. (See his Speech to the States, p. 199.)

The Rt. Hon. the Lord *Limerick*, Member of Parliament for *Taviſtock*, was choſen Chairman of the Committee for inquiring into the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford* for ten Years paſt. Our Readers may take Notice, that the Hon. *Alex. Hume Campbell* had an Equality on the Ballot with the 3 Gentlemen mention'd in our laſt, p. 152, out of which 4 the Speaker choſe the two, as there related.

The Sum of 500,000 *l.* was granted by Parliament for the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*.

SUNDAY, 4.

This Morning about 2 a-Clock, a Scuffle happened between 5 Smugglers with Horſes loaded with Tea, and a Conſtable and Watchman of *Clerkenwell* Pariſh, at the Bottom of the *Green*, when they fir'd ſeveral Piſtols, and wounded the Watchman in the Arm, (who died ſoon after it was cut off) and the Girt of one of the Horſes breaking, 5 Bags of Tea were ſecur'd and carried to the Watch-houſe; whither the Smugglers return'd in an Hour or two after, and the Door being ſhut, fir'd ſeveral Times thro' it, and wounded another Watchman, who died in a Day or two of the Wounds.

MONDAY, 5.

His Majeſty was pleaſed to make the following moſt gracious Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Right Hon. the Houſe of Lords, which was preſented him on this Day, relating to the Queen of *Hungary*.

My Lords,

I return you my Thanks for this dutiful and affectionate Addreſs, and take the greateſt Satisfaction in your ſeaſonable Zeal for the Support of the Houſe of Auſtria, *for reſtoring the Balance of Power in* Europe.

The Right Hon. *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; Speaker of the Hon. Houſe of Commons, reſign'd his Place of Treaſurer to his Majeſty's Navy.

WEDNESDAY, 7.

Eight of the Malefactors condemn'd the two laſt Seſſions (ſee p. 47, 151,) were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *Stephen Jones*, *Walden*, *Chr. Jordan*, *Alex. Affleck*, *Loudden*, *William Plummer*, *Robert Lee*, *Morgan Nowland*.

SATURDAY, 10.

By Letters from Vice-Admiral *Knowles* and Major General *Wentworth*, of Feb. 1, was Advice that Captain *Lawſon*, with the Convoy and Tranſports under his Command, arriv'd at *Jamaica* on *Jan.* 15, and the Majeſty's Forces, who came with the Convoy, being in good Condition, and before upon the Iſland greatly ſickly they were preparing, with all poſſible Expatch, to put to Sea upon a new Expedition.

His Majeſty's Ship the *Argyle*, Capt. *Denniſon*, arriv'd at *Portſmouth* from the *Indies*, and brought Advice, that Commodore *Anſon*, in the *Centurion*, who had been given over for loſt, was got round the Horn to the Iſland of *Fernando*.

TUESDAY, 13.

William Middleton, Eſq; late High Sheriff for the County of *Denbigh*, who had been committed to *Newgate* by an Order of the Hon. Houſe of Commons, for Miſdemeanours at the Election of a Member of Parliament for that County, was diſcharged out of the ſaid Gaol. (See p. 151.) And ſoon after, *N. Paxton*, Eſq; was ſent thither. (See p. 136.)

WEDNESDAY, 14.

Six of the Malefactors condemn'd at the Aſſizes for *Surrey* were executed at Croydon, viz. *William Walters*, for robbing Mr. *Kimber* and his Son on the Highway:—*James Gunnell*, for Sheep-ſtealing, and *Thomas Williams* and *Thomas Jones*, two very young Men but old Offenders, for ſtealing Sugar-Loaves out of the Shop of Mr. *Kimber*, a Grocer in the *Borough*: And *Elliot*, for a Burglary and Robbery.

THURSDAY, 15.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Militia Bill, *&c.*

FRIDAY, 16.

Vice Admiral *Matthews* ſail'd with a Squadron, conſiſting, as was ſaid, of 14 Ships of War, who took under their Convoy the Merchant Ships for *Oporto*, *Liſbon*, and the *Mediterranean* Trade.

SATURDAY, 24.

The King appointed the following Regiments of Horſe, Dragoons, and Foot, to be embarked as ſoon as poſſible for *Flanders*.

under the Command of Lieut. Gen. *od*, till the Arrival of the Earl of who is then to take upon himſelf the nd thereof, *viz.* The 3d and 4th of Horſe Guards; the 2d Troop of Grenadier Guards; the King's Regi- Horſe; Major General *Ligonier*'s. *rwood*'s, *Campbell*'s, *Hawley*'s, *Cado- Rich*'s, and *Cope*'s Dragoons. — Three s of Foot Guards; *Howard*'s, *Corn- Duroure*'s, *Pulteney*'s, *Campbell*'s, *Handaſyd*'s, *Huſke*'s, *Bragg*'s, *Pon- Johnſon*'s, and *Bligh*'s.

Majeſty alſo appointed the following Officers to command the ſaid Troops, ld Marſhal, Earl of *Stair*.—Lieute- eneral, *Honeywood*, Earl of *Dunmore*, *mpbell*. — Majors General, *Howard*, *igonier*, *Hawley*, and Earl of *Albe-* Brigadiers, *Cornwallis*, Earl of *Ef- Pulteney*, *Bragg*, *Huſke*, and *Pon-*

TUESDAY, 27.

Morning about 8 o'Clock, his Maje- from St. *James*'s to *Blackheath*, and two of the Regiments ordered for ; one of them march'd directly to , and the other to *Woolwich*, where bark'd in the Ships appointed to re- em, and fell down the River ſoon

Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumber-* o came of Age on the 15th Inſtant, oduc'd into the Houſe of Peers, and n the Chair on the Throne on the Left Hand.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

RLES Peterſfield, Eſq; of *Northamp- ſhire*, to Miſs *Digby*. — Dr. *James* an eminent Phyſician at *Mile-End-* Miſs *Chaſe*.—Rev. Dr. *Shaw*, Prin- St. *Edmund Hall*, *Oxford*, to Mrs. *Hol- att. Lee*, of *Exon*, Eſq; to Miſs *Jane* f St. *Martin's le Grand*.—Sir *Griffith* Bart. to Miſs *White*. — *Tho. Phipps*, Director of the *E. India* Comp. and Governor *Phipps*, to Miſs *Peckham* of *Wm. Greaves*, Eſq; Commiſſary of erſity of *Cambridge*, to Mrs. *Eliz. Bell*.—*Edw. Lilly*, Eſq; of *Ongar* in Miſs *Mary Chevene*. — *John Hony-* ſq; Grandſon to Sir *Wm. Honywood*, Miſs *Filmer*, eldeſt Daughter of Sir *mer*, Bart. —*Thomas Ripley*, Eſq; to *knal* of *Hampton*, a 40,000 *l.* For- The Lady of *Thomas Winford*, Eſq; of Parl. for *Hereford*, deliver'd of a .—Lady of Sir *Nicb. Hacket Carew*, a Son and Heir.—Counteſs of *Hali-* Daughter.

DEATHS.

Francis Molineux, Bart. whoſe An- s enter'd *England* with *William* the r: He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſur- n, now Sir *Cha. Molineux*, Bart.— *ry Agnew*, in *Scotland*, Reliſt of Sir *James Agnew*, Bart.—Lady *Aſhburnham*, Wife of Sir *Wm. Aſhburnham*, Bart.—Right Hon. the Lady *Lucy Vane*, Mother of Lord Viſcount *Vane*. — *Addiſon Hutton*, M. D. of *Queen's-College*, *Oxford*, Fellow of the College of Phyſicians, and F. R. S. and one of the Phyſicians of St. *George*'s Hoſpital.—Rt. Hon. *Tho. Fitzmaurice*, Earl of *Kerry* in *Ireland*: He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Wm.* Lord *Fitzmaurice*, now Earl of *Kerry*.—Dame *Eliz. Hamilton*, Widow of Sir *Hugh Dalrymple*, Bart.—Capt. *Henry Hoadley*, in the Service of the *E. India* Company, a near Relation of the Biſhop of *Winchester*.—Rev. *Nat. Salmon*, L. L. B. (Brother to Mr. *Tho. Salmon*, of *Cambridge*, who wrote the Modern Hiſtory) Author of ſeveral Works on the Subject of *Engliſh* Hiſtory and Antiquities.—Mr. *John Townſend*, Maſon, one of the Common-Council Men for *Caſtle-Baynard* Ward, and Brother to the late Mr. *Townſend*, of *Oxford*, well known for his many noble Structures in that Place.—Mr. *James Whitlock*, of *Cambridge*, whoſe Grandfather was created a Baronet by *Oliver Cromwell*.—Dr. *Douglaſs*, an eminent Man-Midwife.—Rt. Hon. *John Howe*, Lord *Chedworth*, ſo created in *May* laſt: He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *John*, now Lord *Chedworth*.—*John Shafto*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for the City of *Durham*.—Sir *John Bull*, Knt. an eminent *Turky* Merchant.—Sir *Edw. Ward*, of *Bixley-Hall* in *Norfolk*, Bart. who dying a Batchelor, is ſucceeded by his Brother, now Sir *Randal Ward*, Bart.—Dr. *Tho. Briſbane*, Profeſſor of Botany and Anatomy in the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*.—Rev. and Learned *Moſes Williams*, A. M. Rector of *Bridgwater*, and F. R. S. He was Co-adjutor with the ingenious Dr. *Wotton* in collecting a Book call'd *Howell*'s Laws, in *Welſh* and *Latin*.—Sir *Cha. Bunbury*, Bart. Member of Parl. for the City of *Cheſter*, ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his only Brother, now Sir *Wm. Bunbury*, Bart. Vicar of *Mildenhall* in *Suffolk*.—Rev. Mr. *Siſſon*, Rector of *Malmſbury* in *Wiltſhire*.—Her Grace the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, Wife of the preſent Duke.—*Jo. Roberts*, Eſq; Serjeant Plumber to his Majeſty. — Rev. Mr. *Mills*, Maſter of the Hoſpital and Free-School at *Croydon*, and Rector of *Meaſham* in *Surry*.—Governor *Shute*, who was Great Uncle to the Lord Viſc. *Barrington*.—*Thomas Gibſon*, Eſq; eldeſt Son to the Biſhop of *London*, and one of the chief Clerks of the Treaſury.—*John Armſtrong*, Eſq; Major General and Quarter-Maſter General of his Majeſty's Forces, Col. of the Royal Reg. of Foot of *Ireland*, Surveyor General of the Ordnance, and his Majeſty's chief Engineer. —*Henry* Lord Viſc. *St. John*, Baron *St. John* of *Batterſea*, ſo created 2 *Geo.* I. Father of *Henry* late Lord Viſc. *Bolingbroke*: He died aged near 90, and is ſucceeded by his ſecond

Son *John*, now Lord Viſcount *St. John*.—Sir *Tho. Berney*, Bart. who is ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son, now Sir *Hanſon Berney*, Bart.—*Sam. Gateward*, Eſq; Recorder of *Cambridge*, and laſt Year Treaſurer of the *Middle Temple*.—Hon. Maſter *James Petty*, Son to the Lord Viſc. *Dunkerron*.—Dr. *Tho. Dover*, famous for adminiſtring Quickſilver to his Patients, in the 85th Year of his Age.

[*Eccleſiaſtical Preferments in our next.*]

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

JOHN *Vere*, Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of the Duties on Salt.—*John Pollen*, Eſq; one of the *Welch* Judges.—*Andrew Stone*, Eſq; Secretary of the Iſland of *Barbadoes*.—Lieut. *Peter Burville*, Commander of the *Comet* Bomb-Ketch.— —— *Belleguard*, Eſq; Under-Secretary of State in Lord *Carteret*'s Office.—Capt. *Noel*, Colonel of a Comp. in the 2d Reg. of Foot Guards, in the Room of the Earl of *Berkeley* who reſign'd: And Lieut. *Williamſon* ſucceeds Capt. *Noel*.—*Peter Perry*, Eſq; appointed by the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, to be Serjeant at Arms to the Lord Mayor of *London*.—Mr. *Pye* made one of the Commiſſioners of Bankrupts, in the Room of Mr. *Franſham*, deceas'd.—*William Whitmore*, Eſq; made Lieutenant Col. of Col. *Duroure*'s Reg. of Foot, and Capt. *Edw. Phillips* Major in his Room.—*Charles Brown*, Eſq; made Principal Officer of the Navy for the Affairs of the King's Yards at *Chatham* and *Sheerneſs*, in the Room of Vice-Admiral *Matthews*.—*James Steuart*, Eſq; and Sir *Charles Hardy* appointed Rear-Admirals of the Blue.—Lieut. *Barnet*, Capt. in the Royal Reg. of *Wiſh* Foot, and Lieut. *Izzard* ſucceeds him as Adj.—Rt. Hon. *William* Earl *Fitzwilliam* of Kingdom of *Ireland*, created a Baron of Kingdom of *Great Britain*, by the Style and Title of Lord *Fitzwilliam*, of *Milton* in the County of *Northa*. *Rich. Edgcumbe*, Eſq; created a Baron of *Britain*, by the Name, Style and Title Baron *Edgcumbe*, of *Mount Edgcumbe* County of *Devon*.—Earl of *Stair* vernor of *Minorca*, in the Room of the of *Hertford*.—Hon. Col. *Laſcelles*, Surveyor of the Ordnance, in the Major-Gen. *Armſtrong*, deceas'd.—*Bland*, Eſq; Quarter-Maſter-General Forces, in the Room of the ſaid late General.

New Members choſen, &c.

Robert Harley, Eſq; for *Leominſter*, Room of *John Caſwall*, Eſq; deceas'd.—*Baltimore* declared by the Sheriff duly for the County of *Surrey*, he having the Scrutiny. (See p. 152.)—Lord *Hamilton* for *Dartmouth*, in the Room *Treby*, Eſq; deceas'd. — Lord Viſc. eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Coventry*, *port* in *Dorſetſhire*.—*Robert Craig*, the Burghs of *Kirkwall*, *Dingwall*, &c. in the Room of *Charles Ar*, whoſe Election was declared void Petition of Sir *Robert Munro*, Bart.—*Stone*, Eſq; rechoſen for the Borough *ſtings*.

[Bankrupts *in our next.*]

STOCKS.

S. Sea 105 $\frac{1}{8}$	*African* 10
—*Ann.* 113 $\frac{1}{8}$	*Royal Aſſ.* 86
Bank 137 $\frac{3}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{3}{4}$	*Lon. ditto* 11
—*Circ.* 4*l* 15*s* a 17*s* 6*d*	3 *p. C. Ann.* 101
M. Bank 112	*Salt Tallies* $\frac{1}{8}$
India 159 $\frac{1}{8}$	*Emp. Loan* 70 $\frac{3}{4}$
—*Bonds* 4*l* 6*s* a 7*s*	*Equiv.* 112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 34 11 a 35 2$\frac{1}{2}$	*Bilboa* nothing done
D. Sight 34 9$\frac{1}{2}$	*Leghorn* 50
Rotter. 35 2	*Genoa* 53 $\frac{7}{8}$
Hamb. 33 7 2 a 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	*Venice* 51
Paris 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{3}{8}$	*Lisbon* 5*s* 5*d* $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Bourdx. 31	*Porto* 5*s* 5*d*
Cadiz 39 $\frac{1}{8}$	*Antw.* 35 2 a 1
Madrid nothing done	*Dublin* 10 $\frac{3}{8}$

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	27	28	*Peaſe*	25	27 6
Rye	18	19	*H. Peaſe*	19	23 6
Barley	18	20	*H. Beans*	21	24
Oats	10	14	*B. Malt*	22	23
Tares	27	28	*P. Malt*	22	23 6

Abſtract of the *London* Wea
BILL, from *Mar.* 23. to *Apr.*

Chriſtned	Males	545
	Females	486
Buried	Males	1177
	Females	1212

Died under 2 Years old

Between	2	and	5
	5		10
	10		20
	20		30
	30		40
	40		50
	50		60
	60		70
	70		80
	80		90
	90 and upwards		

Hay 51 to 54*s*. a Load.

E *Dutch* having reſolved to make a
nſiderable Augmentation in their For-
h by Sea and Land, as formerly men-
in order to defray the Charge there-
e States of *Holland* and *Weſtfrieſland*
ed an Ordinance on the 17th of laſt
, for impoſing a Tax as follows, *viz.*
oſe who have a Revenue from Lands,
or any Thing elſe, of 600 *Florins* a
or upwards to 12,000 *Florins* a Year,
pay at the Rate of one *Florin* for
undred: Thoſe who have a Revenue
oo *Florins* a Year, are to pay 300
a Year; and all thoſe whoſe Revenue
12,000 *Florins* a Year, are to pay at
te of 50 *Florins* a Year for every
they have of annual Income. Thus
the wiſe States of *Holland* fall upon a
f raiſing Money for the publick Ser-
without burdening the Poor, incom-
their Trade, or increaſing the Num-
their Publicans or Tax-gatherers, who
Countries muſt be a Nuſance to the
; and there is nothing more juſt than
oſe who are immenſely rich, ſhould
ore in Proportion than Gentlemen of
te Fortunes.

our Advices both from *Holland* and
as well as from *Jamaica*, it appears
that Commodore *Anſon* is ſafe in the
eas, notwithſtanding the diſmal Ac-
brought us from the *Severn* and *Pearl*
f War, who parted from him in a
on the other Side Cape *Horn*, and
have ſuffered more by returning than
by proceeding; for the Accounts from
ſay, that after he had made ſeveral
ts, and got rich Booties, on the Coaſt
and *Peru*, as well as on the Iſlands
hat Coaſt, he ſteered towards the Iſth-
Panama or *Darien*, and in his Way
, he made a Deſcent and deſtroyed the
of *Payta*, in the Province of *Quito*.

Term for the Suſpenſion of Arms be-
Muſcovy and *Sweden* having expired to-
he End of *Feb.* the *Muſcovite* General
nd ſent Notice thereof to the *Swediſh*
l there, and two Days after this No-
en, the former detached a large Body
cks, with about 200 Dragoons, who
an Inroad into the *Swediſh Finland*,
to the Gates of *Frederickſham*, and
back a large Booty with a great
r of Priſoners; ſo that the War is
enced between theſe two Nations,
' the *Swedes* have fallen much in
Demands, it is like to continue for
ime, the *Muſcovites* being reſolved to
hem nothing; and as their Army,
is much more numerous than the
Army, was, by our laſt Accounts
ence, in full March towards the
Frontier, we may probably ſoon have
unt of ſome important Action from
arter.

Since our laſt Accounts from *Germany*, the following are the moſt important: From *Bavaria*, That Count *Kevenhuller* having Advice that the *Bavarian* General Count *Thoring* had poſted himſelf, with a conſiderable Body of Troops, in the Neighbourhood of *Laudſberg*, with Intent to diſpute the Paſſage of his Troops through the narrow Defiles thereabouts, he ſent Baron *Berenclau*, with a Detachment to attack them, who marched up the *Danube* with ſuch Expedition, that he paſſed all the narrow Defiles, before the Enemy had Notice of his Approach, whereupon they retired with ſo much Precipitation that they left all their Magazines and Hoſpitals behind them. That General *Thoring* having afterwards attempted to retake *Kilbeim*, whilſt he was engaged in that Enterpriſe, Baron *Berenclau* came and attacked him, when after a ſharp Diſpute, the *Bavarians* were entirely defeated, and 300 made Priſoners, amongſt whom were the Count *Beaujeau* and his Brother, the Count *Preyſing*, the Barons *Weichel* and *Uberaker*, and the Capt. *Minuzzi*. Beſides the Army under Count *Kevenhuller*, another Body of *Hungarian* Troops having croſſed the Archbiſhoprick of *Saltzburgh*, have entered *Bavaria* on that Side, and have made themſelves Maſters of the Town of *Reichenhall*.

From *Bohemia* we hear, that the Army of the Allies has been for ſome Time employed in carrying on the Siege of *Egra*, but we have not as yet heard of its Surrender, nor do we hear of the *Auſtrian* Army's marching to its Relief; and from *Moravia* our Accounts are, that the *Pruſſian* and *Saxon* Armies had formed the Blockade of *Brinn*, as if they intended to beſiege it in Form; but all of a ſudden the King of *Pruſſia* retired, with Intention, as is ſaid, to facilitate his being joined by a Body of 18,000 Men, which the Prince *Anhalt Deſſau* is bringing to him through *Luſatia*. In his Retreat, his Rear ſuffered a good deal by the *Auſtrian* Huſſars; and the *Saxon* Troops being likewiſe obliged to retire, General *Philibert* was detached by Prince *Charles* of *Lorain* with 2000 Horſe and 1000 *Croatians*, to barraſs them in their Retreat, who happened to meet with the *Saxon* Regiment of *Coſel*, Infantry, near *Oſſow*, which he entirely defeated, 340 of them being killed on the Spot, and 188 taken Priſoners, among whom was the Colonel, and almoſt all the Officers of Note were either killed or taken.

As the *Spaniſh* Troops in *Italy* remain ſtill in the Eccleſiaſtical State, and as the King of *Sardinia* refuſes to march againſt them, unleſs they begin Hoſtilities, all Things remain as yet quiet in that Part of the World; and as the Duke of *Montemar*, the *Spaniſh* General, has hired a Company of Players to act Opera's to him at *Rimini*, 'tis probable that Hoſtilities will not ſoon begin.

ARCHI-

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE:

MAY, 1742.

JURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 183.

der to make our Readers under-
d the following Debate, we muſt
rm them, that laſt Seſſion of Par-
ent, there was a Bill paſſed
a Law, intitled, An Act for
Encouragement and Increaſe A
Seamen, and for the better
ſpeedier Manning his Maje-
Fleet. *This Bill, when it*
firſt brought in, had ſeveral
ſes which were thought dange-
to the Liberties of the Subject,
were therefore left out by the B
mittee. Among the reſt, there
one, by which it was propoſed
enacted, That the Juſtices of
ce ſhall, upon proper Appli-
on, iſſue out Warrants to the
ſtables, *&c.* to ſearch by Day
Night, for all ſuch Seamen or C
aring Men as ſhall withdraw
onceal themſelves within their
ective Juriſdictions, and for
Purpoſe to make a general
ch, in which it ſhall be law-
for them to enter any Houſe,
re they ſhall ſuſpect ſuch Sea- D
to be concealed, and if En-
ce be not *readily* admitted
them, then *to force open the Doors* of ſuch Houſe, in order to make ſuch Search.——And that whoever ſhall preſume to harbour or conceal any ſuch Seaman, or wilfully do any Thing to hinder or fruſtrate the Search, for every ſuch Offence ſhall, *(here the Puniſhment was to have been filled up by the Committee.)*

This Clauſe we had read in our Club, and as ſoon as it was read, L. Geganius *ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I Cannot ſit in this Place, and hear ſuch a Clauſe read, without declaring myſelf againſt it; becauſe I think it abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Liberties of my Country. An *Engliſhman*'s Houſe has always been ſaid to be his Caſtle: No Man is to enter into it without his Leave, unleſs there be a ſtrong Suſpicion

of his having been guilty of ſome very atrocious Crime, and that Suſpicion declared upon Oath by ſome Witneſs of good Credit. But by this Clauſe, the Houſe of every Man in *England* is to be laid open, both by Day and by Night, to all the petty Conſtables in his Neighbourhood. If ſuch a Clauſe ſhould paſs into a Law, can any Man in *England* be ſaid to be free? Can any Man's Property be ſaid to be ſafe; eſpecially when we conſider the Character of many of thoſe who ſerve the Office of Conſtable for Hire?

This, Sir, would be of ſuch dangerous Conſequence to the Properties as well as the Liberties of the Subject, that no Neceſſity can juſtify our paſſing ſuch a Law; and the only Argument I have heard made uſe of in its Favour, is rather, in my Opinion, an Argument againſt it. When this Bill was firſt brought in, we were told, as an Argument for it, that there was ſuch a Law paſſed in the 5th Year of Q. *Anne*; but as that Law ſubſiſted for a Year only, and as it was neither continued nor revived, it is to me a convincing Proof, that the Law was found inconvenient and dangerous, or that it was found not to anſwer the Purpoſe intended, and therefore I am againſt trying the Experiment a ſecond Time.

C. Duillius *ſpoke next to the Effect as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

AS it is hardly poſſible to contrive any Law for the publick Service, that may not ſeem inconvenient to private Men; and as in ſuch a numerous Aſſembly, there muſt be a great Variety of Sentiments, I expected, when this Bill was firſt brought in, to hear it oppoſed, eſpecially by thoſe Gentlemen who happen at preſent to [illegible] no Share in our Adminiſtra[tion] becauſe they are not ſenſible of [the] Difficulties that are to be met [with] in providing for the publick [ſer]vice, even after the Parliament [has] granted the Sums neceſſary for [that] Purpoſe; to which I muſt add, [that] they are generally but too jealous [of] the Liberties of the Subject, which makes them take the Alarm at [every] Thing that looks like an Extenſion of the Powers of our Government however neceſſary that Extenſion may be for the Eaſe or Safety of the People.

This, Sir, is the Caſe at preſent. Every Gentleman muſt grant, that his Majeſty's Navy ought to be man'd; becauſe without Men it can be of no Service to the Nation: but as the Law now ſtands, our Government labours under inſuperable Difficulties in providing a ſufficient Number of Seamen for the Service of the Navy. They have tried Impreſſing: They have tried Embargoes: They have tried every Method the Law admits of, without Succeſs; and I do not at all wonder at it; for when a Seaman expects his Month in the Merchant Service, I do not wonder at his endeavouring to avoid being preſſed into his Majeſty's Service, where he has but little more than 20*s.* He does it by abſconding and concealing himſelf till he finds an Opportunity of entering into the Merchant Service; and therefore thoſe now employed in our Government find it abſolutely neceſſary for them to have a Power to ſearch for and apprehend Seamen, either by Night or by Day, and to break open Doors, if Admittance ſhould be denied to the Officer.

This Power, 'tis true, Sir, [if] were to be made a bad Uſe of, [it] like all other Powers, prove [very] bleſome and inconvenient to [the] Subject; but whilſt it is [properly]

can be inconvenient to none
ſe who conceal Seamen in
Houſes, or at leaſt to ſuch as
uſpicion of their doing ſo,
can never be the Caſe of any
of Rank or Figure in the
om; and in modelling this
, all poſſible Care has, I
been taken to prevent this
's being made an improper or
ſe of; for the Juſtices of
before they can order a
for Seamen, muſt have an
rity from the Admiralty, and
hey have this Authority, they
iſſue their Orders, not to a
Gang, or Officer of the Navy,
the Conſtables, who are al-
uch as live in the Neighbour-
and being well known, might
be proſecuted and puniſhed,
they any Way miſbehave in
ecution of their Office.

nnot therefore, Sir, form to
any Apprehenſion, or ima-
e leaſt Danger from our paſ-
his Clauſe into a Law. A
Houſe will ſtill be his Caſtle:
this Clauſe paſs into a Law,
n's Houſe could be forced
nleſs he is guilty of a Crime,
by ſome Miſconduct given
o ſuſpect his being guilty. I
ilty of a Crime, Sir; for, I
it is a very great Crime in
n to withdraw himſelf from
vice of his Country, when
ty, perhaps the very Being
Country depends upon his
; and therefore I muſt think
me of a very heinous Nature
e who conceal Seamen ſo
wing from the Service of
wn: The publick Safety as
requires, and, in my Opini-
y as much deſerve to be ex-
the Danger of having their
ſearched, or their Doors
pen, as thoſe that harbour
, or conceal ſtolen Goods;
' the Power of ſearching
uſes of ſuch Criminals, or
ſuſpected Criminals, and breaking open their Doors in caſe of Non-admittance, has been eſtabliſhed for Ages, yet it has never been found inconvenient to innocent Men, or dangerous to the Liberties of the Subject.

I believe, Sir, no Gentleman will ſuppoſe, that thoſe who were employed in our Adminiſtration in the 5th Year of the late Queen, had any Deſigns againſt the Liberties of their Country. I believe, it will be generally admitted, they had as great a Regard for both the Liberties and Properties of their fellow Subjects, as any Adminiſtration ever had, yet they contrived and got paſſed ſuch a Law as is now propoſed. This ſhews, it was not then thought, that ſuch a Law would be of dangerous Conſequence to the Properties, or an Incroachment upon the Liberties of the Subject; and if that Law was not continued or revived, it was not becauſe of any Inconvenience found in it, but becauſe there was no Occaſion for continuing or reviving it. There can never be any Occaſion for ſuch a Law but at, or ſoon after the Beginning of a War, or when we are engaged with an Enemy poſſeſſed of a very great naval Force; and as the naval Power of *France* had been ſo much broke in the Beginning of that War, that they durſt never afterwards face us at Sea, we had no Occaſion for continuing or reviving this Law at any Time after the Year 1706.

The Caſe, Sir, may now be the ſame: If we paſs the Law now propoſed, it will be of great and immediate Service with regard to the Manning of his Majeſty's Navy; and if we ſhould make it to ſubſiſt but for a Year, there may probably be no Occaſion for continuing it, or if there ſhould, we may continue it but from Year to Year, till the Occaſion we have for it ceaſes; ſo

that I can apprehend no Danger from our paſſing it in the Form it ſtands at preſent, and as I can think of no other Method for manning the Ships we have now in Commiſſion, I muſt therefore be for the Clauſe, and as it is neceſſary at this immediate Juncture, I hope it will be paſſed into a Law.

The next that ſpoke was M. Valerius Corvus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus.*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THE Nature and Conſequences of the Clauſe now under our Conſideration, were ſo fully explained upon the ſecond Reading of this Bill, that I ſhould not have given you any Trouble upon this Occaſion, but as ſeveral Arguments were then thrown out, by Way of Anſwer to the Objections I had made to the Bill, to which I had not then an Opportunity to make any Reply: I ſhall now beg Leave to ſhew the Weakneſs of thoſe Arguments, and to inforce the Objections I then made, which to me appear the ſtronger, the more I conſider the Nature of this Bill, eſpecially when I compare it with the Nature of our Conſtitution, and conſider the Uſe that may be made of it by a Miniſter, who reſolves to have no Juſtices of Peace in any County, but ſuch as will yield a blind Obedience to his Orders.

We were told, Sir, that private Intereſt muſt always give Way to the publick; that the Manning of the Royal Navy is a publick Concern of the greateſt Conſequence, and that therefore every private Intereſt muſt be ſacrificed to it when it becomes abſolutely neceſſary to do ſo. I would gladly aſk theſe Gentlemen, if they think the Trade of the Nation a publick Concern? What Gentlemen may do who have lucrative Poſts or Employments under the Crown, I do no know; I am ſure, if our landed Gentlemen do not look upon Trade as a publick Intereſt, they will very ſoon find their private Intereſt very much diminiſhed, and in ſome Places almoſt entirely annihilated. It is our Trade, Sir, we have our Riches, our Power, our Navy, and our Seamen; and therefore, if we ſhould loſe our Trade, either by Neglect or by ſubjecting it to inſupportable Hardſhips, we ſhould have no occaſion for ſuch a Law as is now propoſed; for we ſhould neither have Seamen, nor Ships to put Seamen on board of. Our Trade has already ſuffered very conſiderably by the Methods we have taken for manning our Navy, and by this Law you will put an End to the whole Breed of our Seamen; for no Man will go to Sea, or breed himſelf a Sailor, when he conſiders, that by the Laws of his Country he thereby becomes liable to be preſſed, whenever a Miniſter ſhall take it into his Head to fit out a Squadron, either for Shew or Service, and that if he conceals himſelf, he is to be hunted after as if he were a common Felon.

Another Argument made uſe of in Favour of the Bill was, that there are a great Number of Sailors lurking up and down the Country, and that there are at leaſt twenty thouſand now employed in our coaſting Trade. As to the Sailors that are lurking up and down the Country, and unwilling to enter either into the Merchant Service or the Service of the Navy, I wiſh they could be apprehended, if they cannot be tempted, by the Reward offered by this Bill, to enter into his Majeſty's Service; but I do not believe there is any great Number of them, and, I am ſure, no Gentleman of this Houſe can with any Reaſon affirm there is; for if he could, he muſt then know

they are to be met with, and
at Caſe he would certainly give
Government Notice of it, to
nd they might be apprehended
ent on board the Navy. That
are a great Number of Sea-
lurking in the Country I there-
take to be a vague Aſſertion,
uſe of in Favour of this Bill,
out any ſolid Foundation; and
other Aſſertion of there being
aſt 6000 Seamen employed in
oaſting Trade is, I am convin-
without the leaſt Foundation.
not believe, Sir, there is a
h Part of the Number, able-
ed expert Seamen, employed in
coaſting Trade; for beſides the
er, our coaſting Veſſels ſeldom
above one or two ſuch Seamen
oard, the reſt of the Crew be-
made up of old Seamen above
Years of Age, young Seamen
r 18, Apprentices to the Ma-
and Landmen that were never
aps before at Sea; and as no
ing Veſſel can ſafely venture to
without one or two able-bodied
rt Seamen on board, beſide the
er, if you ſhould take from
ſuch as are now employed in
Trade, you would put an en-
Stop to it at once, the Conſe-
ces of which would ſoon be-
terrible, eſpecially here at
n, where the People are under
eceſſity of having a continual
ly from almoſt every Corner of
Kingdom.

am therefore convinced, Sir,
d this Clauſe be paſſed into a
, that its Authors and Advo-
would find themſelves very
h miſtaken as to its Effect. It
t, perhaps, force ſome of our
Seamen into foreign Service,
cially ſuch as have been em-
ed in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, but
nnot think, it would add any
Number to the Navy; and I
the more convinced of this,
what I have heard as to the
Effect of that Bill which was paſſed into a Law in the 5th of the late Queen, and which was of the ſame Nature with this; for I have been informed, that by Means of that Bill, they at that Time got but a very ſmall Number of Seamen, which was the true Reaſon of its not having been continued. As that Miniſtry had, I believe, as great a Regard for the Liberties and Properties of their fellow Subjects as any Miniſter can have, this was with them a prevailing Argument for not inſiſting upon the Law's being continued; but we are not to expect the like Condeſcenſion from every Miniſter, and as it is much eaſier to prevent a Bill's being paſſed into a Law, than to prevent the Law's being continued, I ſhall always be againſt truſting Miniſters, even with a temporary Law, which I think dangerous to our Conſtitution, however plauſible the Pretences may be that are made uſe of in its Favour. This, I ſay, ſhall always be my general Reſolution; but upon the preſent Occaſion I have a particular Reaſon for adhering to this Reſolution, for when a Law may ſerve for Purpoſes that are not declared, as well as for thoſe that are, and when it has by Experience been found ineffectual for the declared Purpoſes, I have, I think, Reaſon to ſuſpect, that the Deſign of renewing it, is in order to turn it to thoſe Purpoſes that are not declared.

As for the other Argument made uſe of in Favour of this Bill, which was that of our being at preſent under a Neceſſity of paſſing ſome ſuch Bill, it will, from what I have ſaid already, appear to be without any Foundation; for if the Bill be ineffectual, if it has by Experience been found to be ineffectual for the Purpoſes declared to be intended by it, ſurely the Nation can be under no Neceſſity for having it paſſed into a Law. I ſhall grant, that for other

other Purpoſes which are not declared, which never will be declared, it would be very effectual. It might, if paſſed into a Law, be made effectual for plaguing and harraſſing thoſe who ſhould not ſhew Complaiſance enough to our Juſtices of the Peace, or to their Superiors, our Miniſters; but if there be any amongſt us that ſecretly intend to turn the Law to ſuch Purpoſes, I am ſure, every other Gentleman in the Houſe, as well as the Nation in general, has great Reaſon to prevent the Bill's being paſſed into a Law.

For my own part, Sir, I do not know what Neceſſity we may be under at preſent; but this I know, that there are many Degrees of Neceſſity, and I hope we are not yet come to the laſt; for there are ſeveral other Methods may be thought of, beſides that now propoſed. We may paſs a Bill for ſuſpending the Navigation Act, and for encouraging foreign Seamen to enter into our Merchants or Goverment's Service: We may receive a great Number of Landmen on board every Ship of War; for it has always been admitted, that one Third expert Seamen is ſufficient for navigating the Ship, and Landmen may in a few Days be made as fit for fighting her, as if they were expert Seamen. If this Method were taken, our Admiralty might appoint proper Perſons to proportion the Number of Seamen and Landmen on board each Ship of War, which would be a great Relief to the Merchant Service; and if from the Beginning of this War, ſuch a Method had been followed, we ſhould not now have been under any Diſtreſs for want of Seamen, nor would our Trade have been brought under ſuch Difficulties, as it labours under at preſent. After ſuch a long Tract of peaceable Times, and the many Diſcouragements our Seamen had met with at home, it might eaſily have been foreſeen, that there would be a great Scarcity of Seamen at the firſt breaking out of War; and therefore the Gentlemen of our Admiralty ought to have begun with taking all the able-bodied Landmen they could poſſibly engage to enter into his Majeſty's Service, and at the ſame Time they ſhould have taken Care, that every Captain of a Man of War ſhould carry out a greater Number of Landmen, than was barely ſufficient for navigating his Ship, and that the beſt-ſeaſoned Seamen ſhould be put on board thoſe Ships that were deſigned for the *Weſt-Indies*.

But inſtead of purſuing theſe Meaſures, we have, almoſt in every Step purſued the direct contrary, by which we have brought ourſelves under the Neceſſity complained of; and now to relieve us from this Neceſſity, of the ſeveral Methods that may be thought of, that alone is propoſed which tends moſt to increaſe the Power of the Miniſter, and is conſequently of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties of the People. This, Sir, is a pretty extraordinary Method of proceeding; but I am no Way ſurpriſed at it, becauſe it is a Method of proceeding, which of late Years has been practiſed upon ſeveral former Occaſions; and therefore I ſhall only obſerve, that the oftener we ſee it practiſed, the more ſuſpicious we ought to be of thoſe that practiſe it, the more we ought to be upon our Guard againſt all Additions to the Power of the Crown, eſpecially ſuch as can ſerve only to inſlave us.

I ſhall grant, Sir, it is a very heinous Crime in a Man to withdraw himſelf from the publick Service when he thinks his Service may be of Uſe to his Country, and when it is his Turn to go upon that Service; but in this Country there are two Circumſtances, which render a Seaman's abſconding not altogether ſo criminal, as it would otherwiſe

When a Seaman is to enter, be preſſed on board our Navy, not ſure whether he is to go to his Country, or to be made a Shew of, either upon our own on ſome foreign Coaſt: This hath ariſen from our Conduct moſt twenty Years paſt, and the many uſeleſs Squadrons we fitted out; and whilſt a Sea- is in this Doubt, I cannot think Crime in him to withdraw lf from the publick Service. other Circumſtance is, our Cuſ- of preſſing Seamen out of Ships ward bound from a long Voy- and of turning them over from Man of War to another, often out giving them a Day to ſee Freinds, or to refreſh them- aſhoar; ſo that no Care is, indeed has ever been taken, to Seamen their Turn of Service e Navy, which is a very rea- ble Excuſe for our Seamens ab- ding and withdrawing them- from the publick Service, and Grievance, which ſome Way or ought to be remedied as ſoon oſſible; but ſurely this Grie- may be removed without put- it in the Power of a petty Con- to harraſs and oppreſs the beſt leman, or even the greateſt in his Neighbourhood, which d be the Caſe, if this Clauſe d paſs into a Law, as will ap- to every Gentleman, who im- ally conſiders the Words of the ſe.

he Juſtices of Peace, it is true, muſt have an Authority from Admiralty, before they can iſ- heir Orders for a general Search eamen, and the Conſtables muſt their Orders from the Juſtices, e they can go upon that Search; hoſe Orders are not to ſpecify Houſes they are to ſearch: The rs are to be general; and when ty Conſtable is provided with a general Order, and a Preſs-Gang proper for his Purpoſe, whatever it may be, may not he inſiſt upon ſearching the Houſe of any Gentleman, or any Nobleman in the Neighbourhood? May not he break open the Gates and the Doors of the Houſe, if the Servants ſhould refuſe to give him Admittance upon the firſt Word of Command? This, Sir, is ſuch an unlimited Power, and is lodged in a Perſon of ſuch a low Character, that I am ſurpriſed how it could enter into any Miniſter's Head to think, that a *Britiſh* Parliament would approve of it. I am ſure, I ſhall moſt heartily give it my Negative, and I hope, even the Gentlemen who brought in the Bill, will agree to leave out this Clauſe, when they conſider ſeriouſly the Conſequences it may be attended with.

Upon this L. Valerius Flaccus *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this Effect:*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

BY the Complaints within Doors, and the Clamours without, it would ſeem as if People thought, that War might be carried on without expoſing our Trade to the leaſt Inconvenience or Danger, which every conſiderate and impartial Man muſt allow to be impoſſible. That of drawing a great Number of Seamen out of the Merchant Service, and conſequently raiſing Seamens Wages in that Service, is one of thoſe Inconveniencies, that cannot be avoided at the Beginning of a War, eſpecially after a long Tract of peaceable Times; and as thoſe intruſted with the Adminiſtration of our publick Affairs cannot engage Seamen to enter into the King's Service by increaſing their Wages, they muſt have Recourſe to Preſſing, in which no regular Method can be obſerved; for when the Service requires it, they muſt preſs all they can

can find, without regard to their having been for a long or a ſhort Time at Sea, before their being preſſed into the King's Service.

The only two Methods I have ever heard of for preventing theſe Inconveniencies, are, to keep a great Number of Seamen, even in Time of Peace, in continual Pay, and to have a general Regiſter for our Seamen. If we had kept 20 or 30,000 Seamen in continual Pay and continual Service, during the many Years we have been in profound Peace, we ſhould now have had no Occaſion to draw any great Number away from our Trade; but this would have, ſeven Years ago, been exclaimed againſt, as putting the Nation to an Expence that was both unneceſſary and dangerous: And if we had yearly fitted and ſent out a powerful Squadron, for no other Reaſon but to exerciſe our Seamen, and prevent their forgetting their Trade, it would have been ridiculed, and called making a Raree Shew of our Squadrons and Seamen.

Then, Sir, as to a Regiſter for Seamen, it is certain, that if the Government had an Account of all the Seamen in the *Britiſh* Dominions, and could call upon ſuch of them as they pleaſed, to come in and ſerve on board the Royal Navy, the Admiralty would never have Occaſion to iſſue any Preſs Warrants, nor to force any Seaman to ſerve out of his Turn, or longer than his Turn. There would then be no Occaſion to preſs Men out of a Merchant Ship juſt returned from a long Voyage, nor for turning over a Crew from one Man of War to another. But this of a Regiſter too, we are told, would be dangerous to our Conſtitution, and would make Slaves of our Seamen. Thus, Sir, ſome Gentlemen are daily complaining of the Hardſhips to which our Trade and our Seamen are expoſed, and yet they will neither p... nor agree to any of the M... that are propoſed for preven... being neceſſary to ſubject our ... and our Seamen to thoſe Ha... To defend our own Coaſts in ... of War, we muſt have Squad... Sea, or ready to put to Sea; t... tect our Trade, we muſt have ... Number of Cruiſers and Con... Sea; to attack or annoy the E... we muſt ſend powerful Squ... upon their Coaſts. If any of ... Services were neglected, thoſ... are not in our Government ... exclaim againſt thoſe that are, ... they would have Reaſon to ex... when thoſe that are in our G... ment make uſe of the only M... they have in their Power for ſ... ing thoſe Services, the Gent... that happen not to be concer... our Government complain of ... Conduct and ſay, they unneceſ... harraſs our Trade and oppreſ... Seamen; and when thoſe tha... in our Government propoſe the ... bliſhing of other Methods for ... plying thoſe Services, thoſe ... are not in our Government ... the Alarm and ſay, they are ... to overturn our Conſtitution.

Theſe, Sir, are the Circumſ... we now ſeem to be in: Their ... the Circumſtances we have ... long in; and whilſt we are in ... Circumſtances, we can never ex... to be eaſy at home, or to ma... Figure abroad; therefore, I ... Gentlemen would lay aſide ... Jealouſies and Fears, and co... heartily and ſincerely in all ... ſures that ſeem to be neceſſary ... enabling us to act with Vig... our national Capacity. Every ... deſires to have the publick S... performed: Every Man deſi... have the publick Wants ſupp... but few are willing to con... their due Share either of A... or Expence: The Government ... be inveſted with ſuch Powers ...

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nwilling: If it is not, you
ver expect to act with Vigour
ne of War, nor to be at quiet
ne of Peace. You ought not
re to be jealous of giving
Powers to your Government:
ught only to be watchful leſt
thoſe Powers ſhould be made
Uſe of; and whilſt our Judges
do their Duty, no Power
d by Parliament can be made
or an oppreſſive Uſe of with
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this Reaſon, Sir, I cannot
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s Clauſe, will ever make a
ſe of them, or ſearch any
without ſome reaſonable Suſ-
of Seamens being kept con-
in it; but if it ſhould be
t, that an unlimited Power
Reſpect is too great to be
either in the Juſtices of the
or in their under Officers
nſtables, you may reſtrain
ower by an Amendment to
uſe: You may amend it ſo
neither the Juſtices nor the
bles can ſearch any Houſe
an Affidavit, that ſome ab-
g Seamen are ſuppoſed to be
ed in the Houſe. This, I
will obviate all the Objec-
at have been made to the
as it now ſtands; and the
ing of ſuch a Law may very
y put an End, in a ſhort
both to Preſſing and Search-
if it were once made im-

poſſible for Seamen to avoid being preſſed by abſconding, and ſuch a Reward offered as is by this Bill propoſed, to all ſuch as ſhould enter themſelves voluntarily into his Majeſty's Service, every Seaman in the Kingdom would upon the firſt Proclamation voluntarily offer himſelf, in order to be intitled to the Reward, if he were accepted of, or to a Protection if he were not. By this Means our Government would always have Plenty and Choice of Seamen at its Command, which would put an End to Preſſing as well as Searching; and the Commiſſioners of our Admiralty would then have it in their Power to give every Seaman his Turn of Service in the Navy: They would then have no Occaſion to force any Man out of his Turn, nor to deſire him to continue longer in the Navy than his Turn; and conſequently they could never be under a Neceſſity to preſs Seamen out of a Merchant Ship homeward bound from a long Voyage, nor to turn a Crew over from one Man of War to another.

I am therefore, Sir, ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, that this Law would bring our Seamen into any Sort of Slavery, or under the leaſt Inconvenience; for, in my Opinion, it would have a quite contrary Effect: It would relieve them from all the Hardſhips they now labour under, by making it unneceſſary for our Government to force any of them into his Majeſty's Service, or to keep them there, out of their Turn; and if we ſhould even in Time of Peace keep in continual Pay but half as many Seamen as we can probably have uſe for in Time of War, which, now we have ſeen the Inconvenience of not doing ſo, will, I hope, be reſolved on, when Peace is reſtored, we could then carry on any future War, without drawing ſuch a Number of Seamen from the

Merchant Service as might any Way embarraſs our Trade; for I ſhall grant, that a certain Number of Landmen, in Proportion to the Number of Seamen, may be taken on board every Ship of War; but I am far from thinking that the Proportion of Landmen ſhould be ſo great as two Thirds. A few Landmen may, 'tis true, aſſiſt in fighting the Ship; but from all I could ever learn, and I have been curious in this Particular, an expert Seaman is better even for fighting the Ship than the beſt trained Landman you can put on board; and it is to the great Number of Seamen we uſually have on board our Ships of War, that our Ships are ſuperior to any foreign Ships of the ſame Rate. Our Neighbours generally put more Men on board their Ships than we do, but as moſt of their Men are Landmen, and as moſt of ours are Seamen, we work our Ships and manage our Guns more dextrouſly than they do, which always gives us the Advantage in an Engagement; and tho' their Landmen are often trained Soldiers, yet it is generally found, we do more Execution even with our ſmall Arms than they can.

I therefore hope, Sir, we ſhall always hereafter put ourſelves to a little extraordinary Expence in Time of Peace, rather than give up this Superiority which has often been of great Benefit to us, and from which we have reaped ſo much Glory; and as we had not done ſo during the laſt Peace, and was therefore in great Want of Seamen at the Beginning of the War, I muſt think, it was better to diſtreſs our Trade a little, rather than expoſe our Ships to be taken, and our naval Reputation to be loſt, by putting too many Landmen on board any of our Ships of War, eſpecially thoſe ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*. The Climate in that Country is known to be ſo obnoxious to our Landmen, and our Ships are ſo far diſtant from any freſh Supply, that we could not venture to put any Number of Landmen on board; and it is to this chiefly that we ought to impute the preſent great Scarcity of Seamen; for in that Part of the World we have now above 20,000 Seamen in his Majeſty's Service, beſides the great Numbers that are gone thither to ſerve on board Privateers. We could not at the Beginning put any Proportion of Landmen on board the Ships deſigned for that Service, and much leſs can we do it now; and with regard to the Ships at home which are now in Commiſſion, I believe, we muſt content ourſelves with having one Third expert Seamen on board each of them, and muſt therefore proportion our Seamen among them as well as we can.

This, Sir, is a Neceſſity we are drove to, which, I muſt ſay, I am ſorry for, becauſe I think it a dangerous Neceſſity; for how ſoon we may be obliged to ſend a great Number of theſe Ships to Sea no one can tell. I do not pretend to be let into any Secrets of State, or any of the ſecret Intelligence we have from abroad; but I may take Notice of what I have lately ſeen in a News Paper, which ſaid, that twelve *French* Men of War from *Breſt* were to join the *Spaniſh* Squadron now fitting out at *Cadiz*. If this be true, we muſt immediately ſend out a very powerful Squadron to obſerve the Motions of theſe united Squadrons, and if our Squadron ſhould find it neceſſary to engage, I am afraid, our Ships, with two Thirds Landmen that had never been at Sea before, would not make ſuch a Figure in an Engagement, as they have formerly been uſed to do: If our Squadron ſhould be defeated, and ſeveral of our Ships loſt, thoſe who are now complaining of our not having taken Land-

n on board, would then, per-
ps, change their Note, and com-
in as heavily of our having tar-
hed our Glory, loſt our Ships,
d expoſed the Nation to be in-
ded, by taking too many Land-
n on board, and that we had
ne better to put a Stop to our
ade for a Month or two, than to
ve expoſed ourſelves to ſuch Diſ-
ce, ſuch Loſs, and ſuch Danger.
The Gentlemen who have the
nour of being at the Head of
Admiralty are, therefore, in the
ht, Sir, to try all Expedients ra-
r than expoſe themſelves to ſuch
mplaints: The Expedient now
poſed they cannot try without
Authority of Parliament: If
t Authority be refuſed, now they
e aſked it, they will in ſo far be
lified, let the Conſequences be
at they will. Whether this Ex-
dient would be effectual no Man
tell, becauſe it is impoſſible to
w what Numbers of Seamen are
lurking up and down the Coun-
, or what Numbers of able bodied
pert Seamen are now employed
our coaſting Trade. As to the
mer, we have Reaſon to believe,
t there are great Numbers of
m, becauſe no Merchant Ship is
r at a Loſs for Seamen, if ſhe
but get a Protection: Thoſe
ed the Crimps know where the
men may be ſent to, and when
Maſter of a trading Veſſel wants
h a Number, they are ready at a
l; but their Crimps take Care
to let the Government or any
ſs-Gang know where they are
e met with.

Then, Sir, as to the Number of
e bodied expert Seamen now em-
yed in the coaſting Trade, tho'
elieve it to be much greater
n the Hon. Gentleman repre-
ts, yet I am convinced, it is not
r ſo great as uſual in Time of
ce, not becauſe there are not
ny ſuch Seamen now in the King-
m, but becauſe moſt of thoſe
that are fit for his Majeſty's Ser-
vice, and conſequently liable to be
preſſed, now refuſe to be employed
at Sea, and have retired up into the
Country, where they live by ſome
Employment at Land, or upon the
Credit they have from their Crimps
or their old Maſters, who know
they can reimburſe themſelves with
good Intereſt out of the firſt Wages
the Seaman receives, when a ſafe
Opportunity offers, for his being
employed at the preſent high Wages
in the coaſting Trade or Merchant
Service.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I believe
the Expedient now propoſed would
have a very great Effect, towards
relieving us from our preſent Diſ-
treſs; and as I cannot think the
Clauſe, with the Amendment I
have propoſed, could have any bad
Conſequence, I ſhall therefore be for
its being paſſed into a Law.

T. Æbutius *ſtood up next, and made a ſhort Speech to the Effect as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

WHEN I look round me, I am ſurpriſed to find this Bill meet with ſo much Oppoſition. I believe, we are all true born *Engliſhmen*, I ſhould have ſaid *true Britons*, in this Houſe; and therefore I hope the Bill will at laſt meet with a very general Approbation; for if there were a *Frenchman* or a *Spaniard* amongſt us, I am perſuaded, he would be againſt the Bill, eſpecially the Clauſe now under our Conſideration. He would frighten us with Slavery, and I do not know what, in order to prevent our agreeing to ſuch a neceſſary and uſeful Regulation. This, I am perſuaded, would be the Caſe, had we any ſuch Men amongſt us; and this of itſelf is with me a ſufficient Reaſon for agreeing to what is propoſed.

He was answered by C. Marcius Coriolanus, *the Purport of whose Speech was thus:*

Mr. President,
SIR,

I Little ſuſpected that the Oppoſers of this Clauſe ſhould be accuſed of being *Frenchmen* or *Spaniards*. It is becauſe I am neither a *Frenchman* or *Spaniard*, nor a profeſſed or ſecret Friend to either, that I am againſt this Clauſe. I am a true born *Engliſhman*, and as ſuch I have a ſincere Regard for the Liberties and Properties of my Countrymen; therefore I muſt be againſt a Clauſe which will render both precarious. I hope, I ſhall always be againſt ſuch Expedients, even tho' I ſhould thereby ſacrifice ſome private Intereſt or View of my own. If we had a *Frenchman* or *Spaniard* amongſt us, that underſtood any Thing of Trade and Navigation, I am convinced, he would be a hearty Advocate for this Regulation: At leaſt I ſhould have a very bad Opinion, either of his Judgment and Foreſight, or of his Attachment to his native Country, if he were not. If a *Spaniard* of good Underſtanding were amongſt us, he would certainly be for the Clauſe, becauſe it would force many of our Seamen into the Service of *Spain*. If Cardinal *Fleuri* were a Member of this Houſe, I am ſure he would be for it; becauſe he would foreſee, that in a ſhort Time it would give his Country a Superiority over us at Sea, by forcing moſt of the Seamen we now have into foreign Service, and preventing any *Engliſhman*'s breeding himſelf to the Sea for the future. But, I hope, the Cardinal has no Influence over any Member, far leſs over a Majority of this Houſe, and therefore, I hope to ſee the Clauſe rejected with Diſdain.

If we are now under any Diſtreſs, Sir, for want of Seamen, we have brought it upon ourſelves, by not encouraging Landmen to enter into his Majeſty's Sea Service at the beginning of the War, by refuſing many that were offered, and by raiſing marching Regiments, under the ſpecious Name of *Marines*, before we had half manned our Navy. At the Beginning of the War we could not ſo much as apprehend, that either the *Spaniards* or the *French* would in a Twelve-month's Time be in a Condition to face our Squadrons any where at Sea; we might therefore have taken as many Landmen as we pleaſed, on board our Navy, at the Beginning of the War, becauſe in a Twelve-month's Time many of them would have become expert Seamen, and all would have become fit for ſome Sort of Service on board our Men of War. It is a Miſtake to ſuppoſe, that the hot Climate in the *Weſt-Indies* is very obnoxious to our Landmen, if they are kept in Action and Exercise. But when our Ships are kept hovering in one Station, with Inſtructions not to attempt any Thing againſt the Enemy, as they were at the *Baſtimento's*, in that Caſe, I shall grant the *Weſt-Indian* Climate would be obnoxious, any Climate would be obnoxious, to Men kept confined on board a Ship in ſuch an idle, ſpiritleſs and vexatious Situation; and it would be obnoxious to our Seamen as well as Landmen, as we found by fatal Experience in the Place I have mentioned. But at the Beginning of this War, I hope no Squadrons were intended to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies* with ſuch Inſtructions; therefore, if a great Number of young vigorous Landmen had been ſent out, I believe they would have kept their Healths as well as our Seamen have done, and moſt of them would have been Maſters of their Buſineſs, before they could have met with any Thing like Oppoſition at Sea.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if we are
y in any Diſtreſs for want of Sea-
n, I muſt impute it wholly to the
ng Meaſures we took at the Be-
ning of the War; but ſuppoſe it
be partly owing to our not ha-
g kept a greater Number of Sea-
n in Pay during Peace, who are
y that are to blame for this Want
Foreſight? I am ſurpriſed to hear
h a Complaint mentioned by the
vocates for this Motion: Have
they or their Friends had the
delling of the publick Expence
almoſt theſe twenty Years? Did
y ever propoſe a Number of Sea-
n for any one Year, that was not
eed to by Parliament? Have not
y been often blamed for redu-
g the Number of our Seamen, in
er to keep up an unneceſſary,
gerous and oppreſſive Number of
d Forces? The Truth is, they
e all along ſeemed to be more
id of the People, than of the
ple's foreign Enemies; and there-
e they neglected and reduced that
y of Men, which is moſt proper
defending us againſt foreign Ene-
s, in order to keep up and in-
ſe that Body of Men, which
moſt proper for defending them
inſt the People.

Thus, Sir, let us conſider our pre-
t Diſtreſs in what Light we will,
muſt ſee, that it is intirely ow-
to the bad Conduct of thoſe,
o are the Advocates for this
uſe; and the wrong Uſe they
e made of the Powers they were
eſſed of, is, I think, no very
d Argument for intruſting them
h more. However, Sir, as I am
puſhing this War with the ut-
t Vigour, I ſhould be for the
uſe propoſed, if I thought it
ld any Way contribute towards
eving us from the Diſtreſs we
ſaid to be in; but as I think it
ld plunge us into farther and
ater Difficulties, by driving into
ign Service many of the Seamen
we now have amongſt us, and as I think it would be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, both to the Liberty and Property of every Man in the Kingdom, I muſt therefore be againſt it.

The next Speech we ſhall give upon this Subject, was that made by M. Cato, *which was in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I DID not think to have roſe up ſo ſoon in this Debate; but I find you are like to perplex yourſelves with amending a Clauſe that cannot be amended, and therefore I ſtand up to prevent, if I can, your giving yourſelves this unneceſſary Trouble. Sir, amend it what Way you will, it will be a Clauſe, which no *Engliſhman* can agree to. I ſhould not look upon a Man as an *Engliſhman*, that would agree to ſubject himſelf to ſuch a ſlaviſh Power; to have his Houſe expoſed to a petty Conſtable and a Preſs-Gang, at all Hours of the Night, is what no Gentleman that puts any Value either upon his Liberty or his Property, will ſubmit to. I have the Honour, Sir, to repreſent the County of *Middleſex*, where there are many rich Freeholders; there are Juſtices of Peace too; theſe have done me many ill Offices, and have attempted to do me many more; for we know whoſe Tools moſt of them are. But I depend upon the Freeholders, and while I preſerve their Eſteem, I ſhall deſpiſe the Juſtices.

Do Gentlemen think, Sir, that I will expoſe my own Houſe, or the Houſe of any Freeholder in *England*, to be broke open at the Pleaſure of an inſignificant Two-penny Juſtice of Peace, prompted by his own Malice or Reſentment, or directed by the revengeful Temper of a Miniſter? A Gentleman may have

500*l.*

500*l.* or 1000*l.* in Bank Notes in his Houſe; theſe, Sir, have no Ear Mark: The Gentleman may not, perhaps, have taken the Numbers: If theſe ſhould be taken away, how could he recover them? He could not, perhaps, prove that he had any ſuch in his Houſe; if he could, whom could he ſue? Would it be poſſible to fix the taking of them upon any one Man of the Party? But if this could be done, would not a low Fellow of a Conſtable, or perhaps one of the Preſs-Gang, make his Eſcape, as ſoon as he had got Poſſeſſion of ſuch a Sum of Money? Thus, it would be impoſſible for the Owner to recover his Property, or to puniſh the Man that had robbed him. An Affidavit could be no Security againſt this Danger; they that will ſteal, will ſwear: Suppoſing the Juſtice to be no Party in the thieviſh Conſpiracy, which I am far from reckoning impoſſible, a petty Conſtable, any common Fellow who knew I had ſuch a Sum of Money in my Houſe, might go before a Juſtice and ſwear, that I had Seamen concealed in my Houſe: The Juſtice muſt, by this Clauſe, grant his Warrant; he is required ſo to do: The Conſtable muſt make the Search; and the Affidavit Man comes along with him, as one of the Preſs-Gang, perhaps when I and moſt of my Servants are gone to viſit a Neighbour, and whilſt the other Servants are attending to open the Doors of every Creek and Corner to the Conſtable, the Affidavit Man may very probably find an Opportunity to break open my Scrutore, and take away my Money.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, our Properties were ſafe, or could be made ſafe, againſt ſuch a Clauſe as this, would any Gentleman tamely ſubmit to have his Houſe ſearched, and himſelf and his Family diſturb'd, every Night for two or three Months together? Yet this might be the Caſe, if a Miniſter, or the Tool of a Miniſter, ſhould conceive a Pique againſt him for oppoſing them at an Election. We know how eaſy it is for Miniſters to find Affidavit Men, and no Court in *England* could give the Gentleman any Redreſs, becauſe the Search was every Night made according to the expreſs Directions of an Act of Parliament. Even the Parliament itſelf could not give him Redreſs, if the Perſons concerned in the Conſpiracy ſtood firm by one another: I ſay, Sir, even the Parliament itſelf could give no Redreſs, without exerciſing a more arbitrary Power, than I ſhould ever wiſh to ſee exerciſed by any Parliament in *England*; for no Man could ſay, the Affidavit Man had taken a falſe Oath, when he ſwore he had Reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſeamen would be that Night concealed in ſuch a Houſe; nor could the Parliament puniſh the Juſtice or the Conſtable, for doing what the Law required them to do. In ſhort, Sir, this Clauſe is ſo full fraught with Oppreſſion, and ſo dangerous to the Liberty, the Property and the Quiet of every Man in *England*, not concerned in the executive Part of the Government, that I muſt think the Contrivers of it have a Fancy, that they and their Poſterity *in Seculorum Seculorum* are to be the Miniſters and Magiſtrates of *Great Britain*.

An honourable Gentleman, Sir, who argued for this Clauſe, as he has done for many others of the ſame Nature, has been pleaſed to favour us with his Advice, to laſide our Jealouſies and Fears, and intruſt our Miniſters with all ſuch Powers, as they ſhall call neceſſary for enabling us to act with Vigour in our national Capacity. This, Sir, is directly the Fable of the Fox and the Geeſe; but I hope we ſhall not be ſuch Geeſe, as to take his Advice. Let our Miniſters aim at no extraordinary and dangerous Powers,

and

I'll anſwer for it, the People entertain no Jealouſies; but a Miniſter has, during the Courſe of a long Adminiſtration been aiming at ſuch Powers, has obtained more than ever Miniſter did, it is no Wonder e Jealouſies and Fears ariſing g the People: It is rather to wonder'd at, that thoſe Jealouare not more violent and more ral than they are. We have of Years had many dangerous peLaws enacted; Laws which ſeem ulated rather for oppreſſing the cent, than puniſhing the Guil- The late Smuggling Act is a terrible Law of this Nature. avel often into a County well wn to an honourable Gentleman me, when I am there, I often k about with a Gun upon my ulder, and with two or three ants or Companions armed in ſame Manner: Upon ſuch Ocons, I confeſs, I am in ſome n, leſt I ſhould be taken up for a ggler; I know I might be taup as ſuch, by Authority of Law, becauſe I happen to be elling with Arms, and within Miles of the Sea Coaſt, or of navigable River: Nay, I know ight be condemned and tranſed as ſuch, in Caſe one of my ants ſhould happen, without my owledge, to have a Parcel of or Lace in his Pocket, which riend of his had deſired him to y to a Neighbour in the Coun-

t is true, Sir, no bad Uſe has as been made of that Law; but n we are conſidering whether or a Government be arbitrary, we not to inquire what they do, but at they may do; for whatever y may do, they will do, when y have neceſſary Occaſion for it. e King of *France* had an Army, conſequently a Power to compel Parliament to regiſter his Edicts, long before he attempted it. The Parliament of *Paris* had formerly a Negative in the Paſſing of Laws, as well as we in this Houſe have; they ſtill pretend to the Right, but now they dare not exerciſe it; and by A Means of our Armies and our penal Laws, this Houſe may ſoon be brought into the ſame Circumſtances: The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney General, or the Secretary at War, may bring us a Bill, ready cut and dry, from his Majeſty, and tell us, the King commands B us to paſs it. This Houſe, as it is compoſed at preſent, would, I know, diſdain to obey any ſuch Command; but by oppreſſing our Electors, by Means of penal Laws, a Miniſter may get ſuch a Houſe choſen, as C would refuſe nothing the Crown could deſire, and in that Caſe, I'm afraid, the Nation would find but little Relief in the other Houſe. Sir, to act with Vigour in our national Capacity, we have no Occaſion to intruſt our Miniſters with any extraD ordinary Powers, or with a Multitude of penal Laws. The Nation has often acted with Vigour before theſe Powers were granted; it has never acted with Vigour ſince they were granted; nor can it, I believe, ever act with Vigour till many of E them are repealed. New and extraordinary Powers, and a Multiplicity of penal Laws, render the People jealous, uneaſy, and diſcontented with their Government; and whilſt the People are ſo, however vigorouſly our Miniſters may act, in F oppreſſing the People at home, and preventing their being able to do themſelves Juſtice, it will not be in their Power to act with Vigour abroad, or againſt a foreign Enemy: Therefore, the intruſting of our Miniſters with new and extraordinary G Powers, inſtead of enabling us, will render it impoſſible for us to act with Vigour in our national Capacity.

An honourable Gentleman propheſied to us, Sir, that our Paſſing this Clauſe into a Law would prevent our Government's being under any Neceſſity, either to preſs, or to ſearch for Seamen; becauſe, if our Seamen ſhould ſee, that they could not by abſconding avoid being preſſed into his Majeſty's Service, they would all come and enter voluntarily. Sir, it is not the firſt Time that honourable Gentleman and his Friends have appeared to be miſtaken in their Prophecies; if they had not, we ſhould have been engaged in no ſuch War as the preſent; and, I believe, they never found themſelves more out in any Prophecy, than they will find themſelves in this. Our paſſing this Clauſe into a Law, I ſhall grant, may put an End both to preſſing and ſearching for Seamen; not becauſe our Government will be under no Neceſſity for doing ſo, but becauſe it will be in vain for them to do ſo; for I am convinced, it would in a ſhort Time hunt every Seaman we have out of the Kingdom; and if we had no Seamen left, it would be needleſs for our Government to ſearch for them, and it would be impoſſible to preſs, when there is no Man to be preſſed.

Our Seamen, Sir, are already expoſed to greater Hardſhips than our Landmen are: The latter are never preſſed into the Army, but cajoled and bribed into the Service; the former are preſſed into the Navy upon every trifling Occaſion. I am ſure, I may ſay ſo from our Conduct of late; for though we have of late had many a hot Preſs for Seamen, they have never been ſent upon any Expedition, where they could gain Glory or Riches, either to themſelves or their Country. If to their former Hardſhips we add this now propoſed, they will all leave us; for a *Britiſh* Sailor will always be a welcome Gueſt to any Power in *Europe*. It is impoſſible, S amend this Clauſe ſo, as to m good; therefore, do not let u wire-drawn by Amendments the Paſſing of a Clauſe which mend it as you will, muſt de the very End for which it is fra be intended: It is directly the cumber; pare it, ſlice it, ſq it, put what Ingredients you wi it, yet ſtill it will be fit for noth but being thrown out at Windo

The next that ſpoke was Q. Minu Rufus, *whoſe Speech was to t Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

AS I am deſcended of a Fam that has never been defic in their Duty to their Country, u has upon former Occaſions ta Arms in Defence of its Liber and Privileges, I ſhould be ſorry I degenerated ſo much from t Virtue of my Anceſtors, as to a prove of any Regulation that m be of dangerous Conſequence to t Liberties of my Country; but I a ſo far from looking upon the Reg lation now propoſed in this Lig that, I think, not only our Liberti but our Independency as a free N tion will be in the utmoſt Danger if it is not agreed to; for if ou Government is not enabled to de fend us againſt foreign Attacks, w ſhall certainly be conquered by th firſt Nation that is bold enough t invade us.

I have examined the Clauſe and attended to the Debate, I hope impartially, and I muſt confeſs, I can ſee none of thoſe dangerous Conſequences that have been ſug geſted by thoſe who have ſpoke a gainſt the Clauſe: Our Apprehen ſions ought all, I think, to be upon the other Side of the Queſtion; for if we do not expoſe our Houſes to the Danger of being ſearched for abſconding

onding Seamen by our own Ma-
ates and Officers, they will be
ofed to the Danger of being
dered by invading *Spaniards* or
chmen. We may preſcribe Li-
to the former: We may pu-
them if they exceed thoſe Li-
; but the latter we can neither
t nor puniſh; and ſurely the
ger of being plundered is of
h greater Conſequence than the
ger of being ſearched.

wiſh Gentlemen would judge
e candidly of one another's Be-
our: I am afraid, Sir, there
ſome amongſt us who judge
Envy and Reſentment. Such
ons will always create Jealou-
and Fears, and ſuggeſt Appre-
ions for which there is not the
Foundation. We ought to be-
like Chriſtians towards one
her; if we did, we ſhould ne-
udge raſhly of the Thoughts or
ons of other Men; but would
ve with Meekneſs, Humility,
Forbearance, which are ſo ne-
y for the Preſervation of So-
, and for keeping up a friendly
courſe among Men. As I ſhall
ys endeavour to follow this
ept, I cannot ſuſpect thoſe who
ofed this Clauſe of any bad In-
on, and if it ſhould hereafter
Riſe to any Sort of Oppreſſion,
ay eaſily be amended or re-
d; therefore to relieve us from
preſent Neceſſity, and to pre-
the like in Time to come, it
, I think, to be approved of.

Numicius Priſcus *roſe up next,*
and ſpoke in Subſtance thus:

. Preſident,
I R,

is ſomething ſurpriſing, that
is Nation ſhould have ſubſiſted
nd independent for ſo many
and yet ſhould now be in
Danger of being conquered by
e or *Spain*, that we muſt enable
our Miniſters to conquer us, in order to prevent our being conquered by Foreigners. Is not this, Sir, *ne moriaris, mori?* It may preſerve, it may even increaſe the Independency of our Miniſters, becauſe it will render them independent of the People, which they ought never to be; but it will deſtroy the Liberties of the People; and as we ſit here chiefly to preſerve the Liberties of the People againſt the Incroachments and Uſurpations of Miniſters, how could we anſwer it to our Conſtituents? To mine I could ſay nothing, but only that I had made myſelf as great a Slave as I had made them: To them, and I believe to moſt others in *England*, it would be no Excuſe to ſay, that if we had not done ſo, we ſhould all have been conquered by *France* or *Spain*; for whatever our Miniſters and their Friends may pretend, I am ſure, the People of *Great Britain* are under no Apprehenſions of their being conquered by either of theſe two Powers.

Every one knows, Sir, that the Freedom of our Conſtitution conſiſts principally in the Freedom of our Elections; and the Freedom of our Elections conſiſts in its not being in the Power of a Miniſter, or any great Man, to hurt an Elector, on Account of his voting contrary to his Orders at any Election. Would this be the Caſe, if this Clauſe ſhould be paſſed into a Law? Might not a Miniſter, or his Tools the Juſtices of Peace, harraſs a ſtubborn Elector out of his Life, or at leaſt out of his Buſineſs, by ſending a Conſtable and a Preſs-Gang every Night, or every other Night, to ſearch his Houſe for abſconding Seamen? The Interpoſition of an Affidavit would no Way mend the Matter; for when there is no Danger of incurring the Penalties of Perjury, as there could be none in this Caſe, an Affidavit is eaſily obtain'd,

eſpecially when the Affidavit Man is ſure of being protected, as well as rewarded by a Miniſter of State. We know what Uſe has been made of the Power of quartering Soldiers upon Publick-houſes; we know that Innkeepers, and even Boroughs, have ſometimes been made to ſuffer by that Means, for their having diſobliged miniſterial Orders at Elections: This, I am convinced, has been done; it may again be done, without any Poſſibility of its being proved; becauſe the Act is legal, the Crime conſiſts ſingly in the Intention, which People may ſuſpect, but cannot prove. This of ſearching would be attended with the ſame Convenience to Miniſters and their Tools, and the Effect would be much more extenſive; becauſe Quartering of Soldiers is confined to Publick-houſes; but this of ſearching for Seamen is to be extended to all Sorts of Houſes, even to the Houſes of the beſt Noblemen in the Kingdom.

For my Part, Sir, ſhould we agree to this Clauſe, I can have no Notion that the other Houſe will: We may, if we pleaſe, lay our own Houſes open, at all Hours of the Night, to petty Conſtables and Preſs-Gangs; but I cannot think the Lords will lay their Houſes open at ſuch Times, or to ſuch Viſitants. They will certainly except the Houſes of all Peers and Peereſſes; and if the Bill ſhould be returned to us with ſuch an Exception, would you paſs it into a Law? I am therefore of Opinion, that if this Clauſe ſtands in the Bill, it will occaſion the Loſs of the Whole; and as I am for the firſt Clauſe, which enables the Government to give a Reward of 5 *l.* to every Seaman that ſhall voluntarily enter into his Majeſty's Service, I muſt therefore be againſt a Clauſe which, I think, will occaſion the Loſs of the whole Bill.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, I were aſſured, that the other Houſe would be complaiſant to our Miniſters, ſome in this ſeem to be, the Clause is in itſelf of a Nature ſo dangerous to our Conſtitution, that I muſt againſt it: It gives ſuch an exclusive Power to Juſtices of Peace and their Conſtables, as is repugnant to the Spirit of our Law, and incompatible with our Conſtitution. The Juſtices of the Peace are generally too apt to favour the Cauſe of the Crown, rather than that of the Subject: Nay, many of them are too apt to become the mere Tools of a Miniſter, and to make uſe of all the Powers they are inveſted with according to his Directions. Admit, ſuppoſe it were otherwiſe; ſuppoſe they were all inclined to favour the Subject, and Enemies to all Manner of Oppreſſion; in this Caſe they cannot prevent it, where a Miniſter inclines to oppreſs: Even with the Amendment propoſed they cannot prevent it. They muſt give the Oath to the Perſon that comes to inform; they muſt thereupon grant their Warrant for ſearching the Houſe informed againſt; and the Conſtable muſt execute the Warrant, even tho' both were fully convinced of the Falſhood of the Affidavit, and that it was ſworn to upon a Deſign to oppreſs, or in order to ſatisfy the Malice and Revenge of the Miniſter, or perhaps that of the Informer himſelf.

I ſhall admit, Sir, that the Government has a Right to the Service of every Seaman, when the Safety of their Country requires their Service; and I know it has been the Practice to preſs Seamen upon ſuch Occaſions: Whether the Practice be eſtabliſhed by Law, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but ſo far I may ſay, that the Method of Preſſing ought never to be practiſed, except when the Nation is in the moſt imminent Danger. On ſuch Occaſions the King has, I know, a

dictatorial Power, and therefore
preſs Men either for the Land
a Service; for I do not think
e is by Law any real Difference
ween the two; and therefore I
think it both againſt Law and
ſon to preſs Seamen upon every
ing Occaſion, as has been the
ctice of late Years; for from the
r 1718 to the breaking out of
War, I do not think there was
any juſt Occaſion for a Preſs,
yet we have had ſeveral within
Period. Upon great Occaſions
eed, and when the publick Safe-
abſolutely requires it, the Go-
nment has a Right to the Ser-
e of every Seaman in the King-
n, till his Majeſty's Navy be
y ſupplied; and then I will al-
, that every Seaman in the King-
n, who abſconds, is criminal;
ſurely we are not to take away
Liberty of the Subject in gene-
, for the Sake of bringing them
their Duty.

e next Speaker was Arrianus Ma-
turius, *whoſe Speech was to this
Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THO' I can pretend to no more than to reſume or enlarge upon me of the Arguments that have ready been mentioned in this De-ate; yet, as it is a Matter of ſuch onſequence, I think it my Duty give you my Sentiments upon the ubject; and as the Arguments for nd againſt this Clauſe may be nked under two Heads, thoſe that late to the Benefits that may ariſe om its being paſſed into a Law, nd thoſe that relate to the Dangers nd Inconveniencies we may be ex-oſed to by our agreeing or diſa-greeing to this Clauſe, I ſhall begin with the firſt. Sir, if there be any Sea-men now lurking any where in the *Britiſh* Dominions, and I think it has of all Sides been admitted there are ſome, this Law will certainly be of great Advantage to our Trade, becauſe it will enable our Government to find out and preſs the lurking Seamen into the Service of the Navy, and conſequently will leave a greater Number of Seamen to be employed in the Merchant Service. The Navy, it is certain, muſt be ſupplied, even tho' ſome Branches of our Trade ſhould be ſtopt for a while; what then can be more beneficial to our Trade, than that of taking firſt thoſe Seamen, who now refuſe to enter either into the Government's or Merchant Service?

I remember, Sir, two Years ago, when War was ſo much ſought after, and ſo violently inſiſted on, by almoſt all Ranks of People, no Man pretended to have any Apprehenſions of our Trade's ſuffering by the War: Surely it was not then imagined, that our Trade could be carried on in Time of War with the ſame Eaſe and Security, as in Time of Peace; for our Trade muſt ſuffer by War, let the War be conducted in what Manner it will; yet ever ſince the War has been declared, every little Inconvenience our Trade lies expoſed to, has been ſet in the ſtrongeſt Light, and clamoured againſt in the moſt violent Manner; and now, when a Method is propoſed for obviating moſt of the Inconveniencies our Trade lies expoſed to, it is oppoſed, and repreſented as a Step to arbitrary Power. Is this candid, Sir? Is it a fair Way of treating thoſe, who are intruſted with the Conduct of our publick Affairs?

But to return to my Subject, Sir. I have ſhewn how beneficial this Clauſe may be to our Trade; and next with regard to our Seamen, would it not be a great Benefit to our Seamen in general, if all of them were obliged to take their Turn in the Navy, and no Man

obliged to ſerve there longer than his Turn? That this would be the Conſequence of the Law now propoſed is, I think, apparent; becauſe if the Government had Choice of Seamen, they would certainly chuſe thoſe able Seamen that had been longeſt at home, or longeſt out of the Government's Service. Such a Law could be inconvenient to none, but ſuch as refuſe to take their Turn in the Government's Service, and abſcond in order to avoid their being preſſed into that Service; and as they are allowed to be criminal, the forcing of them to their Duty cannot ſurely be reckoned an Inconvenience to the Publick.

Laſtly, Sir, with regard to the Proſecution of the War, it would certainly be a great Advantage to us to have Plenty and Choice of Seamen always at the Government's Command. I cannot ſay that this would be, ſo much as I could wiſh, the Effect of our paſſing this Clauſe into a Law, becauſe I do not think we have at preſent a Stock of Seamen in the Kingdom, ſufficient for anſwering both the Merchants and the Government's Demand; but we ſhould certainly have a greater Plenty of Seamen, if all of them were within the Government's Reach, and obliged to enter in one or other of theſe Services, than when a third, a fourth, or any Part of them are abſconding in Country Places, where they can be of no Service either to themſelves or their Country; and the greater Plenty of Seamen we have, the more vigorouſly we ſhall be able to puſh the War, which will of courſe enable us to put a more ſpeedy and honourable End to it than we can do otherwiſe. This will be another Advantage to our Trade, beſides that I have already taken Notice of, and ſhould be a prevailing Argument with every Man that wiſhes well to his Country, to approve of this Clauſe.

Now, Sir, with regard to the Dangers that may ariſe from our agreeing or diſagreeing to this Law. As thoſe which may ariſe from our rejecting this Clauſe have already been ſet in a very full and clear Light, I ſhall only take Notice of a few of thoſe Inconveniencies which it is ſuggeſted, may ariſe from the Law propoſed. Upon this Head we are told, that the Power of breaking open People's Doors, by Night or by Day, will be a most grievous Inconvenience to private Men, and a Power of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution. For God Sake, Sir, is this the firſt Time that ever ſuch a Power was eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom? Have not our Conſtables already ſuch a Power in many Caſes, when they have a proper Warrant from a Juſtice of the Peace? Beſides the Caſe of Felony, they have a Power to break open Doors in ſearch of uncuſtomed or prohibited Goods, and in the Caſe of Goods carried off and concealed in defraud of the Landlord for his Rent. Was it ever known, was it ever ſo much as complained of, that this Power was oppreſſively uſed, or that it was turned towards the influencing of Elections? This is therefore a Danger that from Experience appears to be chimerical; and I hope the Manning of his Majeſty's Navy will be admitted to be of more Conſequence to the Publick than the Recovery of any ſuch Goods.

We have been likewiſe told, Sir, that the Eſtabliſhing of ſuch a Law will be ſuch a Grievance to our Seamen as will frighten them all out of the Kingdom. As to this, Sir, I have already ſhewn, that it will be a great Advantage to all Seamen who do not abſcond, and thoſe, I hope, are the greateſt and beſt Part of our Seamen. But even as to Seamen that do abſcond, there could be no ſuch additional Grie-

vance

e as would force them into fo-
Service; for with regard to
Preſſing of Seamen, I muſt
y think, our Law is a little
nfical. A Seaman may be preſſ-
f found on board a Ship: Nay
Ship may be ſearched for him.
likewiſe may be preſſed if found
e Streets, Highways, or Fields;
if he gets into a Houſe, and
a Door ſhut upon himſelf, he
look out at the Window and
h at the Preſs-Gang; therefore
ake our Law conſiſtent with it-
I think, we ought to give a
r to the Civil Officer to ſearch
Houſe, and even to break open
s in caſe of Non-admittance.
would not be ſo great a Hard-
upon abſconding Seamen as the
lties now inflicted by Law upon
onding Watermen or Bargemen;
f they do not appear at *Water-*
Hall when called on, in order
e ſent into the Service of the
, they are by Law ſubjected
veral Penalties, and yet we do
ind, that this Regulation has
d any of them abroad, or any
leſſened their Numbers. From
hich I muſt conclude, Sir, that
Nation will reap great Advan-
from this Clauſe if paſſed into
w, without being expoſed to
inconvenience or Danger; and
fore, I hope, it will be a-
to.

his DEBATE *and* JOURNAL *to*
tinued in our next.]

Common Senſe, May 1. N° 272.

SSERTATION *on* NOBILITY.

HE Saying, That Nature hath
made all Men equal (if it re-
their Minds and Underſtand-
will not ſtand the Examina-
On the contrary, Mr. *Locke*'s
vation may be prov'd by many
ples, *That there is a greater*
Difference betwixt Man and Man, than betwixt ſome Men and ſome Beaſts.

There are Men born with a Superiority of Genius, who ſeem made to command: Others, leſs active, altho' equal in Wiſdom, are form'd for Counſel; while the greater Number are qualified for nothing but to labour with their Hands.

The antient Legiſlators, who ſtudied human Nature, thought it adviſeable, for the better Government of States, that the People ſhould be divided into the Noble and the Common. They judg'd it for the univerſal Good of Mankind, that the Valiant and the Wiſe ſhould not be loſt amongſt the Vulgar; that they ſhould be ſeparated from the reſt, and appointed for Counſel and Command.

To this, I take it, the Inſtitution of Nobility is owing in all Countries: Even thoſe Nations which we are pleaſed to call ſavage (for no Reaſon but that they act in many Things more rationally than ourſelves) diſtinguiſh the Wiſe and the Valiant, obey them as Counſellors and Commanders, which is placing them in the Rank of Nobles.

I know there are Men, otherwiſe, of good Senſe, who look upon the Inſtitution of Nobility to be a groſs Impoſition upon the common Senſe of Mankind; they confine it indeed to hereditary Nobility, they allow that thoſe who have done the Commonwealth any ſignal Service ſhould be diſtinguiſh'd with Honours; but it ſeems an Abſurdity to them that a Man ſhould be born a Legiſlator, as if Wiſdom or a Knowledge of Government run in the Blood: But if they would conſider, how ſtrong the Love of Poſterity is planted in human Nature, they muſt allow that nothing can be a ſtronger Motive to great and worthy Actions, than the Notion that a Man's Poſterity will reap the Honour and Profit of his Labours; in this

Light it is no bad Policy to make Honours hereditary. Beſides, we are to ſuppoſe that Men born to Honours and a high Fortune, may be bred up in generous Sentiments, and form'd for the Station they are to fill; that they muſt be Strangers to thoſe Falſhoods and Corruptions, which Neceſſity firſt, and then Habit, puts Men upon practiſing, whoſe Lives are ſpent in Purſuit of their Fortunes; that they have the beſt Education in their Youth, and the Advantage of chuſing the wiſeſt and honeſteſt Men for their Companions in their more mature Age.—— I will own, notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, that many of them are like Rocks, whoſe Heads are in the Clouds, but are ſo barren they are quite incapable of producing any Thing; but in general, were their Minds only upon a Level with thoſe of other Men, we ſhould expect better Fruit from them.

As Authority is founded in Opinion, all wiſe Commonwealths have been extreamly nice and jealous in keeping up the Honour of their Nobility. Wherever they become baſe, effeminate, cowardly, or ſervile, their Authority ſinks, they fall into Contempt; then the People begin to conſider them as uſeleſs to Government, and look upon their Privileges as a Grievance to Society, and perhaps they think how to get rid of them; which actually happen'd at *Florence*, where, after the Expulſion of the Duke of *Athens*, a petty Tyrant of that City, many of the Nobility having behaved ſervilely to him, and at the ſame Time inſolently to the People, were degraded from the Senate, and the Magiſtracy, and render'd incapable of holding any Employment in the Commonwealth. It is true, the Diſgrace of Nobility was taken off from ſome of them, their Blood was reſtored, and they had the Honour of being admitted into the Rank of Commons; but this was a Favour done only to ſuch, as had perform'd ſome Service for the Commonwealth.

Father *Paul*, the *Venetian*, ſays, That you muſt either keep a Nobility free from Taint, or have no Nobility at all: —— That the high Employments of the Commonwealth ſhould be beſtow'd upon the moſt ancient Families, unleſs where ſome Perſon of a moſt conſpicuous Merit ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf by performing ſome great Piece of Service for the State: In that Caſe it would be right to prefer him to one of theſe Employments, which would have two good Effects; ſuch a Man would think himſelf ſufficiently rewarded by the Honour of being put upon a Level with the ancient Nobility, and the Nobility would be pleas'd to find that no Commoner, except ſome very great Reputation and Merit, would hold any of the Employments uſually poſſeſs'd by their Body. If a Perſon ſo prefer'd ſhould not be rich enough to ſupport the Dignity of the Office, the State may give him a Penſion; but by no Means ſhould they make their Employments lucrative; for profitable Employments not only exhauſt and weaken the Commonwealth, but wherever high Employments are ſought for Profit, the Nobility loſe their generous Sentiments, and it is a Step of introducing Corruption among them.

Cardinal *Richlieu*, in his Political Teſtament, ſpeaking of the French Nobility, ſays, That the State is entitled to their Services in Conſideration of the Privileges which they enjoy above the common People. They may in a literal Senſe be ſaid to ſerve their Country with their Lives and Fortunes: In Time of War you hear of them in the Field of the Battle; their military Services are rather a Burden than a

may be ſaid to maintain their
ments, rather than to be main-
d by them. It is this that ena-
France to do ſuch great Things
ſmall Taxes: If the People
the Nobility, it muſt be for
their Blood, and ſpending the
nues of their Eſtates in the
ick Service; they are highly
cted, but not more than they
ve. It would be doing them
ng not to own, that they are a
a brave, and an honourable
ility.

the *French* Nobility ſhould ſink
w, as to ſeek lucrative Employ-
ts to increaſe their Eſtates, or
ort their Vices; if they ſhould
end for military Poſts in Time
eace, and gain them by proſti-
g their Honour to a Miniſter;
ey ſhould run into the little dir-
actice of turning the Cloathing
other Things into Perquiſites,
at once defraud the Soldier and
Publick, (ſee p. 137.)—from be-
mercenary and corrupt, they
ſoon grow cowardly, and they
no more give Modes and Cuſ-
to all *Europe*.

Ve read, that among the Anci-
the Temple of *Honour* was built
to the Temple of *Virtue*; nor
there any other Way of enter-
the firſt, but by paſſing through
laſt; and that Saying, *Virtue is
rue Nobility*, is as ancient as the
itution of Nobility itſelf. To
the Truth, the *French* have kept
certain Delicacy in this Point;
you ſcarce ever hear of a Per-
rais'd to that Honour amongſt
n, that does not bring with him
Fame of ſuch Actions, as caſt a
re upon his Titles, and do Ho-
to the Order.

own, as an Enemy to *France*, I
ld not be ſorry that it was other-
; for I look upon it as a Thing
ain, that whenever their Nobi-
become mercenary and baſe,
Grandeur of *France* will not
ſurvive the Change.

Whether ſuch a Change will ever happen, I know not, but it is not impoſſible; for if ſome very wicked Fellow ſhould ingroſs the King to himſelf, and ſhould employ the publick Revenues to aggrandize himſelf and Family, he will corrupt as many of the Nobility as are to be corrupted, and add to their Number by bringing in new People amongſt them of ſcandalous Characters. My Lord *Hallifax* ſays, *When Men of Quality become Scoundrels, it is no Wonder at all, if Scoundrels ſhould be made Men of Quality.* It is indeed an Abſurdity in Politicks, as well as an Affront upon Mankind, to create ſuch Perſons noble; but a bad Miniſter muſt have bad Tools, and theſe bad Tools will be employed in very bad Work; and ſuch are the People he will prefer, becauſe, never intending to do any Thing for the Good of the Publick, he muſt gain the Character of being good to his Friends, for ſo his Slaves will affect to be call'd.

Whenever this happens, *France*, from being the Terror, will ſoon become the Scorn of *Europe*; their Nobility will be as baſe as the Dirt in the Streets, fit for nothing but to be trod upon: The Honour of *France*, which gives them Courage in their Battles, will be thought of no more; and the common People will not think a Country worth fighting for, where ſuch Rubbiſh are ſet over them.

The great Objection againſt hereditary Nobility is, that a Creature without Senſe or Honour may come in by Deſcent; but to have a ſcandalous Perſon come in by Creation, is too much to be borne. When K. *Charles* I. was at *York* in the Beginning of the Civil War, my Lord *Clarendon* tells us, that ſome of his Courtiers applied to him to grant the Patent of a Baron to a rich Man, who was willing to give 10,000 *l.* for it, a vaſt Sum in thoſe Days; but

but the King could not be prevailed upon to grant it, altho' he wanted Money at that Time to furniſh his Table, becauſe (ſays my Lord) the Man was not worthy of it.

I am ſorry his Lordſhip hath not inform'd us, who, or what this Man could be, againſt whom ſuch ſtrong Objections lay, as the King's Diſtreſſes could not overlook. He could not be a little dirty Borough Broker, there were no ſuch Vermin in thoſe Days; or was he ſome Thief that had pilfer'd in an Office? For my Part, if I was to ſee a Fellow under the Suſpicion of Rogueries on a ſudden become noble, it would put me in Mind of one of the Transformations in the Farce of *Harlequin Cartouch*, where the Hero of the Farce, being purſu'd by Juſtice, is turned into a *Marquis*, under which Diſguiſe he eſcapes. If he ſhould have the Fate of *Cartouch* to be taken at laſt, he ought to be treated according to his Quality: My Lord *Halifax* ſays, *Where a little Rogue would deſerve to be fined or impriſoned, if a Lord ſhould be guilty of the ſame Practices, I would have him hang'd out of Reſpect to his Quality.*

Craſiſman, May 8. Nº 827.

CONSIDERATIONS *upon the Nature and Expediency of* TACKING.

THE Liberties of this Nation have been often ſaved by the prudent and determined Conduct of the Parliament in granting *Money*; and without this, as one Houſe of Parliament can exerciſe no Judgment in any Thing foreign to their own Rights and Privileges, their Influence in the executive Part of the Government would be next to nothing, in caſe they had to do with a ſtubborn, untractable Court, or Miniſter. For let them contrive the beſt Security the Wit of Man can invent, for their own Independency, yet it muſt be ratify'd by two other Powers before it can have Effect. Let them remonſtrate in the ſtrongeſt Terms, againſt wrong Meaſures; let them recommend right Meaſures, in the ſtrongeſt Terms; yet if they once part with their *Money*, their Influence will have no more Effect, than the Prayers and Tears of a Girl, who has parted with her Honour. In how many Paſſages of our Hiſtory is this melancholy Truth confirm'd? In what Volumes might not the bare Recital of them ſwell? What Cringing, Vows, Promiſes, and paſſionate Expreſſions, to obtain the Toy, on one Side; and when obtain'd, what Diſregard, Coldneſs, Breach of Promiſe, on the other? Inſtead of a thouſand Inſtances, which might be brought on this Subject, I ſhall mention but one, of that weak, miſguided Prince, *Henry* III.

In the 21ſt Year of his Reign we are told, that he demanded a Supply to ſerve his Wants, and demanded it too upon a very plauſible Security, which was that of its being put into the Hands of Truſtees, who were to apply it for the public Exigencies. "But, ſays the Hiſtorian, the Parliament anſwer'd, with great Indignation, that they were quite tired out with their own perpetual Paying, and his perpetual Promiſing; and that it was quite ſcandalous, that their King ſhould be ſuffer'd to behave to them, as if they were a Pack of Scoundrels and Rogues, and be ſo laviſh of his Favours upon Foreigners, natural and profeſs'd Enemies to his Kingdom, which, to their great Grief, was now tottering with its own Poverty, and yet they perceived, that the Exchequer was ne'er a Penny the richer."

But it may be ſaid, the Nation now has a better Security for the Performance of Court Promiſes, than ſhe had at that Time; for the Crown was then much ſtronger, by having

ge Estate, and a vast Number
enants, who were obliged to
the King into the Field.——
this very Reasoning makes a-
t the Objectors: For the King's
e was so far from being a Ter-
o the People, that it was the
real and substantial Security
had for the Performance of
romises. Accordingly, we find
he Security for the Performance
agna Charta itself rested upon a
ve Bargain betwixt the King
is People, *That the latter might*
the Royal Estate, in Case he
fail in the Performance of his
ment.

t there was another Advantage
g to the People, from the
's possessing a real Estate, which
that the Service of the Publick
never suffer so much, by the
e's refusing to grant Money, as
y when the Crown has no E-
but what is to be squeez'd out
e Pockets of the Publick. Fo-
Affairs, at that Time, did not
st *them* near so much as it did
Crown, who had large Domi-
abroad, sufficient to defend
selves, without putting this
n to one Shilling Expence, or
ut our submitting to one Insult
jury, from the most powerful
bour, on that Account. As
eir domestick Concerns, there
ill sufficient, out of the patri-
al Estate of the Crown, for
aining the Dignity and the
of Government; and, when
People did not know how it
be apply'd, they were very
in the Right not to provide
y Thing besides.

er this patrimonial Estate had
out of the Hands of the
n, we find, in the History of
ings, scarcely any Thing be-
perpetual Remonstrances, on
Parts, that the People would
ive them so much Money as
demanded, and perpetual Re-

presentations on the People's Side;
that they got more Money than was
rightly apply'd, and that they had
not fulfilled the Promises they had
made, in order to induce the Peo-
ple to grant what they had granted.

A This Dispute fills up almost the whole
History of the House of *Stuarts*, and
continued even to the Reign of K.
William, and some Part of Queen
Anne's.

And indeed, whoever considers
the Nature of Mankind, and of our
B Constitution at the same Time, will
find, that this Dispute will for ever
subsist, where the Court is either
fond of an undue Influence, or
when Parliaments are tenacious of
their Independency. It is interwo-
ven in the Nature of our Govern-
C ment, and can be determined no o-
ther Way than one; which is, *by*
the People making the Obtaining of the
Security they want, the Condition of
their granting Money. This they have in
their Power at all Times to do. This
they have done from the earliest
D Days of their Liberty, and it is ow-
ing to this, that Liberty itself now
exists in this Country. The *Magna*
Charta, and the *Charta de Forresta*
were, both of them, no other than
Tacks to Money Bills. The King
wanted Money, and the People said
E they would grant him none, unless
he would grant them an Equivalent,
which he did. All the Confirma-
tions of these Charters in the suc-
ceeding Reigns were obtained no o-
ther Way, than by *tacking them to*
Money Bills: Nay, in the great and
F publick Exigencies of Government,
the People sometimes refused to sup-
ply the Crown with Money, tho' it
was necessary for carrying on *their*
own Wars, without some Equivalent
to secure their Liberties. They
wisely thought, that no foreign Con-
G cern was of such Importance, as to
make them neglect the Preservation
of their own Rights. If the Prince
was a good Prince, they were sure,

that he would not refuſe to confirm the great Charters of their Liberty; and if he was a bad one, he was not to be truſted with Money. We have many remarkable Inſtances of this in the Reign of *Edward* III. Tho' he was a great and ſucceſsful Prince, and tho' his Wars were commonly carried on at the Requeſt, and to the Wiſh of his People, yet the Grants of Sums given to him were generally conditional, and Conditions *ſine qua non* of their granting Money. Mr. *Daniel* ſpeaking of one of thoſe conditional Grants to *Edward* III. in his 45th Year, has this Remark: "Upon this Supply the King grants, that the *Great Charter* and the *Charter of Forreſts* ſhould be obſerved in all Points, which, in moſt Parliaments of his, is ever the firſt Act, as may be ſeen in the printed Statutes."

Succeeding Times were taught to think more favourably of the worſt of Princes, than the People of *England* in the Days of *Edward* III. thought of him, who was among the greateſt and moſt glorious of all Princes that ever ſat upon a Throne. They came to give Money implicitly; but at laſt they came by dear-bought Experience to perceive, that parting with their Money was parting with their Liberties. Not to enter upon the Hiſtory of the Laws in Favour of the People, which have been got by *Tacking*, I ſhall only beg Leave to obviate the only Objection I have ever heard of Weight ſufficient to deſerve an Anſwer; which is, that theſe *Tacks* were only upon the *Crown*, and not upon the Houſe of P——s. Admitting this Objection as Fact, what does it prove? It can prove nothing, but that the Underſtanding betwixt the two Houſes was formerly ſo good, as to render ſo violent a Remedy unneceſſary. It is moſt earneſtly to be wiſh'd for by every ſincere Lover of his Country, that ſuch good Underſtanding ſhould always [illegible] and that no Security, which [illegible] People ſhall think neceſſary for [illegible] Preſervation of their Liberties, [illegible] be denied. This is the only [illegible] that can juſtify ſuch a Meaſure, [illegible] that Caſe can never happen, till [illegible] Houſe of P——s is fill'd with [illegible] Tools of a wicked M——. [illegible] ever this ſhould happen, the P[illegible] muſt then look to themſelves, [illegible] making a proper Uſe of that P[illegible] which the Conſtitution has put [illegible] their Hands.

But the Objection I have [illegible] tion'd is falſe in Fact; for we [illegible] in a very late Hiſtory, that the *[illegible]ecount Bill* in King *William*'s T[illegible] with the *Reſumption Bill*, and the [illegible] *for diſabling the Commiſſioners of [illegible] Cuſtoms and Exciſe from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons*, were all of [illegible] *Tacks* upon the Houſe of P[illegible]. Nay we find, that the Commo[illegible] thoſe Days would not admit [illegible] Refuſal, when they wanted a [illegible] that was eſſential to their own [illegible] pendency; for they *tack'd* the [illegible] mention'd Bill to a *Money Bill*, [illegible] after it had been thrown out by [illegible] Lords that very Seſſion of P[illegible] ment.

Common Senſe, May 8. N° 273.

Some THOUGHTS *on the late Ch[illegible] in the* MINISTRY, *and what [illegible] ſince fallen out.*

THE univerſal Joy with wh[illegible] the firſt News of the Cu[illegible] tor's Removal was receiv'd throu[illegible] out the three Kingdoms, will [illegible] memorable Circumſtance in Hi[illegible] To ſay the Truth, the Joy was [illegible] confined to the *Britiſh* Dominio[illegible] all thoſe States upon the Conti[illegible] which have an Intereſt in the Pr[illegible] perity of *Great Britain*, all its [illegible] tural Allies, ſhared in it.

The News no ſooner arriv'd [illegible] *Holland*, than the States Gen[illegible] who for many Years had eſtima[illegible] them

ſelves from us, ſhew'd a Diſpo-
to renew the antient good
erſtanding, ſo neceſſary for
king the ambitious Views of
Power upon the Continent.
ey were too wiſe to enter into
gements of any Kind with a
on whoſe domeſtick Tranquil-
as well as foreign Intereſts,
ſaw for many Years ſacrificed
larging and ſecuring the Power
Upſtart at home: But when
ſaw a Change, and expected
Counſels would take Place,
diſcover'd other Diſpoſitions;
it is well worth obſerving, that
grew warm, and cold ſince,
ccording to the Accounts they
v'd of this Man's keeping or
his Influence.
was no ſooner known in *Ger-*
, that the Enemy of the Houſe
ſtria was overcome here, but
uſed new Spirit into the Coun-
and gave freſh Courage to the
es of the Queen of *Hungary*;
Affairs immediately took a more
rable Turn, and ſhe has been
ng Advantages ever ſince.
e King of *Sardinia*, a wiſe as
as valiant Prince, ſaw his own
er in the Ruin of the Houſe
ſtria; but what could he do?
knew that Houſe had long be-
been abandon'd by its Allies,
ntures however to refuſe a Paſ-
for *Spaniſh* Troops thro' his
tories to invade its *Italian* Do-
ons, and preſently after ſaw
es ſuffer'd to be tranſported by
r that Purpoſe, in the Face of
at Fleet belonging to a Power
h had ſpent Millions in pre-
g the Balance of Power; a
that acted as if it had been
o make a Compliment to *Spain:*
could he think, but that the
betwixt *Spain* and this Power
a colluſive War, and that the
uction of the Houſe of *Auſtria*
already ſign'd? It is no Won-
herefore he ſhould act with ſo
much Caution; but no ſooner was the Change here known to this Prince, than he diſcovers a Reſolution in joining to ſave that Houſe from Ruin, and nothing hinders the Operations in the Queen of *Hungary*'s Favour, but waiting to ſee the Eſtabliſhment of a better Adminiſtration here; ſo that it is plain even to Demonſtration, that this Nation cannot recover its antient Credit, it cannot be reſtored to the Confidence formerly repoſed in it by its natural Allies, till the whole World is convinc'd that this Man and his Adherents are remov'd from all Influence in our Counſels.

Such were the immediate Effects of his Removal with reſpect to Affairs abroad; it would certainly have had much better Effects with reſpect to Affairs at home, if, when he was forc'd to quit that Power he was no longer able to hold, all his corrupt and pernicious Influence had been remov'd at the ſame Time; and if thoſe that have been no better than his Tools had been oblig'd to have follow'd, we ſhould have ſeen ſome Grievances already remov'd, and the Conſtitution in a little Time would have been able to have work'd out its own Cure.

Is it not ſtrange, that the Nation ſhould be able to throw off the Diſeaſe,——ſo I call this Man; for 20 Years he hath hung upon us like an Ague, till he had almoſt worn us to a Skeleton; and that ſuch dangerous Symptoms ſhould break out after the Diſtemper is remov'd, is a Matter of great Concern.

To ſpeak plainer, it is not above 3 Months ſince, that every Body perceiv'd that this Man's Tools were ſcared out of their Senſes, their Guilt, and their Fears operated variouſly upon them according to their different Complexions; while a ſullen Deſpair had tied the Tongues of ſome, others (a Kind of Enthuſiaſts in Roguery) threaten'd the Nation

with Blood and Confuſion; they thought at that Time indeed they had nothing to do, but to act like condemn'd Criminals, who endeavour ſometimes to ſet the Gaol on Fire, in Hopes to eſcape in the Smoak and Diſtraction.

Is it not ſtrange, that thoſe who about 3 Months ago were ſo frighted, that many of them would almoſt have compounded for Tranſportation, ſhould already reſume their antient Inſolence, and brag, that Things have taken ſuch a Turn again in their Favour that they are now ſtrong enough to defend the Corruption from whence they ſprung, and are able to hinder the *Augean* Stable from being cleanſed?

Is it not ſtrange to hear them deride the S——t C———ee, at the Name of which ſome of them were ready to ſwoon but the other Day, and ſcoffingly to tell us, that they, the C———ee, ſhall meet with ſo many Obſtructions from more Quarters than one, as ſhall make them ſick of Enquiries, and when they have done their beſt they will not be ſeconded by ———? In fine, that their Power ends with the Seſſions, and then they (the Gang) will play the old Game over again, in Spite of the Nation?

The whole Maſs of the People have oppoſed theſe Men with ſuch a diſintereſted Spirit as may ſhew, that the Corruption is confined to the Circle of this Man's Tools, (a large Circle indeed) the Freeholders and other middling People are ſtill untainted. It muſt be own'd likewiſe, that the Gentlemen entruſted by them did their Duty by a diligent Attendance, and this Attendance had the Effect expected from it, the Conſtitution gain'd a compleat Victory, its Enemy was driven from Power.

It is natural to enquire, by what Fatality it comes to paſs, that the Nation hath reaped ſo little Advantage by this Victory? And if we enquire, I am afraid we ſhall find owing to an ill-judg'd Lenity ſome of the Conquerors; they the Vanquiſh'd in Poſſeſſion of the Poſts, to ſhew the World that they did not contend for Places.

Where Men have to do with fair and generous Enemy, Moderation is a Virtue; but here they might be ſure it would be returned with Treachery and Falſhood: all the Fruits the Nation hath reaped from this Lenity hath been, that hath given theſe Men Time to recover their Fright, to rally their ſcatter'd Forces, to ſow Jealouſies and Diſtruſts among thoſe on the other Side, and in order to ſupport the Spirits of their Party, to whiſper the greateſt Falſhoods in their Ears, as if ſome of the warmeſt Patriots were ſecretly their Friends and were working to perplex and diſappoint all Attempts tending to a Change of Men, or a Change of Meaſures.

Such, I ſay, hath been the Effect of the Lenity which the Friends of the Conſtitution have ſhewn to Men whom the Nation conſider'd in no Light but as Criminals; and the Reaſons given for this extraordinary Lenity are ſuch as look as if we lived in the Days of Romance. It hath been ſaid, that the Corruption himſelf, as well as ſome of his Tools, having done particular Injuries to ſome Gentlemen, it would not look decent in them to be active and vigorous in proſecuting them, leſt it might appear to the World like Revenge. If Injuries to the Country are to be pardon'd in Conſideration of Injuries done to private Men, thoſe who ſhall incur univerſal Hatred by a vile and corrupt Adminiſtration, have nothing to do but to affront or injure every Gentleman, who is of Conſequence enough to be inſtrumental in calling them to an Account, and they

; but this is a Delicacy which, confeſs, I don't underſtand, and ich it is to be hoped will not be ried ſo far as to overturn all that h been done. If the Diſappoint-nts the Publick hath met with in Expectations are owing to a falſe licacy of this Nature, it is not late to rectify the Miſtake: e Nation is calling aloud for Juſ-e; and ſince the firſt Step to-rds making the People eaſy un-their Burdens at home, and to-rds giving the Nation ſome Cre-abroad, muſt be a Change of n and a Change of Meaſures, it o be hoped that the Purſuit of great a Good will not be laid a-e out of a miſtaken Point of Ho-ur.

Univerſal Spectator, May 15. N° 710.

CAUTION *to young Gentlemen, in the Character and Behaviour of* EUGENIO.

Sapere aude. HOR.

SIR,

THE Concern I have for a par-ticular Friend, has occaſion'd Letter; the Contents of it may of publick Service, which is ſuf-ent Apology to tell you, that no-ng has given me ſo much Con-n a great while, as the Behaviour *Eugenio*: He has Senſe, Wit, and undred good Qualities; but they all obſcur'd, and render'd uſeleſs himſelf and the World, by a cer-n Impotence of Mind. Tho' he diſcourſe and reaſon upon any bject as well as moſt Men, yet he not Power to exert that Reaſon, make it appear in Action: He lay down excellent Rules for his n Couduct in Life, but wants Re-ution to put them in Practice. In rt, he can talk like a wiſe Man, acts like a mad one. Your aders perhaps may imagine, that m going to give them the Cha-ter of a young Rake, who is hur-ried into a thouſand Extravagancies by ſtrong Paſſions and violent Appe-tites; but the Perſon I am ſpeaking of has no ſuch unruly Paſſions; he has a natural Love for Virtue, and is vicious contrary to his Inclina-tion. The Misfortune is, *Eugenio* is too ſenſible of Ridicule, and cannot bear the leaſt Reproach upon Ac-count of his Virtue or Piety, tho' from the moſt Worthleſs of Man-kind: He has, unlike other young Fellows, too mean an Opinion of his own Underſtanding, and conſe-quently pays too great a Deference to that of others: He follows the Multitude, and is carried down the Stream of Vice, not having Cou-rage to reſiſt the Torrent to follow the good Diſpoſition of his own Mind, and be ſingularly virtuous. If at any Time he reflects within him-ſelf upon the Folly of ſuch a Way of Life, and ſhews an Inclination to reform, his Companions, as they know his weak Side, can eaſily put him out of Countenance, by laugh-ing at his unfaſhionable Notions, and by that Means bring him to what they pleaſe. Alas! they have almoſt rooted out thoſe generous Principles, which his good Father ſo carefully implanted in him, and which formerly gave Hopes of his being one Day an Honour to his Fa-mily. He is now taught to be ſcof-fingly witty upon the wiſe Maxims he uſed to revere, and to give him-ſelf up to a general looſe Conduct, without any Regard even to the common Rules of Decency. He drinks, ſwears, fights, wenches, and is diſobedient to the Laws of God, his King and Country, merely to comply with the Humours of a few wicked, raſcally Fellows, and be reckon'd by them a Man of Spirit. An unhappy Ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf according to their Notions of Merit, has deſtroyed that Mode-ſty, once ſo remarkably becoming in him, and made him impudent,

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pert and inſolent. He comes into a publick Place, cocks his Hat, and ſtares full in Peoples Faces; makes ill-natured Obſervations upon the whole Company, and ſays Things aloud, that muſt ſhock any Man of Sobriety and a Senſe of Religion. I remember the Time, when he uſed to be complaiſant to me, and reſpect me as his Father's Friend; but now he takes the Liberty to ſneer at me too, as I paſs by, and ridicule my Dreſs and Figure. What ſhall I do with him?—I hope he is not irreclaimable:—If he is not—I have thought of a Method how to manage him, and open his Eyes to his own Imprudence. As it is almoſt impoſſible to know *Sophronia* without loving her, I intend to introduce him into her Company, and don't doubt but ſhe will ſoon make a Reformation in him.

In the mean Time, it is a melancholy Thing to conſider, how many promiſing Youths I have ſeen corrupted in the ſame Manner as *Eugenio*, by thoſe Monſters of Iniquity who make it their Buſineſs to ſeduce them: Theſe Men uſe a great many Artifices to accompliſh their Deſigns, and take Care to get perfectly well acquainted with the Diſpoſition of the Perſon, whom they intend to practiſe upon. As there is always in an ingenuous Mind a modeſt Diffidence of itſelf, they take Advantage of that to banter him out of any Sentiments of Honour he might have entertain'd, and perſuade him to regard it only as an empty Name. If he ſpeaks of any Thing relating to Religion with Seriouſneſs and Reſpect, he is rallied unmercifully, and cannot long ſtand out againſt ſo much Wit and Satire:

> All higher knowledge in their preſence falls
> Degraded, wiſdom in diſcourſe with them
> Loſes its power, and like folly ſhews.

When they have gone thus far, they look upon him as their own; by drowning his Senſes in a continual Round of Debaucheries, [illegible] him into what villainous Schemes and Degrees of Wickedneſs they think fit.

Since then ſo many Traps are laid to inſnare our Youth, it is abſolutely neceſſary, before they come abroad into the World, that their Virtue ſhould be well-grounded, and accompanied with a good Reſolution that they ſhould be taught to ſet a juſt Value upon themſelves, and to be aſham'd of nothing but what is really ſhameful. *Epictetus* has given much the ſame Advice to his Diſciples. *If*, ſays he, *you have a Mind to make any Proficiency in Philoſophy, you muſt firſt of all be thoroughly convinced of the Excellence of my Rules, and reſolve to obſerve them upon all Occaſions. You muſt expect to be laugh'd at and derided by the Vulgar, but regard not their Opinion of you; think only how you may act agreeably to the Dictates of your own Reaſon and Conſcience. Be good and wiſe, that is ſufficient; deſire not the Applauſe of the Multitude.* But this is too hard a Leſſon for moſt People. As Man is made for Society, he naturally endeavours to be agreeable to thoſe with whom he converſes; and as the Generality of Mankind are more inclin'd to Vice than Virtue, he will comply with their Taſte rather than loſe their Favour. From this Principle moſt of the Extravagancies that we often ſee Men of the beſt Senſe guilty of, may be accounted for; from hence too proceeds that Variety of Folly, which appears in the Actions of the more unthinking Part of the World. Theſe poor Creatures are betrayed into Faults merely through Want of Thought; whereas thoſe are oblig'd to do Violence to themſelves, and put a Stop to their own Reflexions, in order to commit them: What a mean, abject Spirit is this! to lower our Underſtandings

andings, and ſubject them to
Caprices of the Senſeleſs and
idly Vicious! to ſuppreſs our
ſon for Fear of their Cenſure,
not dare to be wiſe, becauſe it
ot their Will or Intereſt that we
ld be ſo! Can an *Engliſhman*, a
er of Liberty in other Reſpects,
ſubmit to have his very Mind
av'd? It is owing, in a great
ſure, to this Cowardice, that
has ſo prevailed among us in
Ages: Vice would ſoon give
, had Virtue the Courage to
herſelf in her native Beauty.
have a remarkable Inſtance of
in ancient Hiſtory.

Before *Socrates* appear'd publickly
Athens as a Philoſopher, the *A-*
ians, a gay, lively People, en-
ly given up to their Pleaſures,
ld not bear the Reſtraints of
loſophy, and employ'd all their
t in ridiculing the Profeſſors of
which diſcouraged a great many
n attempting it; but he, not in
leaſt diſconcerted by their Ral-
es and Inſults, perſiſted in his
d Deſigns, and ſo influenced them
his admirable Life and Conver-
on, as to inſpire them with a
ire of imitating him, and make
m paſſionately fond of what they
before deſpiſed.

There is now in my Eye a Gen-
man who, I dare ſay, will do a
t deal of Good by his Example,
cauſe a conſiderable Change in
Behaviour of ſeveral young Fel-
s in this Town. I obſerve, with
ch Pleaſure, that they begin to
nick him already in little Ac-
pliſhments, which I hope will
g them by Degrees to reliſh his
ter Excellencies. His Manners
ſo agreeable, his Virtue ſits ſo
upon him, and he knows ſo
l how to defend it, that I may
ly to him what *Indiana* in the
ſcious Lovers ſays of her Admi-
: *The Fools that laugh at Mr.*
il, will but make themſelves more
iculous.

Craftſman, May 15. N° 828.

Conſiderations on the preſent Criſis, Penal Laws, &c.

Mr. D'Anvers,

THO' the Virtue of the preſent P———t has work'd itſelf clear of that Pollution, which, for many Years, has infected our Government; yet it will require the whole Stream of their publick Spirit to clear the Channels of the Conſtitution from the Impurities, which they have contracted during the late Adminiſtration; and the Wiſdom of our Repreſentatives will fall far ſhort of their Virtue, if they ſhall be contented with a bare Removal of the Perſon of a Miniſter, without endeavouring to provide for the Security of the Nation, against the like Calamity for the future.

It was often and juſtly complain'd of, by the Gentlemen in the Oppoſition to the late Miniſter, that the defenceleſs State of thoſe Parts of our Conſtitution, which were left, in ſome Meaſure, unguarded after the Revolution, had been ſo well improved, to its own Purpoſes, by the Arts of Power, as to expoſe it to utter Deſtruction. The Virtue of the People did what we long and fruitleſsly expected from that of the P———t; they reſiſted the Force of Corruption, and, at laſt, diſlodged the great Corruptor himſelf, from the Poſts from whence he had ſo often thrown out Defiances to all publick Virtue, with all the Inſolence of Power. It is now about 3 Months ſince this great and important Victory has been gain'd; but the People ſtill ſee the ſtrong Hold of their inſolent Tyrant entire, and themſelves expoſed to the ſame Injuries, ſhould a future Miniſter have Boldneſs and Wickedneſs enough to ſeize it for the ſame Purpoſes. They perceive moreover their Enemy exulting in his Eſcape, and, like the

old

old *Parthians*, doing as much Execution in his Retreat, as in the Engagement.

If ſuch a Defect really exiſts in our Conſtitution, as that no Miniſter can be convicted but upon an Evidence almoſt impoſſible to be produced; I am ſorry to obſerve, that it was once not only foreſeen, but provided againſt, and afterwards given up in Favour of a Jobb of a Party. The Proviſion I mean, was contain'd in the *Bill of Rights*, the fourth Condition of which run as follows; *That from and after the Time that the further Limitations by this Act ſhall take Effect, all Matters and Things relating to the well governing of this Kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council, by the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, ſhall be tranſacted there; and all Reſolutions taken thereupon, ſhall be ſign'd by ſuch of the Privy Council, as ſhall adviſe and conſent to the ſame.*

This Proviſion was wiſely calculated for two Ends, *viz.* Firſt to remedy the Evils, which the Nation had ſo often felt by the publick Counſels being determined by a *Cabinet Council*, an Inſtitution unknown to the Conſtitution; and, ſecondly, to prevent the Ambidexterity of Miniſters, who arrogated all Succeſs to themſelves, and laid every Miſcarriage at the Doors of others.

Our late Miniſter, ſince he has been diveſted of his Poſts, has given a remarkable Proof of his Ambidexterity, by giving out in his Vindication, that the moſt unpopular and unjuſtifiable Meaſures of Government, for the laſt 20 Years, were tranſacted contrary to his Advice and Approbation; and to reconcile this to Probability, he introduces that ridiculous, but dangerous Diſtinction, betwixt the Part he was obliged to act as a Member of Parliament and as a Privy-Counſellor, he being often obliged, as the former, to defend and divide for thoſe Meaſures, which, as the latter, he had oppoſed.

Next, this Writer ſpeaks of the Diſappointment with regard to the Peerage Bill, *the* Place Bill, *and the* Repeal of the Septennial Act; *and then ſays*, The mentioning one *Repeal*, brings naturally to mention another; that is, the Repeal of many penal Laws, which may be fatal to the Liberties of the Subject, in the Hands of a wicked Miniſter. Theſe Laws, like a dangerous Medicine for an acute Diſtemper, were at firſt adminiſter'd to the Nation Drop by Drop, a little now and a little then, till nobody knew when the Remedy ceaſed, and the Poiſon began; but they came at laſt to be ſo multiplied, as in ſome Meaſure to alter the Conſtitution. The People at this Time are actually ſo habituated to them, that they are inſenſible of their Diſeaſe. This is the true Reaſon, why the Outcry for the Repeal of many penal Laws is not ſo popular, as ſome other Subjects, which are of infinitely leſs Conſequence to the Nation.

If we look into the Maxims of the Government of the late Miniſter, we ſhall find them but very few, when conſider'd apart from Conveniency and Expediency; but of thoſe few he had, the chief was the Multiplication of penal Laws. It has been ſaid, both by himſelf and his Creatures, that no ſevere or cruel Uſe has been made of theſe penal Laws.—But the Danger to the Nation ariſes from this very Lenity. They were Scourges in his Hands which the People dreaded; and this Dread was more for his Purpoſes than if he had applied them: For had they been applied as liberally as they might have been, the popular Deteſtation of his Perſon would have ſoon been too hard for his Power.—They were, however, applyd as often as his Purpoſe required. The Penalties were, indeed, ſome-

etimes remitted; but remitted
nfamous Ends: They were made
Barter of the Liberty and pub-
Spirit of the unhappy Delin-
nt.

et any Man of Reflexion look
d the Nation, let him throw
Eye upon a Liſt of P——t,
conſider from what Places the
Miniſter drew his chief Sup-
. Was it not from the Places
hich the People were moſt ſub-
ed to the Dread, and moſt liable
he Severities of penal Laws?
e not the *Popiſh*, have not the
bite Intereſt, of late, with open
s, adopted his Cauſe? Was
e a Place in *Great Britain*, in
ch any of this Influence pre-
'd, that did not exert itſelf in
our of his Tools and Creatures,
ng the late general Elections?
there a ſmuggling Borough that
er had not a Majority of their
tors ſubject to the Laſh of in-
'd Penalties, or bargain'd to re-
as he dictated, upon Conditions
riminal Forbearance? And can
People be ſaid to be free, while
a Scourge is left in the Hands
of the beſt Miniſter, or Mi-
y? *Nihil turpius eſt ſervitute,*
Cicero, in qua, etiam ſi non ſit
ſus Dominus, tamen miſerrimum
poſſe ſi velit.

Common Senſe, May 15. N° 274.

TRIAL *of ſuſpected Miniſters*
ceſſary to the Preſervation of a
ee State.

MACHIAVEL tells us, that it
is abſolutely neceſſary for the
ervation of a free State, that
who are ſuſpected of having
ptly or treacherouſly admini-
the publick Affairs, ſhould be
ly accuſed and tried, before
People, the Senate, or ſuch o-
Magiſtrates, as have a Power
'd in them of puniſhing Crimes
at Nature.——This Practice
preſerves Peace and Order, and pre-
vents the Growth of Factions with-
in the State.

In the *Roman* Commonwealth
there were frequent Struggles be-
twixt the Nobility and the Com-
mons, each being jealous of the
others acquiring too much Power.
In the Time of *Coriolanus*, there
being a Dearth of Proviſions in
Rome, the Senate ſent to *Sicily* to
buy up Corn with the publick Mo-
ney to ſupply the City, which was
to be deliver'd out to the People at
the Price it coſt. *Coriolanus* think-
ing this a good Time to abridge the
Power of the Commons, mov'd in
the Senate that the Corn might not
be diſtributed, unleſs the People
would conſent to give up their Right
of electing Tribunes; which in Ef-
fect was to ſtarve them into a Com-
pliance: Which coming to the Ears
of the People, they ſurrounded the
Senate Houſe, and in all Probability
would have kill'd *Coriolanus*, if their
Tribunes had not interpoſed and
cited *Coriolanus* to appear upon a
certain Day to ſtand a Trial, upon
which they were immediately pa-
cified, and departed without com-
mitting the leaſt Diſorder; but had
not the Tribunes (ſays *Machiavel*)
had a Power of accuſing, and had
not there been a Judicature to pu-
niſh ſuch Attempts upon publick
Liberty, the Commonwealth muſt
have run into Confuſion; the No-
bility in all Probability might have
rais'd all their Strength to have de-
fended or reveng'd *Coriolanus*, and
the Diſorder would not have ended,
but with the Ruin either of the *Pa-
trician* or *Plebeian* Power; and let
which will happen, the Conſtitution
was deſtroy'd.

The ſame Author obſerves, that
their Commonwealth of *Florence* was
ſo defective in its firſt Inſtitution,
that it was impoſſible it ſhould be
able to maintain its Liberty long;
for they neither had Laws nor a

proper Judicature to try thoſe Citizens who abuſed their Truſt in a publick Office, or attempted to undermine the publick Liberty. There was no Way but for ſome of the principal Citizens to form a Party againſt the Man that was growing too powerful. He on his Side form'd another Party for his own Defence, ſo that it generally came to Blows, and ended in the Deſtruction of many worthy Citizens; nay, the People themſelves were often obliged to invite in foreign Forces, in order to revenge themſelves of their Tyrants within; and *Machiavel* ſays, it is a ſure Sign of a tyrannical Government, whenever the People have recourſe to foreign Aſſiſtance, becauſe there is nothing to which they have naturally a greater Diſlike.

All thoſe who are for preſerving Peace and Order in a Commonwealth, all that are for maintaining Liberty, muſt therefore promote the Accuſation of unpopular Men, that the Diſaffection and Ill-Humour, which ſpread amongſt the People in Times of Male-Adminiſtration, may have a legal Vent; otherwiſe, theſe ill Humours will break out into ſuch violent Irruptions as may deſtroy the very Being of the State.

It may be objected, that in the *Turkiſh* Government there is no Method for trying Criminals of this Sort, and yet the Government has ſubſiſted for ſome Ages. To which it may be anſwer'd, that we are ſpeaking of ſuch Governments as enjoy Liberty and are willing to preſerve it, and no Rule is to be taken from that which is the moſt deſpotick in the World; but even there it is worth obſerving, what is the Conſequence of there being no legal Evacuation for the Diſaffections of the People; the Conſequence is, the People do Juſtice upon ſuch Criminals themſelves, and in a very tumultuous Manner.

As often as any new Oppreſſion is felt at home, or any Diſhonour ſuffer'd abroad, you hear of a Grand Vizier being torn to Pieces by the Populace; and it is but a few Years ſince the People broke into the Palace of a Grand Vizier, by Violence pull'd him out, tied his Legs to a Horſe's Tail, and in that miſerable Condition dragg'd him thro' every Street in *Conſtantinople*.

It is true, the Government is prudent enough to acquieſce when ſuch Violences happen, and therefore the Government ſubſiſts: If they employ'd their Force againſt theſe Tumults they might ſometimes perhaps get the better, and a great deal of Blood might be ſpilt, but ſome Turn or other the Government would certainly be deſtroy'd; but as no Factions are form'd in Defence of a worthleſs Criminal, the ill Humours are buried with him, and every Thing is quiet the next Day.

As to the Perſon who hath been the Object of univerſal Hatred in this Country for 20 Years paſt, I cannot help thinking that it is owing to the Gentlemen in the Oppoſition that he is alive at this Day; the noble Struggle made by them in Defence of Liberty, gave the People to hope that the Conſtitution would at laſt prevail, and that they ſhould ſee this great Criminal ſuffer by the Courſe of publick Juſtice. It is not to be imagined they could have bore him ſo long, were they not reſtrain'd by that Expectation. Read all the Hiſtories in the World and you will not meet with a Man in any Age, in any Country, ſo deteſted; his Crimes that were ſuch, I may ſay, were felt by all Mankind, made him juſtly odious, but the Inſolence with which they were accompanied made him inſupportable; the tenth Part of what he hath done, would have cauſed two Grand Viziers to have been torn in Pieces at *Conſtantinople*; but it is

much

h better for the Conſtitution it
ld be as it is, and the Patience
Temper of the People towards
worſt of Mankind, it is to be
ed, will be followed with Bene-
to themſelves, the ill Humour
have a legal Evacuation, and
ce will be done in ſuch a Man-
as is practiſed in all Countries
h enjoy Liberty.

Mr. Common Senſe,

Have long had a Mind to be in Print, but always ſome Objection other ſtarted up againſt it; firſt, was diffident whether I could e common Senſe or not, but I got over by conſidering the *ſetteers*; the next was my Stops, as Commas, Semicolons, *&c.* know their Names better than then for my Spelling I was as h at a Loſs (as the late *Freeman* literate and nonſenſical Memory) I conſider'd the Corrector of the would ſet all that to rights; I don't ſee why an Author is g'd to ſpell well, any more than od Scholar to write a fine Hand; I have a very ſtrong Itch after try, but as that is meaſur'd by umber of Feet to end in Rhyme, never I *ſcan* wrong, I give you Power and Authority to cut off oot or two, or make the like ition, as you in your great Wiſ- ſhall eſteem proper; but in I- ation of the great Mr. *Steele*, n he preſcrib'd Rules to Cler- en in relation to their Perri- , as what Length they ought e, and how much Powder they be allow'd, with other Matters he like Importance, he makes Exception to Chaplains of Men War and Regiments; ſo I do the to my *Hudibraſtick* Verſes, and expect they may be admitted to into the World upon their Feet, without any Lett, Hin- ce or Moleſtation.

Now, Sir, for my Subject, and I have juſt hit upon the fineſt in *England*—*Che*——*eld*; you muſt know that I never paſs by him but I pull off my Hat and bow to him with the greateſt Awe and Reſpect imaginable, but all internal, not to outward Appearance; for as I am ſenſible of his Politeneſs, that would give him the Trouble to return the Compliment, and would be an Honour done to me much greater than I can pretend to merit; the Name has rous'd my Muſe, ſo can go no farther.

Thy praiſe I ſing great *Che*——*d*.

There I am at a Loſs for Rhyme, and muſt begin again.

Tho' great your title, yet unfit
To ſerve in metre, but if wit
Or Senſe appear in print or writing,
The world cries out, 'tis your inditing;
Obſerve the ſtyle, the force, what follows?
It muſt be his, or elſe *Apollo*'s;
No matter whoſe, pray what's the odds?
One lives with men, the other gods.

That's by Way of Preamble.

Hail noble leader of the patriot train,
Long have I wiſh'd, and wiſh'd, and wiſh'd in vain.

I know Criticks will be apt to carp at the Word Leader, becauſe it's ſaid the Patriots have no Leader at all; and that in the other Verſe there's a Wiſh too much, but I claim the Licence of the Poet, and with a very good Plea, for it would have been a Foot too ſhort without it. Perhaps the Reader will be very earneſt to know what I wiſh, and may expect a third Line to end with *Spain*, to rhime to *vain*.—But I have a better Thought, as thus:

To ſee men rule us that are true and juſt,
And knaves turn'd out, and honeſt men in truſt;
Learn'd, great, and good, benevolent, and wiſe,
From all mankind, thou bear'ſt away the prize.

But this is a Subject too ſublime, it throws me into an Extaſy, and like a *French* Prophet, I can utter no-

thing but Bits and Scraps, ſo I'm oblig'd to quit it, and enter upon one that will raiſe your Mirth and Indignation at the ſame Time.

In days of yore when birds of feather,
To fleece their country, flock'd together,
And conſcience ſet to ſale and barter,
Until at length they caught a *Tartar*;
To tell you all their tricks and querks,
And how the knight, by fits and jerks,
Turn'd out, put in, and what tranſacted,
Your brain would turn and be diſtracted:
As how abroad he ſent his brother,
What equipage, and what a pother
He made at one court, then at t'other:
The treaties ſign'd, the reverence ſhow'd him,
The honours that they paid and ow'd him;
The friends he had to bid defiance,
The ſpeech he made of no alliance;
What foes they had, that did oppoſe 'em,
Reſolv'd from time to time to noſe 'em,
And how, when matters at a pinch,
They fought their battles inch by inch;
The pains they took, the mighty ſtruggle
They had to break th' inchanted juggle;
But hold, my Muſe, and ſtop your gallop,
And don't run on ſo like a trollop;
Theſe and the like, are topicks fit
For men that have a ſtock of wit,
And ſo to you I recommend 'em,
A perſon propereſt to end 'em;
I being, Sir, your ſervant humble,
At which I neither pine nor grumble.

W. AIMWELL.

Common Senſe, May 22. N° 275.

MACHIAVEL's *Obſervation further purſu'd.* (*See p.* 241.)

IF a Perſon ſhould be unjuſtly accuſed and condemn'd, which you cannot ſuppoſe in a free State, the Miſchief ends in his ſingle Deſtruction; which is better than that a whole People ſhould be provoked and all Things thrown into Confuſion againſt the Government itſelf, on Account of the Protection given to a Man, or a few Men, univerſally hated.

If petty Rogues ſhould rob in the Streets, and on the Roads, and none ſhould ſuffer, we ſhould be apt to think there are no Laws in that Country; if great Criminals ſhould be ſuffer'd to go on in a Courſe of Rapine and Oppreſſion till they became too ſtrong for Juſtice, we ſhould certainly conclude there was no Liberty and no Conſtitution; and what would be the Conſequence? In the firſt Caſe, the private Man injured, and in the laſt, the whole People would think they had a Right to do Juſtice themſelves on the Offenders, by any Methods that Providence ſhould put into their Power; and thus ſhould we live in a State of Civil War and Confuſion.

Our grand Corruptor ſet out as he intended to ſubdue that Power which had a Right to call him to Account, and in a little Time the univerſal Hatred he had incurred made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to ſubdue it. It was always his Practice, and indeed it was his Buſineſs, to make his Tools believe that the Conſtitution was already deſtroy'd, that they might go through the odious Drudgery with the more Reſolution; he ſucceeded with many of them, and conſidering what Spirit he ventured to make with the Nation's Intereſts abroad and at home. Perſons of better Judgment than moſt of them might well be impoſed upon; they were ſo perfectly ſatisfied it was ſo, that they ſet the Conſtitution at Defiance, and deſpiſed the People; yes, thoſe that were taken from the Dregs of the People, from the very Rubbiſh of Mankind, thoſe that were themſelves no better than the rotten and corrupt Part of the Populace, and preſer'd for their diſtinguiſh'd Worthleſſneſs, deſpiſed the Conſtitution and ſet the whole Nation at Defiance.

The Proſpect is now chang'd, the Genius of the Nation hath been rouzed, it hath exerted itſelf, it hath driven the Corruptor from his Entrenchments; no doubt but a proper Uſe will be made of this happy Event, both to ſatisfy Juſtice, and to relieve the People with reſpect to their Grievances. The whole

e of the Nation calls loud for
ce, they have waited for it in
nſtitutional Way, they did not
Vengeance into their own
ds, they have waited, I ſay,
y Years, under the greateſt Pro-
tions that ever any Nation ſuf-

he Corruptor himſelf ſeemed
cious of what he deſerv'd, he
ehended the People's Patience
ld not hold out much longer,
therefore remov'd his Dwelling;
placed himſelf in the Midſt of
nſtant Guard of an arm'd Force;
Proof both of his Guilt and
is Fear, we have ſeen, when he
ed only from his Coach to ſome
e of Buſineſs, he has been ſur-
nded by a Parcel of Fellows
k'd up from Bear-Gardens, hi-
for this Purpoſe, and rewarded
this Service with Employments
ch Gentlemen would be glad of;
hat the People were forced to
a Pack of S———ls for guard-
this Man againſt themſelves.

The numerous Employments in
Nation are grown extremely
denſome to the Nation, beſides
ch, by the Uſe that was made
hem during the late corrupt Ad-
iſtration, they became dangerous
he Conſtitution: It is now to be
ed, that many of them which
entirely uſeleſs will be ſup-
s'd, and the Salaries applied to
publick Service; it may be ſome
e to the People in Point of Taxes,
will be a much greater Eaſe to
ir Minds when the ſcandalous
that hath been made of them
l ceaſe.

How many *Sine-cures* are there in
eral Branches of the Revenue,
h Salaries double to what is aſ-
'd to the moſt neceſſary and pro-
ble Employment in the State, in
other Country in *Europe?* Sure a
n ought to have perform'd ſome
y eminent Services for his Coun-
, he ſhould be a Perſon of moſt
conſpicuous and acknowledg'd Merit, a known Benefactor to Society, who can be intitled to poſſeſs one of theſe *Sine-cures*. How they have been diſpoſed of during the arbitrary Ad——n of our late Corruptor, every Body knows; it was continual Matter of Provocation to ſee a Parcel of inſignificant Tools ſupported in Luxury at the publick Expence, who never did a Day's Service for their Country in their Lives, unleſs fawning and cringing at the Corruptor's Levee can be allow'd a Service to the Country.

If the Nation was threaten'd with ſome apparent Danger, were *Hannibal* at our Gates, and ſome one Man, or Set of Men, by their Valour, by their Counſel or good Conduct, ſhould deliver their Country from the Invader, and reſtore us to Safety, no Doubt they ought to be diſtinguiſhed by ſome Honours; and if they were quarter'd upon the Publick, either by way of a beneficial Employment or otherwiſe, no Man would think it a Hardſhip to be obliged to contribute his Share towards it: But at a Time that the Nation, like a Man over-loaded, is bending under its Burden, and calling out to be reliev'd of ſome Part of it; at a Time that the Nation for 20 Years hath reaped no other Fruits from thoſe employ'd in its Affairs but Loſs, Diſappointment, and Diſgrace, to ſee 8, nay 10,000*l.* a Year, of publick Money go to an Auditor of the Exchequer, immenſe Sums to Tellers, Secretaries, *&c. &c.* ——and, leſt it ſhould be ſuppoſed that they do any Thing for it, to ſee that many of them muſt have Deputies with very large Salaries, while the very Deputies have ſcarce any Thing to do; theſe are Things that would almoſt tempt one to believe the Doctrine of Predeſtination, and give us to apprehend that it was decreed, that this Nation ſhould be ruined by its own Profuſeneſs.

Craftſman,

Craftſman, May 22. N° 829.

A Series of ſome late POLITICKS.

SIR,

MR. *Prior*, in his facetious Account of *ſauntring Jack* and *idle Joan*, ſums up the Whole of their Exiſtence thus;

They liv'd a Kind of——as it were.

And I hold myſelf greatly obliged to him for the Thought; for I much queſtion if I could have ſtumbled on any other, which would have anſwer'd my preſent Purpoſe ſo well.

To exemplify; in taking a Review of our military Conduct ſince War was declar'd with *Spain*, (the Exploits of Admiral *Vernon* ever excepted) I cannot help calling it a *Kind of——as it were.*

In particular; when we conſider poor Admiral *Haddock* moor'd at *Gibraltar*, or anchor'd at *Port-Mahon*, or dodging between both, or perplex'd with ſuch Orders as would turn a Man's Head to unriddle, as effectually as the writing a Comment on the *Apocalyps*, while one Squadron of the Enemy eſcapes from *Cadiz* to *Ferrol*, from *Ferrol* to *Cartagena*; and another ſails leiſurely thro' the Streights to join the *French*, and afterwards ſets him at Defiance to his very Beard; who can help concluding, that we fight but *as it were?*

When we conſider the formidable Cruizings of Admiral *Balchen*, on the Coaſt of *Spain*, when one Man of War, the *Princeſſa*, fell into the Hands of *three Ships only*; who can help calling ſuch a doughty Exploit a *Kind of——as it were?*

When we reflect on the pompous Expeditions of Sir *John Norris*, firſt from *Portſmouth* to *Torbay*; and, ſecondly, from *Portſmouth* to the Bay of *Biſcay*, and back again for *freſh Water*; who can help concluding, that we fight but *as it were?*

Again; when we recollect the Treaty of Subſidy we enter'd into with the King of *Denmark*; the annual Sums paid to certain Princes of *Germany*, to be ready with their Mercenaries upon the firſt Notice; the Vaunts we made of giving the Empire a Head, and the fighting Face we put on, to bully *France* from preſuming to make Emperors as well as we; who can help thinking, that all this, likewiſe, was but an—— *as it were?*

When we recollect, in Conſequence, the joint Adventures of Meſſieurs *B——y* and *M——s*, the Treaty of N——, the Exceſs of Complaiſance with which a certain Vote was given to the E—— of *B*——, and the ſtrange Sympathy between that unparallel'd Piece of good Breeding, and what happen'd ſoon after off Cape *Legat*, at the ſame Time that we were remitting Aids in Shape of Money, to the poor, diſtreſſed Q—— of *H*——; who is not tempted to believe, that our Behaviour, on both Sides, was but an —— *as it were?*

Nay, at this very Inſtant; when Troops are every Day review'd, when Reinforcements are granted, when Embarkations are made as faſt as the Winds will permit, Leave, when ſeveral Parties have already ſeen what they never ſaw before, viz. the Sea, and a regular Fortification; when the very Field-Officers are obliged to go Perſon, and the *Dutch* are ſtrongly ſolicited to lend us their Countenance, if not their Aſſiſtance; how many are there among us who incline to fancy that even all theſe promiſing Appearances are but an—— *as it were?*

To carry this Thought thro' our domeſtick Affairs. Tho' we have ſeen a certain obnoxious Perſon obliged, ſore againſt his Will, to quit his Hold; tho' we have ſeen him make a Surrender of his Employments; tho' we have ſeen thoſe Employments diſtributed into other Hands, and tho' the Court Weather-Glaſs, as 'tis ſaid, no longer riſes and falls as he pleaſes, there are many, very many political *Sceptics*, who ſuſpect, and aſſert, that all this is but an —— *as it were?*

Nor do they ſtop here; for tho' the Voice of the Grand Inqueſt of the Nation endeavouring to aſcertain and enumerate the Grievances of the Public; tho' there is Reaſon to believe, that a very little Time will diſcover at whoſe Door they ought to be laid; tho' the People, with one Voice, demand that the Delinquent, however great, however favour'd, or however colleagued, ſhall not be permitted to eſcape with Impunity; ſo deeply rooted is their Diſtruſt, that they ſtill ſeem to inſinuate, all is but an—— *as it were?*

In ſhort, Sir, not to weary you, or my Readers, with a Repetition of the ſame Phraſe, never ſince I had the Honour of Converſe among Politicians have I known the whole Pack at ſuch a Fault as they are at preſent. Opinion is at a dead Stand; the Tide moves neither up nor down; and from Day to Day, we wait to ſee the Current renew'd by Facts, rather than by the Wind of Hypotheſis and Conjecture.

ANTI-SCRIB

Since our laſt, were publiſh'd ſeveral Repreſentations and Inſtructions to Members to the ſame Purpoſe as the former, (ſee p. 198.) particularly from the County of *Carmarthen*, the County of *Kincardine*, the Shire of *Roſs*, City of *Peterborough*, Borough of *Flint*, &c. County of *Angleſea* and Borough of *Beaumaris*; which laſt we ſhall give our Readers, as follows:

Right Hon. James *Lord Viſc.* Bulkeley *and* John Owen, *Eſq;*

R *S*,

E the Gentlemen, Freeholders, *&c*, of the County of *Angleſea*, and the Burgeſſes of the Borough of *Beauma-* A
turn you our united Thanks for your al Attendance in Parliament, your Endeavours to retrieve the Honour of vereign and his People, and reſcue three ms from the pernicious Influence of tion, which has in all Ages prov'd fa- the moſt powerful States and Empires the Sun.

truſt that you will, to the utmoſt of B
Power, ſearch and probe to the Bottom any and dangerous Wounds that have Years been given to the Dignity and erce of this Nation, with an Impu- ot to be parallel'd in former Ages; you will promote a ſtrict Inquiry into nduct of thoſe Perſons that have di- , or rather confounded our late mili- C
perations, and know why and how the War has been carried on in ſuch a cial, *unbritiſh* Manner; and how by away Commanders without Ships, ips without Commanders, a brave Na- become the Ridicule of all *Europe*.

as with the utmoſt Regret and Indig- , that we were oblig'd to obſerve the r of a warlike Prince ſo ſhamefully D
ted, or ſo wickedly betray'd, and the r of his Youth ſicken and fade now at ead of thoſe very People, whom he bers at *Ramillies* to behave as became .

ſevere, Sirs, with Steadineſs and Re- n in the Support and Service of your ry, and be not daunted by the harden'd nce of profeſs'd Enemies, nor diſcou- E
by the more criminal Tergiverſation of ded Friends.

tend your Views to Miniſters yet un- promote ſuch Laws, as may moſt ef- lly diſarm either preſent or future Per- Power; ſtrengthen and fortify thoſe es, which coſt our Anceſtors ſo much and Treaſure, and which our Succeſ- F
e like to owe, in a very great Mea- to the Virtue, Vigilance and Courage ſe ever-memorable and primitive Pa- that have exerted themſelves of late o much Firmneſs and Bravery, in one moſt critical Junctures that perhaps *Britain* may ever ſee.

with the greateſt Pleaſure we find you glorious Number; you have therefore G
reateſt to find us to be, as we really

SIRS,

Your moſt faithful and obliged Friends and Conſtituents.

MANIFESTO intended to be publiſh'd by General *Wentworth*, on the Landing of the Troops amongſt the *Spaniards*.

Thomas Wentworth, *Eſq*; *General and Commander in Chief of his* Britannick *Majeſty's Forces in* America, *&c.*

AS it is well known, that the preſent War was begun with the Intent only to ſuppreſs the Piracies of the *Guarda Coſta's*; and that his Catholick Majeſty might underſtand, that the King my Maſter would never conſent that ſuch Outrages ſhould be practiſed with Impunity: And as it is not the Deſign or Intention of his Majeſty to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* Commerce, but rather to further and aſſiſt its Continuance, in the Manner it was formerly carried on with the *Engliſh*, whoſe Friendſhip and Commerce was always an Advantage to the *Spaniards*.

For which Reaſon I am reſolv'd (God willing) to ſettle a Colony of the Subjects of the King my Maſter in

and to ſecure it with a Gariſon of his Troops; in which Colony, all the *Spaniards* that ſhall chuſe to live there, ſhall be receiv'd and well treated as *Engliſh*, and deem'd as King's Subjects; and they ſhall enjoy the ſame Liberty as the *Engliſh*, as well in their Perſons and Properties, as in the Exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Religion; to which End, they ſhall be permitted to have either a Chapel or Church, which they may chuſe, and as many Prieſts as neceſſary, without giving them the leaſt Trouble on Account of their Religion.

And as the Foundation of this Colony is to augment the Commerce between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, there ſhall be no Cuſtoms paid on Importation or Exportation, nor ſhall there be any Duty whatſoever; but it ſhall be equally as free for a *Spaniard* to bring to, or carry from his Houſe, and the Colony, all Sorts of Merchandiſe, or any other Thing, whether *Engliſh* or *Spaniſh*, as the *Engliſh* themſelves, without the leaſt Demand of Duty.

The *Indians* that ſhall enter in Alliance with this Colony, ſhall be free from all Sort of Tribute or Cuſtoms, and ſhall enjoy the ſame Privileges and Advantages of the *Spaniards*. And the Negroes and Mulattoes that ſhall ſurrender before their Maſters do, ſhall have their Liberty given them, and ſhall be treated as free *Engliſh* Mulattoes and Negroes.

By theſe Means all the Dangers, exceſſive Charges and Expences, which were occaſion'd by the Duties, Cuſtoms, Guards and Royal Officers, will be avoided, and the Merchant and Trader will carry on their Buſineſs without Embarraſſment or Limitation; and their Perſons and Effects will be ſecur'd from any Moleſtation, as they will enjoy the ſame Liberty with the *Engliſh*. *PSALM*

PSALM XXIX. *Paraphras'd.*

HEROES of earth, with proſtrate rev'rence pay
That tributary homage, which the might,
And glory of th' eternal King demands.
His name omnipotent, immenſe, ſupreme,
Eternal, ſelf-exiſting, when your ſteps
Approach his ſacred temple, celebrate
In ſolemn whiſper, or on ſounding ſtring
Record. For who the mighty God that hears
Thund'ring in ſtorm, and o'er the billow'd deep
Reſounding, and reſtrains the vocal praiſe?
Hark! 'tis Jehovah that in tempeſt ſpeaks,
Reſiſtleſs pow'r, and majeſty ſupreme
Ride on the ſacred ſounds, they ſtrike the ear,
And ſhake the ſoul through her profoundeſt pow'rs
With ſilent veneration. *Lebanon*
Beholds his cedars tow'ring in the clouds,
Riv'n by the triple thunderbolt, deſcend
In craſhing ruin, and deform thoſe brows
They had adorn'd from nature's ancient birth.
The rocky cliffs affrighted at the roar
Leap up, ſo wantons o'er the verdant mead
The pamper'd heifer, ſo the unicorn
Exults along the foreſt's boundleſs range.
Great God, who ſees the horrors of thy ſtorm, [clouds
But bends the knee in homage? Clouds in
Enfolded, ſable o'er the low'ring face
Of nature, on a ſudden iſſues forth [fire;
The lightning's flame, and ſets the heav'ns on
Laſt rolls the bolt, which burſting from the ſtorm
Outrageous, quick we fly the flaming blow,
Scatt'ring prodigious ruin where it falls.
Nor is it on'y man that fears, and ſhuns
The forky fire; *Arabia*'s vaſt expanſe [roll
Of deſart ſhakes throughout, and fain would
Herſelf in her adjoining gulph t'eſcape
The conflagration dire. The pregnant hind,
Browzing the foreſt glade, caſts out her young
Abortive, and beneath the branching oak
Shelters, but all in vain; the thunder's ſhock
Tears from the oak each proud enormous limb, [hind
And ſcarce the ſmothering trunk remains be-
To tell how vaſt the ruin. But no more,
My Muſe, of direful ſubject, rather ſing
In gentler accent how the ſaints behave
Amidſt the gen'ral uproar; all ſerene
Without an anxious fear, the temple gates
They crowd with pious zeal, and hymning there [ſouls
Their heav'nly Father's praiſe, ſend up their
In elevated ſong, or warbling lyre.
'Our God,' I hear the joyful chorus cry,
'With wiſdom infinite, with truth unchang'd,
'And grace unbounded, we by faith behold,
'To others tho' unſeen, amidſt the rage
'Of tempeſt, for his own right hand
'The fiery wrath from ov'ry ſtar
'points
'And pours the ruddy vengeance on
'Implacable, ſoul-troublers of our
'His mercy triumphs in the lightning
'And happineſs from blaſting thunder

To the Honourable ****** *****, *Eſq;*
W——— *in* C———*ſhire,*

On his leaving that beautiful Seat, in order to proceed on his Voyage to *****.

WHILST o'er thoſe plains I mournful view,
Plains, once the ſeat of virtue, worth
Plains, that no more will glad our ſight,
No more will grant the ſenſe profuſe
See my ſad eyes a full-ſwoln heart
And aſk the eaſement of the flowing
You too are touch'd, your pitying mov'd,
And melting ſpeaks, you leave the
So look'd the parent of our race,
With all the curſe revolving in his
So turn'd his eyes to *Eden*'s fading
Erſt all ecſtatic, innocent, ſerene.
Hail, landſkap'd vales, ye grots, and cell,
Ye groves, the haunts of plaintive
Ye gugling rill's, that ſteal along the
Till loſt within the glimering, duſky
My fancy leads me, grateful, to rehearse
Your chearing beauties in attemptive
And you, my friend, will ſmile upon the
And with mild cenſures, all its faults
Bleſt ſeat! where firſt our friendſhip its riſe,
From mutual hatred of oppreſſive vice,
From mutual paſſions that our frame
Dilate each ſoul, and all the boſom fire.
With you I rove the geometric maze,
And taught by you, on inmoſt nature
Inſpect with awe each work of heaven
lime,
And, taught that thinking freely's
Inveſtigate each ſyſtematic law.
And firm concluſions from my reaſonings
From the great Cauſe, well underſtood,
Each revolution of the mortal race;
Fix real notions, or of good, or ill,
And, firm perſuaded that I rule my will,
No cramp'd up ſects, with ſour grimace
pride,
Can o'er my bridled judgment lordly
No trivial rites, impos'd by prieſtly
'An honeſt man's the nobleſt work of
Impartial, pleas'd, theſe truths I
plor'd,
From your aſſiſtant fund of knowledge
'Twas you inſore'd 'em, and my captiv'd
Is to ſuch clear, juſt precepts quite

every clime I oft ideal go,
, like *Mentor*, every cuſtom ſhow;
on laws ſecure, the ſhip to ſail,
the billow, or to tempt the gale.
e'er ſuch mutual love began to ſhine,
e, the countleſs profit, all is mine:
y no dreams, of fancy'd bliſs to ſhare,
uitleſs this, my ever-ardent prayer,
e to virtue, peaceful we decay,
l united, meet our cloſe of day.
atron, friend, from whence your veſ-
ſel flies,
nour, intereſt, all, my ſoul denies;
hatever deſart you ſhall ſteer,
iping want ſurround us, plenty's there.
grove of pines, where whiſpering *Ze-*
phyrs play
h' umbragious, oft-frequented way,
Milton's godlike numbers grac'd thy
tongue, [throng:
e's ſoft lines enwrapt the friendly
ou, forſaken grot, whoſe bubling
ſtreams,
elicon, inſpir'd poetic dreams,
trickling waters, gutting down its ſides
Phœbus in meridian height preſides)
he cool cell, in curl'd meand'ring play,
d the ſultry heat, the ſcorching day;
the ſoft flute, in dying notes and ſlow,
ted, gently, with their murmuring
flow;
e loud ſhakes now broke the ſilent air,
y'd in thrill vibrations to the ear:
ative moſſy caves now loſe the ſtrain,
he ſweet warbling melts or fires the
ſwain.
k, peaceful *Cam*, that in her wind-
ings fell [dwell,
r thy meads, where health and plenty
es with loudeſt voice this ſad farewel.
flowery *Cam*, thou ſmoothly-ripling
ſtream,
ſympathiſeſt in the deathful theme.
ackeſt clouds o'er Q—— ſucceſſive ſteer,
w——m's ſpires all ſabled o'er appear;
and R—b in ſmiles no more are ſeen,
hy own W—— clad in vivid green.
at mighty knot of oaks, whoſe reve-
rend age
ar'd twice fifty winters ſtormy rage,
they incloſe more than all *India*'s mines,
e *Homer*, *Virgil*, and there *Horace* ſhines;
Tillotſon, with almoſt heavenly grace,
Ciceronian South adorn the place;
Sharp and *Moſs*, where ſtrongeſt traits
appear,
hat we ought to do and ſuffer here;
Atterbury eaſy, courtly, free,
hen with darling *Pope* he us'd to be:
, you from him have here and there
eras'd [blaz'd;
e lines, where too much zeal and fury
ious friend! you lov'd the ſeer alive,
would that but his better part ſurvive.

Here *Butler* laſhes, there ſmooth *Waller* flows,
And warbles *Saccbariſſa* love-ſick woes;
And *Cowley* ſoars aloft to *Pindar*'s ſtrain,
And you e'en feel poor *Dryden* ſad complain.
Here *Shakeſpear* ſmiles with frolick native
air,
And ſee, to *Britons* ever juſtly dear,
Our great *Spectators* noble dictates there:
Gay *Mat*, with all his jocund tales bedight;
And *Swift*, dear *Swift*, array'd in beams of
light;
And all the witty, virtuous, good and ſage,
That ſtrove t' improve, or laſh'd a guilty age.
With theſe converſing, how you've wing'd
the hours! [powers!
Improv'd and brighten'd all your mental
No more this rapturous, this bleſs'd retreat,
The *Muſes* haunt, whoſe numbers you repeat,
This ſapient pile, whence wiſdom caſt her
rays,
And thro' thy ſoul ſucceſſive ſhot the blaze,
Has charms for thee—from thee, whom they
adore,
Thy ſwains ſhall learn humanity no more,
From thee no more the gilded rules imbibe;
Thy poliſh'd reaſonings ſhall no more preſide.
In vain the widow ſeeks thy huſband voice,
Nor orphans in thy tenderneſs rejoice;
In vain the ſorrowing ſoul ſhall claim thy
care,
Loſt in the tortures of a black deſpair:
The huſband flown, the father, and the friend,
Where will the direful deſolation end?
Aſia ſhall ſoon this beſt of men reſtore,
Never to leave his doating vaſſals more.
Few annual rounds detain him from your
prayers,
And ſwiftly, ſee, he flies to eaſe your cares;
Worſhip'd by *Turks*, to whom his worth con-
feſt,
A Chriſtian ceaſes now to be a jeſt.
He comes, his glory, knowledge, ſtill increaſt,
With all the wealth and ſplendor of the *Eaſt*:
From where the baneful ſouth winds noxious
blow,
And the parch'd burning ſands ſo fervid glow;
Where *Sol* perpetual darts his raging beams,
Exhales continual peſtilential ſteams.
In vain we ſearch where cooling waters ſwell,
No rapid waves along the deſart fell;
But each ſmall rill in gentle mood complains,
That fate with ſills of ſand has choak'd his
veins. [mains
From gloomy cavern, which the dread re-
Of now fall'n proſtrate *Egypt* ſtill retains;
Where *Nilus* annual floods of plenty brings,
Condens'd from fountains of ne'er-ceaſing
ſprings;
Where monſtrous *Sphinx* uprears her laſting
head, [ſpread,
And groaning plains tremendous piles o'er-
Eternal *Mauſolæums* of the dead;
Thoſe lofty pyramids that brave the ſkies,
Whoſe towering tops, all cloud-envelop'd riſe.

From once bleſs'd ſeats, where *Chriſt* receiv'd his birth,
And preach'd good-will and peace to all the earth;
Ungrateful city! now a deſart grown!
Thy only boaſt, thy heaps of ruin'd ſtone.
From fam'd ******, gorgeous, ſhining pile,
Where every joy, but freedom's, learnt to ſmile;
This *Aſia*'s mart, tho' bleſt with all that's fair,
A ſky ſerene, a clear ſalubrious air,
A chearing ſun, that gentle warmth conveys,
With not too blunt, nor yet too pointed rays;
Where great *Euphrates* rolls his awful tides,
And o'er his ſhining ſands triumphant rides;
Yet, curs'd with grinding pains of bondage, groans,
And ſends in vain, to heaven, her ceaſeleſs moans.

Happy *Britannia!* parent of the brave,
Whoſe freeborn ſons diſdain the name of ſlave,
Leave factious warmth, and all your heated zeal,
'Gainſt ills imagin'd, ills ye ſcarcely feel:
'Twas factious ſtrife that drew *their* ruin on,
They murmur'd, they repin'd, and were undone.

Thus have I wander'd o'er the deſtin'd ground,
Which ſhall ere while our wondering ſight ſurround:
And if, but guided by illuſive dream,
I've wander'd, fondly eager, from my theme,
Excuſe the heat that fancy's warmth inſpires,
This trifling foretaſte of my vaſt deſires.
Thy *Hamilton*, the dear, the blooming maid,
Kindly inclines my vanity to aid;
And ſweet *Maria*, with melodious tongue,
Gives the unpoliſh'd verſe the name of ſong:
If you approve, your triple worth will raiſe
Theſe lines, at leaſt, to friendſhip's partial praiſe.

E. KIMBER.

The FIDLER *and* NIGHTINGALE,

Tranſlated from the Latin *of* STRADA.

PRONE to the ſea the ſun declin'd a-pace,
Mild in his courſe, and ſhorn of all his rays;
When on the bank of *Tyber*'s gliding ſtream,
Retir'd from cares and *Phœbus*' burning beam,
Beneath a tow'ring rock a fidler ſat,
Pleas'd with the kindneſs of his ſmiling fate.
A verdant proſpect all around him lay,
Whilſt all around tranſported heard him play.

High on a tree within a neighb'ring grove
Stood *Philomel*, and warbled out her love:
This *Syren* there her daily ſong renews,
A hurtleſs *Syren*, a ſylveſtrian Muſe;
Struck with unuſual notes ſhe quits her ſtand,
And in a moment perches o'er his hand;
Hid in a thicket of a ſpreading bough,
Receives his muſic, and returns it too.

Pleas'd with the fancy and his rival's play,
He means to try her ſkill, and give her way:
His nimble bow and pliant fingers ply,
To ev'ry touch the ready notes reply:
Commands the compaſs with a bounded ſway,
Sweeps o'er the ſtrings, and preludes to the fray.

As nimbly ſhe reſolves the various ſong
In ſon'rous evolutions from her tongue:
Thus for the coming ſtrife herſelf prepares,
And matchleſs art with equal courage bears.

The fidler ſtrikes his ſounding violin,
The conſcious chords re-echo from within:
With eaſy ſlide he drew a downward ſtrain,
And in one ſimple ſound the fiddle ſpoke:
Now ſharply turns the tune, and plies more quick,
On ev'ry ſtring does ev'ry finger ſtrain:
Then reſts. The bird, as ſkilful in her art,
Runs the ſame keys, and gives him note for note:
She with a careleſs air begins her ſong,
Draws out her notes, and makes 'em move along.
Deep in her throat the lengthen'd ſound remains,
Unvariably the ſame without ſurpriſe;
Then in a moment chang'd, her lab'ring breaſt
Varies the tune, and charms ten thouſand ways.

The wond'ring fidler in attention ſtands,
Now with his rival, now himſelf perplex'd,
Admires the harmony, and whence it flows:
From what ſuch num'rous modulations riſe.
In lofty flights he next attempts to riſe,
And with a bolder ſtroke his fiddle tries.
The ſharp in ſmaller flouriſhes he proves,
Slurs it along, and to the grave he moves:
The grave in ſtrong and louder ſtrains reſounds,
Beats the wide ſkies, and from the rude rebounds.
The rough, the ſmooth, the deep, the ſhrill,
And from their diſcord yield a ſtrange delight.
'Tis this the lazy ſoldier's boſom warms
To ruſh in tumults, and to claſh in arms.

This *Philomela* tries, and with her throat
In little quavers ſhakes the trembling note:
But ſuddenly, to other meaſures run,
Mounts in her voice, and raiſes high the tune:
Calls up her ſtrength, and throws out all her pow'r,
And ſings and chants and makes a glorious roar:
Nor reſts; but brightens ſtill, and boldly tries
To imitate the thunder of the ſkies.

Abaſh'd, amaz'd the angry fidler ſtood;
Then thus beſpoke this ſongſter of the wood:
"Preſumptuous bird! to match unrival'd ſkill,
As yet unmatch'd, unrival'd ſhall be kill'd.
If my good inſtrument and hand avail,
Or break my fiddle, and will own I fail."
Nor more: But fiercely ſtrikes the trembling ſhell,
Does thence inimitable muſic deal,
With eager hand he labours ev'ry ſtring,
While with the ſound the woods and valleys ring.

n chord to chord the bounding echo flies,
merable raptures fill the skies;
ft variety his fiddle speaks,
vents his soul into a thousand breaks;
es a vast scope, and fills the spacious
round,
proudly triumphs in unequal sound.
full chorus all at last consent;
o waits an answer, and expects th' event.
the bird already wonders had perform'd,
still her glowing breast ambition warm'd.
in she summons all her strength, again
will try,
olv'd to conquer, or prepar'd to die.
ain the combat she again renews,
ain the complicated song pursues;
ain her little bosom swells to time,
with her native force such height wou'd
climb;
zled and lost in labyrinths of sound,
a whirl of rapt'rous music drown'd.
qual to the mighty task, she fails,
t is her courage, but her grief prevails;
stant yields a triumph hardly won,
gives one deep, melodious, dying groan;
s on his fiddle, and resigns her breath:
ble sepulchre! a glorious death!
t what cou'd such an emulation aim?
hat, but conquest and a future fame?
o can the depths of forming nature tell!
who imagine, in an animal,
re shou'd such gen'rous seeds of glory
dwell!

A RECIPE.

AKE a man who by nature's a true son
of earth,
upine enrich'd, tho' a beggar by birth;
enius the lowest, ill bred, and obscene,
morals most wicked, most nasty in
mien;
none ever trusted, yet ever employ'd,
lunders most fertile, of merit quite void;
told in the senate, abroad a buffoon,
scorn and the jest of all courts but his
own;
ave to that wealth which ne'er made him
a friend, [an end;
proud of that cunning which ne'er gain'd
ape in each treaty, a *Swiss* in each vote,
manners and form a compleat *Hottentot*.
a one could you find, of all men I'd
commend him, [him.
be sure let the curse of each *Briton* attend
s fitly prepar'd add the grace of the ——
folly of ——, and screen of a ——
e a —— for this purpose without ears
or eyes, [of lies:
a long parchment patent stuff'd brimful
se mingled together a *fiat* shall pass,
the thing strut a —— that before was
an ass.

Probatum est.

On the HEALTH *late in Vogue,*
To the cleansing the Augean *Stable.*

TWO *English* sailors, strangers to the hyp,
Late sat regaling o'er a cann of slip;
Cries *Sam*, *Success*, *boy*, *to the* British *cable*,
And, *to the cleansing our* Augean *stable*.
Well said, quoth *Will*, sound hearts of oak
ne'er alter;
Here, *May the* British *cable never falter*;
Nor British *traitor ever want a halter*.
But for our *stable*, was he still alive,
In vain to cleanse it might *Alcides* strive:
To scour th' *Augean*, ways and means be found,
By a small stream that run far under ground;
But ours to cleanse, would prove a task indeed;
That *single* labour would his *twelve* exceed;
Its stench so great, and ordure so obscene;
Nor *Thames*, nor th' *ocean*, e'er can wash it
clean. [compound it,
If that's the case, quoth *Sam*, let's e'en
And leave the stable *filthy* as we found it.

To the Memory of Mr. DRUMMOND, *Treasurer of the Bank of* Scotland. *Addressed to a Friend.*

——Cadit & Ripheus, justissimus unus
Qui fuit in Teucris & servantissimus æqui.

FOrgive the Muse, that from a heart sincere,
With thee desires to drop the friendly tear,
In grateful verse a common loss to mourn,
And weep a while o'er *Drummond*'s sacred urn.
Let others praise a gilded thing, that's great,
A titled bubble, or a tool of state;
Be mine the more exalted work, to scan
The Muse's noblest theme,—an honest man.
And sure, whate'er deserves the poet's lay,
Whate'er a raptur'd bard inspir'd can say
Of just, of right, of what is good, and true,
To honesty and *Drummond* all is due.
Thro' all the stages of a lengthen'd life,
Unknown to discord, ignorant of strife,
He acted every part with just applause,
Constant to virtue and to virtue's cause;
Of faith untainted, hospitably kind,
The best companion, and the firmest friend;
In every scene still constant to his trust,
Steady to truth, and resolutely just,
He knew no flattery, no disguise, or art,
But ever spoke the language of his heart;
His love and charity were unconfin'd,
And flow'd like light to all the human kind;
In youth, in manhood, in old age belov'd,
In every character of life approv'd;
The paths of truth and equity he trod,
And serv'd his friend, his country, and his
God.
And when heaven's awful summons call'd
him hence,
Soft peace, integrity, and innocence,

The ſweet attendants of his lateſt breath,
Hover'd around the bed, and calm'd his death;
No guilty thoughts his peaceful mind controul,
Diſturb his conſcience, or afflict his ſoul;
On heaven his virtue ſteadily rely'd,
All clear within,—he bleſs'd his God and dy'd.
O! *Lælius*, may it be your fate and mine,
Whatever length of years the Fates aſſign,
Like him to paſs the fleeting hours away,
While virtue crowns the labour of each day:
'Tis all the happineſs beneath the ſky,
With ſuch a character to live and die.

A RIDDLE.

WITH youth and perfect beauty bleſt,
From diſtant lands I came,
Nor hath my country been aſham'd
To let me bear its name.

No lady ever yet could boaſt
Complexion half ſo fine;
Tho' now my ſkin as black as thoſe
That dig in the coal-mine.

When I was young, and ſtrong, and fair,
An happy life I led,
And with my miſtreſs, every night,
Went regular to bed.

But from the jilt, as years advanc'd,
And I grew thin and old,
The uſage which I then receiv'd
You'll ſcarce believe when told.

With iron pinchers firſt ſhe ſeiz'd
Upon my tender frame,
Then forc'd me by conſuming fire
To change my former name.

Within a dungeon ſtrait and dark
Unhappy I am thrown,
With villains who have hearts as hard
As iron or as ſtone.

Nor can I ever hope that they
Will pity on me ſhow,
When they do nothing elſe, but give
Each other blow for blow.

A hateful match for me ſhe did
Moſt barbarouſly provide,
A circumſtance I much deſir'd
For evermore to hide;

Nor ſhou'd have nam'd, did not I know
My fellow priſoners ſpite
Was ſuch, that they would never reſt
Till it was brought to light.

The Story of Alphonſus, *from* Strada, *imitated. Addreſs'd to Sir* WILLIAM G——N, *Bart.*

O THOU, who at pale death's impending hour,
Could'ſt bravely ſpurn ill-nature big with power;
Who greatly could'ſt reſtrain a parent's woe
That all thy tears might for thy country flow;
Accept (thy honeſt ſoul can ne'er refuſe)
The grateful tribute of his humble Muſe,
Who ne'er was from his country's int'reſt bought;
Who thinks (and ſure it is a pleaſing thought)
He proud with thee could ſhare his pains and ſtriſe,
And in his country's cauſe reſign his life.
While mean hearts ſhrink with vile contention ſear'd,
In thine the patriot glows, by all rever'd;
With tranſport all admire ſuch wond'rous worth,
Which, like the needle, ſtill ſeems pointing forth.
When valiant *Seaton* (knight of high renown)
Had long defended *Berwick*, loyal town;
His captive ſons before the city gate
Stood, doom'd by cruel foes to inſtant fate,
And for his laſt reſolves the murd'rers wait.
While all ſeem'd ſtruck with horror and affright,
And the fond father trembled at the ſight,
Thus ſpake his conſort; Droop not, but disdain
For theſe, the *Seatons* glorious name to ſtain;
Rather thy race, than fame extinct, deplore
Heav'n gave us theſe, and heav'n can give us more.
His fault'ring virtue thus his ſpouſe recals,
And drags her ling'ring huſband from the walls.
With what a luſtre does this beauty ſhine!
Sure her great ſoul was near ally'd to thine.
And *Seaton*'s conſort ſprung from *Gordon*'s ancient line.

IMITATION.

WHEN the fierce *Saracen*, with hoſtile ſwarms
Of *Turks* and *Moors*, th' *Iberian* coaſt alarms,
And num'rous pow'rs combin'd to humble *Spain*,
Exhauſt the lakes, and ev'n proud *Betis* drain,
The force united on *Carthæa* pours,
Girt with firm walls, well flank'd with lofty † towers;
Within *Alphonſus*, with a few brave friends,
Himſelf an hoſt, th' important paſs defends,
Still firſt in danger; long the ſiege had laſted,
The vig'rous gen'ral ſtill the foe repell'd.
When troops of *Mooriſh* foragers appear,
Loud ſhouts and barb'rous muſick wound the ear;
The ſlaves a captive youth triumphant bear,
In ſable ringlets graceful wav'd his hair,
Heav'n in his looks and grandeur in his air.
Scarce was the lovely boy expos'd to view,
When his dear ſon the fond *Alphonſus* knew

* *He was told in the Houſe, with an artful Deſign, when ſome important Queſtion was to be put, that his Son who commanded the* Otter *Sloop was drowned; notwithſtanding which, he ſtaid till the Debate was ended, and voted for his Country, as he always did.* † *New Algiers in Spain.*

pproaching object ſet him all on fire,
bowels yearning ſoon confeſs the ſire,
twinge of nature which no words can well
eſs, but what all tender parents feel.
his youth, ſole pledge of a dead conſort's pains,
e of his father's joy and hope remains,
areleſs wand'ring diſtant from the walls,
y to wretches void of pity falls.
he child they plac'd full in his father's view,
ſtern a thouſand glitt'ring ſabres drew,
ointed at his panting heart, and vow'd
ed before the father's face his blood,
s he ſtraight ſurrender'd up the town,
ſacrific'd his fame to ſave his ſon.
friends aghaſt all ſhare their general's pains,
feels the parent-ſhudd'ring in his veins;
e he alone ſeems deaf to nature's cries,
es he views with dry diſdainful eyes,
tifles ſighs that labour to ariſe.
ſlaves, he cries, who oft are bought and ſold,
hange your maſters for that trifle gold,
in you hope *Alphonſus* to ſubdue,
make him falſe and infamous as you.
ith a hundred ſons if heav'n had bleſt,
oſtile ſwords wav'd o'er each trembling breaſt,
r tears ſhould ne'er ſooth me to prove
lives ne'er bribe me to betray my truſt.
ce of arms this city may be ſtorm'd,
reaſt you'll find of ſtronger matter form'd,
ith by ſuch mean arts can ne'er be won;
ierce the father thro' an only ſon,
ar thoſe limbs far dearer than his own;
bleeding ſcatter piece-meal o'er the field,
all the parent to the patriot yield.
ſaid, then ſwift his glitt'ring ſword he drew,
ercely brandiſh'd at the daſtard crew:
s profeſs'd, he cries, to all that's good,
lour at innocence, and thirſt for blood,
with this ſword your barb'rous end purſue,
from the walls his ſword the father
phant o'er himſelf and foes deſcends,
chearful banquets with his anxious friends.

Like dreadful thunder burſting from a cloud
Alphonſus' voice was heard, and aw'd the croud;
Full in their eyes the ſteel, like light'ning, blaz'd,
The hoſt all ſhiver'd, ſtar'd, and ſtood amaz'd:
But fear allay'd, ſtern cruelty returns,
From gen'rous views eſtrang'd with fury burns
Each barb'rous breaſt; vindictive hopes inſpire
The wretches in the ſon to wound the ſire;
With hands uplifted to the well known walls
In vain for help the beauteous victim calls,
In vain would innocence for pity ſue,
His father's gift they in his blood embrue.
The citizens with ſhrieks alarm the ſkies;
As from the north when wint'ry ſtorms ariſe
While *Oſſa's* ſummit trembles at the ſound,
So loud the clamours from the walls rebound.
Theſe cries of deepeſt horror and deſpair
Recal *Alphonſus* to the general's care;
And tho' the parent in the blood rebel'd
When he his ſon's dear quiv'ring limbs beheld,
The greater hero all attacks repel'd.
Then to the citizens, with brow ſevere,
What ſudden noiſe, he cry'd, offends my ear?
Ha! is then all this ſorrow for my ſon?
The foes, I doubted, had ſurpriz'd the town;
This is a private loſs, 'tis mine alone.
Him for his country ever I deſign'd,
Strove firſt to fix his country in his mind,
Him pleas'd to her and you I've now reſign'd.
Oh! may this victim ſweet the wrathful band
Of heav'n atone, and may *Carthcia* ſtand!
This ſaid, again he to his friends repair'd,
And calm the interrupted banquet ſhar'd.
O gen'rous proof of the firm patriot ſoul!
Which neither fate nor nature could controul.
No more let *Rome*, for her great *Brutus*, claim
Unbounded glory, and unrival'd fame;
The *Roman* ſacrific'd his tainted blood,
His hopes the *Spaniard* to his country's good:
We ſee in traytors to their country, there
Crimes juſtly puniſh'd by the fire ſevere;
Here innocence reſign'd without a tear.
Alphonſus merits the ſublimer ſtrain,
Ev'n haughty *Rome*, in this, muſt yield to *Spain*.
Spain ſtill was brave, by liberty inſpir'd;
That loſt, fair virtue languiſh'd, and retir'd.

TERATIONS *ſince the Liſt of Parliament was publiſhed in our* MAGAZINE *for* November, 1741.

In the Houſe of LORDS.

N Hay, *Marqueſs of* Tweedale, *choſen of the* Scotch *Peers in the Room of the of* Hoptoun, *dead*

bert Walpole *created Earl of* Orford

m Stanhope *Lord* Harrington, *created of* Harrington

William Fitzwilliam *(Earl* Fitzwilliam, *of the Kingdom of* Ireland) *Member for* Peterborough, *created Lord* Fitzwilliam, *Baron of* Milton *in* Northamptonſhire

Richard Edgcumbe, *Eſq*; *Member for* Plympton, *created Baron* Edgcumbe *of* Mount Edgcumbe, Cornwall

In

In the Houſe of COMMONS.			*In the Room of*	
Cheſter City	Philip Henry Warburton		Sir Charles Bunbury Bart. *dead*	
Boſſiney	John Sabine	} *not duly return'd*	Thomas Foſter	} *not duly return'd*
	Chriſtopher Tower		Richard Lyddel	
	Thomas Foſter	} *not duly elected*	John Sabine	} *not duly elected*
	Richard Lyddel		Chriſtopher Tower	
Carliſle	John Hylton		Major John Stanwix, *not duly elected*	
Derby Town	Lord Viſc. Duncannon		Lord James Cavendiſh ſen. *a Place*	
Totneſs	Sir John Strange		Sir Charles Wills, *dead*	
Plympton	Lord Sundon		Richard Edgcumbe, *a Peer*	
Taviſtock	Lord Viſc. Limerick		Lord Sherard Manners, *dead*	
Dartmouth	Lord Archibald Hamilton		George Treby, *dead*	
Bridport	Lord Deerhurſt		William Bowles, *elected for* Bewdley	
Durham City	John Tempeſt		John Shaftoe, *dead*	
Colcheſter	Charles Gray	} *not duly elected*	John Olmius	} *not duly elected*
	Samuel Saville		Matthew Martin	
Herefordſhire	Thomas Foley ſen.		Edward Harley, *Earl of* Oxford	
Leominſter	Robert Harley		John Caſwall, *dead*	
Huntington	Albert Neſbitt		Wills Hill, *elected for* Warwick	
Weſtminſter	Lord Viſc. Perceval	} *Election declared void*	Lord Sundon	} *Election declared void*
	Charles Edwin		Sir Charles Wager	
Lynn	Edward Bacon		Sir Robert Walpole, *Earl of* Orford	
Thetford	Lord Henry Beauclerck		Lord Auguſtus Fitzroy, *dead*	
Peterborough	Armſted Parker		Earl Fitzwilliam, *created an* Engliſh *Peer*	
Brackley	Sewallis Shirley		Dr. George Lee, *Lord of the Admiralty*	
Higham Ferrers	Harry Conway		Henry Finch, *elected for* Malton	
Minehead	John Periam		Francis Whitworth, *dead*	
Milbourn Port	Michael Harvey		Thomas Medlycot, *a Place*	
Lymington	Charles Powlett		Lord Naſſau Powlett, *dead*	
Whitchurch	William Sloper		John Wallop, *elected for* Andover	
Tamworth	Charles Cotes		John Floyer, *not duly elected*	
Suſſex	Earl of Middleſex		James Butler, *dead*	
Eaſt Grinſtead	John Butler		Earl Middleſex, *a Place*	
Apulby	Sir Cha. Wyndham Bart.		George Doddington, *elected for* Bridgwater	
Downton	Joſeph Wyndham Aſhe		John Verney, *dead*	
Cricklade	Welbore Ellis		Charles Gore, *elected for* Hertfordſhire	
Old Sarum	James Grenville		George Lyttelton, *elected for* Oakhampton	
Droitwich	Lord George Bentinck		Thomas Winnington, *elected for* Worceſter	
Yorkſhire	Chomley Turner		Lord Morpeth, *dead*	
Hedon	Earl Mountrath	} *not duly elected*	Francis Chute	} *not duly elected*
	George Berkeley		Luke Robinſon	
Malton	John Moſtyn		Lord James Cavendiſh jun. *dead*	
Cardiganſhire	Thomas Powell		Walter Lloyd, *not duly elected*	
Denbighſhire	Sir Wat. Williams Wynne		John Myddelton, *not duly elected*	
Flint Town	Richard Williams		Sir George Wynne, *not duly elected*	
Montgomeryſhire	Robert Williams		Sir W. Williams Wynne, *elected for* Denbighſh.	
Shire of Argyll	James Stuart Mackenzie		Charles Campbell, *dead*	
——Berwick	Alex. Home Campbell		Sir John Sinclair, *not duly elected*	
——Roxburgh	William Douglaſs		John Rutherford, *a Place*	
Burghs of Kirk.	Robert Craigie		Charles Areſkine, *void Election*	
——Selkirk &c	John Mackye		James Carmichael, *not duly elected*	
——Haddington	Sir Hugh Dalrymple		James Fall, *not duly elected*	

N. B. The latter End of *May* was publiſh'd, A new and correct Liſt of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. Alſo, An alphabetical Liſt of the Members of the preſent Parliament, diſtinguiſhed by *Roman* and *Italick* Characters, ſhewing the Voters for and againſt an Inquiry into the Conduct of Sir *Robert Walpole*, now Earl of *Orford*, (which is in no other Liſt) with the Names of Shires, Cities, Boroughs, *&c.* which they now repreſent or repreſented the laſt Parliament, the Number of Parliaments for which each Member has been choſen, the Places which they now poſſeſs under the Government, with their Salaries, the Places of their Reſidence, *&c.* The Knights of the Garter, Thiſtle, and Bath; a Liſt of the Secret Committee, with the Number of Votes for each Candidate; and ſeveral Particulars in no other Liſt. Printed only for *T. Aſtley*, price 6*d.*

T. H

THE Monthly Chronologer.

ON the last Day of *April*, the Most Hon. the Marquess of *Tweedale* was unanimously elected one of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, in the Room of the late Earl of *Hoptoun*. There were 22 of the ability present on this Occasion, and 38 proxies.

A Royal Licence has pass'd the Great Seal, enable the Master, Fellows and Scholars *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, to take and re- ve Benefactions for the Encouragement of Study of the Civil Law.

The Court went into Mourning on Ac- nt of the Death of the Dowager Empress *dia*, Relict of the late Emperor *Joseph*, rincess of the House of *Brunswick Lu- berg*.

SATURDAY, *May* 1.

His Majesty, his Royal Highness the Duke *Cumberland*, and their Royal Highnesses Princesses *Amelia*, *Caroline*, and *Louisa*, t from St. *James's* to *Kensington* to reside re.

By Letters from Rear-Admiral *Lestock*, d on this Day, on board the *Neptune*, off ibes, there came Advice, that Vice-Ad- al *Haddock* having, upon Account of his position, been obliged to charge him the Mr. *Lestock* with the Command of his jesty's *Mediterranean* Squadron, he had Sail therewith from *Port-Mahon* the 12th *April*, in order to the Execution of his jesty's Instructions, which he had re- d from Mr. *Haddock*, having first ap- ted Cruizers in proper Stations, for pro- ng Intelligence and annoying the Enemy, that they had already had the good For- e to take and destroy several Vessels, la- with Provisions for the Use of the *Spa- Forces*, and prepar'd with proper Accom- ation for transporting their Horse to y.

MONDAY, 3.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Baily*, when eight following Persons receiv'd Sentence Death, viz. *Samuel Wood*, upon two se- te Indictments, for Robberies on the hway.—*John Carpenter*, for Sheep-steal- —*Robert Rhodes*, for forging a Seaman's —*Edward Laratt*, for Sheep-stealing. *ohn Brabam*, alias *Burnham*, for the der of a Negro in *Rag-Fair*. — *Eliz.* ell, brought by *Habeas Corpus* from the *Gaol, Southwark*, for stealing 50*l.* in and Silver Coin, and other Things, out of the House of Mrs. *Hammond*, in St. *Martin's in the Fields*.—*Richard Cowley* and *Charles Newton*, for Burglary.

WEDNESDAY, 5.

This being the first Day of Term, *Samuel Sandys*, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer, took his Seat in the Court of Exchequer in *Westminster-Hall*.

Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* landed at *Dover* from *France*.

The Forces on the *British* Establishment to go abroad, are 16,334 Men.

THURSDAY, 6.

The General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland* met, when his Majesty's Commission to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Leven* to represent his Person was read; and the Rev. Mr. *Thomas Tullideff*, Principal of St. *Leonard's* College in St. *Andrew's*, was chosen Moderator.

FRIDAY, 7.

Thomas Pinks, condemn'd in *January* Sessions (p. 47.) who escap'd out of *Newgate*, and was retaken, was this Day executed at *Tyburn*.

About this Time a Fire broke out at the *Bull* Inn in *Stoney-Stratford*, and the Wind being exceeding high, spread itself on both Sides of the Way down to the Bridge, so that the greatest Part of the Town was burnt down.

MONDAY, 10.

John Cullis was committed to *Newgate* by Virtue of an Order of the House of Commons, for wilfully and maliciously giving false Evidence, tending to asperse the Character of *John Larocbe*, Esq; a Member of the said House.

The same Day was try'd at the *King's Bench* Bar, by a special Jury of Gentlemen from the County of *Leicester*, the great Cause wherein *Borlase* and others were Plaintiffs, against *Newland* and others Defendants, touching the Right and Title to the Manor of *Queenyborough* in the said County; and, after a full Hearing of near 18 Hours, the Jury, (with the Approbation of the whole Court) about 4 o'Clock on *Tuesday* Morning, without going from the Bar, gave in their Verdict for the Plaintiffs with Costs of Suit.

WEDNESDAY, 12.

The Judges of the Court of *King's Bench* granted an Information to go against Mr. *Arthur Rawlinson*, late High Constable for the City and Liberty of *Westminster*, for irregularly quartering of Soldiers on divers Peo-

ple,

ple, *&c.* An Information was likewise granted againſt *Robert Flower*, his Beadle.

A Meſſenger arriv'd Expreſs at *Kenſington*, with Advice that the two Regiments of Foot, lately embark'd, were landed ſafe at *Oſtend*, from whence, after reſting, they march'd for *Bruges* in *Flanders*.

FRIDAY, 14.

This Day arriv'd at St. *Helen*'s his Majeſty's Ship the *Prince Frederick*, Capt. *Boſcawen*, in nine Weeks from *Jamaica*, who brought Advice, That his Majeſty's Squadron, under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, together with the Land Forces on board the Tranſports, under the Command of Major-General *Wentworth*, were all under Sail from *Jamaica*, upon a new Expedition againſt the *Spaniards*, the 9th of *March* laſt, and, that Capt. *Boſcawen* had left them together at Sea on the 11th of the ſame Month. (See p. 247.)

MONDAY, 17.

His Majeſty, attended by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality, went to *Kew-Green*, and review'd ſeveral Regiments there, who march'd directly to *Deptford* to go on board the Tranſports.

The ſame Day his Royal Highneſs the Duke was, by his Majeſty's Command, introduced into the Privy Council by the Right Hon. the Earl of *Harrington*, Lord Preſident, where his Royal Highneſs took his Place at the Upper-end of the Board, on his Majeſty's left Hand.

There was a Trial at Bar in the Court of *King's-Bench*, *Weſtminſter-Hall*, on an Iſſue directed from the Court of Chancery, relating to the Validity of the Will of the late Mr. *Turner*: Upon the Examination of Numbers of unqueſtionable Evidences, the Teſtator was prov'd *non compos mentis*, and the Will conſequently ſet aſide in Favour of the Heir at Law, who thereby comes to the Poſſeſſion of an Eſtate of about 80,000*l.* This Trial held from 9 on *Monday* Morning to 7 on *Tueſday* Morning, during which Time the four Judges only once refreſh'd themſelves. This Cauſe had been heard before in the *Common-Pleas*, and there alſo adjudg'd in Favour of the Heir.

MONDAY, 24.

As the Right Hon. *William Pulteney*, Eſq; was riding out to take the Air, his Majeſty, attended by the Guards, was returning thro' the *King's Road*, from *Kew Green*, where his Majeſty had been reviewing two Regiments ordered for *Flanders*, when the Hurry and Noiſe of the Guards ſo frightned Mr. *Pulteney*'s Horſe, that he ſtartled and fell, and flung him off his Back, by which Accident Mr. *Pulteney* was very much hurt.

By the *Jerſey* Man of War, arriv'd at *Plymouth* from *Jamaica*, there was a Confirmation of Commodore *Anſon* being ſafe in the *South-Sea*, and of his having taken [illegible] *Spaniſh* Ships; one of which, of 44 Guns, he had fitted up for his own Uſe; alſo that he had been aſhore at two Places, [illegible] with great Succeſs, which together with the Money he found on board the Ships, amounted to ſeveral Hundred Thouſand Pieces of Eight.

TUESDAY, 25.

The Bill for indemnifying thoſe who [illegible] make Diſcoveries, *&c.* miſcarried in the [illegible] of Peers by a Majority of 5. As [illegible] Inſolvent Bill in the Houſe of Commons, [illegible] a Majority of 8.

The following Gentlemen were choſen, by Ballot, in the Houſe of Commons, as [illegible] Commiſſioners for ſtating the Debts of the Nation, *viz. Charles Hamilton*, Eſq; [illegible] *Hooper*, Eſq; Sir *George Myddelton*, [illegible] *George Grenville*, Eſq; *James Weſt*, Eſq; [illegible] *Richard Corbet*, Bart. and *John Rance*, Eſq.

We had the following Account from [illegible] *martben* this Month, which, however ſtrange, was affirm'd to be ſtrictly true, viz. That at the laſt Aſſizes there, a Girl of about [illegible] old, who had by the Coroner's Inqueſt been brought in Guilty of the wilful Murder of her Brother and Siſter, the one 6 and the other about 4 Years old, was tried for that Crime, and acquitted; it appearing upon the Trial that the 3 Children, living in a Cottage at a far from the Sea, having been dreadfully frightened with Stories of the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and the Danger of their landing upon that Coaſt, were one Day left alone, when there happened a Storm of Thunder, at which the Children, imagining the *Spaniards* to be really coming, were ſo terrified that the eldeſt Girl, to avoid falling into their Hands, took up a Hedging-Bill in order to deſtroy herſelf; which the two younger Children obſerving, cried out repeatedly, *Kill Siſter, kill us firſt*; upon which ſhe actually diſpatch'd them. She afterwards deſperately wounded herſelf, but had not Strength, or perhaps Courage enough, after feeling the Pain, to compleat her Deſign that Way; ſhe therefore run out of the Houſe towards a River which was near it, and was going to throw herſelf in, but was prevented by ſome Neighbours, who happen'd to ſee her: They aſk'd what ſhe was going to do; ſhe told them, in the utmoſt Terror, that ſhe was going to drown herſelf, for fear of the *Spaniards*, and that ſhe had kill'd her Brother and Siſter for the ſame Reaſon.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

SAMUEL *Clark*, Eſq; Son of [illegible] *Clark* of *York* (twice Lord Mayor of that City) to Miſs *Sylvia Wood*.

William Clark, Eſq; an eminent [illegible] Merchant, to Miſs *Molly Hamilton*.

Joſhua Smith, Eſq; to Miſs *Harris* of St. *Giles's in the Fields*.

r *Archibald Stewart*, of *Caſtlemilk* in *Scot-*
, Bart. to Miſs *Fanny Stirling*.
——— *Stapylton*, Eſq; Brother to Sir
Stapylton, Bart. to Miſs *Lackey Love* of
d.
rthur Wright, of *Lubenham* in *Leiceſter-*
, Eſq; eldeſt Son to the preſent High
iff, to Miſs *Anne Atkinſon*.
ev. Mr. *Fowler*, a Diſſenting Miniſter,
Miſs *Smith*, of the *Strand*.
t. *Wortley*, a wealthy Coal-Miner of
caſtle upon Tyne, to Miſs *Anne Legh*, of
ton in *Staffordſhire*.
ev. Dr. *Baker*, Vicar of *Farringdon* in
, to Miſs *Harriot Pye*, Daughter of
Pye, of *Notting* in *Bedfordſhire*, Eſq;
to *Henry Pye*, of *Farringdon*, Eſq; and
e to the Lord *Bathurſt*.
ohn Sabine, Eſq; of *Tring* in *Hertfordſhire*,
of the late Gen. *Sabine*, to Miſs *Oſborn*.
ohn Moody, Eſq; to Miſs *Longcroft* of
ſmuth.
ght Hon. the Lord *Brooke*, to Miſs *Ha-*
, eldeſt Daughter of the Lord *Archibald*
ilton.
t. *Fettiplace Maſon*, Son of *John Maſon*,
of *Stoken-Church*, to Miſs *Ayre*, of
upon *Thames*.
John Pryce, of *New-Town* in *Montgo-*
ſhire, Bart. to the Relict of *Roger Jones*,
ſtland in *Brecknockſhire*, Eſq; a 15,000*l*.
une.
r. *Evetts*, an eminent Phyſician of
n in *Hertfordſhire*, to Miſs *D'Acres*.
ry Fane, Eſq; Nephew to Baron *Scrope*,
Miſs *Wynne*, Daughter of the Right Rev.
iſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*.
erbert Lloyd, Eſq; ſecond Son of *Walter*
d, Eſq; Attorney General for *South Wales*,
Miſs *Bragg*, a 15,000*l*. Fortune.
he Lady of *Edward Digby*, Eſq; Son of
Lord Digby, deliver'd of a Son.
he Lady of Sir *Danvers Oſborne*, Bart.
r to the Earl of *Halifax*, alſo deliver'd
Son.
ounteſs of *Ancram*, of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

DWARD Clarke, Eſq; Receiver Ge-
neral of the Land Tax for Part of *Suffolk*,
by Elwell, Relict of Sir *Edmund Elwell*,
and Mother of the Lady of *Arthur On-*
Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.
dward Conyers, Eſq; Member in the laſt
ament for *Eaſt Grinſtead* in *Suſſex*.—*Nath.*
erby, Eſq; Houſe-Keeper to the Houſe
ons, Treaſurer to the 50 New Churches,
o the New Bridge at *Weſtminſter*, and one
s Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for
inſter and *Middleſex*.—Lieut. Col. *Bela-*
—Lady *Meredith*, Relict of Sir *Roger Me-*
, Bart.—*Nicholas Amhurſt*, Eſq; well
n in the Literary World, for his Poli-
and other Writings.—Mr. *John How-*
Bookſeller, in St. *Paul's Church Yard*, a
Gentleman of great natural and ac-
quir'd Abilities.—Mr. *Porter*, a wealthy Maſter Builder, concern'd in moſt of the great Buildings about Town.—Right Hon. the Counteſs of *Euſton*, Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Euſton*, Son to his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*.—Rt. Hon. *Trevor Hill*, Lord Viſc. *Hillſborough*, in *Ireland*; ſucceeded by his only Son, the Hon. *Wills Hill*, Eſq; now Lord Viſc. *Hillſborough*.—Sir *Roger Martin*, Bart. at *Long Melford* in *Suffolk*.—*Will. Tryon*, Eſq; the oldeſt and moſt conſiderable *Weſt-India* Merchant in *London*, and Father of the preſent Lady Mayoreſs.—Rev. Mr. *Philip Falle*, Rector of *Sbenley* in *Hertfordſhire*, and Prebendary of *Durham*: He was a Native of *Jerſey*, and Author of the Book, intitled, *An Account of the Iſland of* Jerſey; and left his fine Library for the Uſe of that Iſland.—*Will. Wykes*, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for *Northamptonſhire*, and formerly one of the Repreſentatives for *Northampton*.—*Tho. Savage*, Eſq; at *Elmly Caſtle* in *Worceſterſhire*, a Gentleman of a very antient Family, and true *Britiſh* Spirit.—*Chas. Bere*, Eſq; in the Commiſſion of the Peace for *Middleſex*, who for many Years was one of the Commiſſioners of Bankrupts.—Rev. Dr. *Tenniſon*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*, Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Oxford*, Son-in-Law to the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Nephew to the late Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*.—Mr. *Rich. Parker*, Son of Mr. *Sam. Parker*, Editor of the *Bibliotheca Biblica*, and Grandſon of the late Dr. *Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*.—Rev. Mr. *Charles Wheatly*, M. A. at *Pelham-Furneux* in *Hertfordſhire*, Vicar of both *Pelhams*, Author of ſeveral Sermons, and an *Expoſition of the Liturgy*.—At *Edinburgh*, ——— *Kennedy*, Eſq; Governor of *Fort William*.—Rev. Mr. *Wood*, an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter.—Sir *Edmund Probyn*, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer: He has given his Eſtate in *Glouceſterſhire* to his Nephew, *John Hopkins*, Eſq; of *Lincoln's-Inn*, who is to take upon him the Name of *Probyn*.—*Theodore Drury*, Eſq; a Col. in the Firſt Reg. of Guards.—Rev. *Chriſtopher Clarke*, M. A. of *Marlingford-Hall* in *Norfolk*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, Prebendary of *Ely*, and Rector of *Keſton* and *Hayes* near *Bromley* in *Kent*.——— ——— *Milner*, Eſq; only Son and Heir of the late Juſtice *Milner*, of *Hatton-Garden*; Dying under Age, about 7000*l*. of his Fortune goes to a Charity, and upwards of 1000*l*. *per Ann.* to Mr. *Milner* of *Woodſtreet*, a Relation.—Rev. *Tho. Curling*, D. D. Rector of St. *Mary Rotherbithe*.—Dr. *George-Lewis Teſſier*, one of the Phyſicians to his Majeſty, as likewiſe to his Majeſty's Houſehold; and alſo Phyſician General to the Army.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Flemming*, M. A. Chaplain to the Lord *Delaware*, unanimouſly choſe by the *Turky* Company, to be their Chaplain at

Aleppo.—Mr. *Green* preſented to the Chaplainſhip of *Chelſea* College.—*John Jones*, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Poſtling* in *Kent*.—Mr. *Tho. Gem* to the Rectory of St. *Andrew* in *Droitwich*, *Worceſterſhire*.—Mr. *Jam. Brooker*, to the Rectory of *Fillcrome* in the ſame County.—*Robert Billin*, M. A. had a Diſpenſation to hold the Vicarage of *Nunſeaton* in *Warwickſhire*, with the Rectory of *Swepſton* in *Leiceſterſhire*.—*Tho. Gales*, M. A. preſented to the Rectory of *Weſt Rumton* in *Yorkſhire*.—*Samuel Stead*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Stockport* in *Cheſhire*, worth near 600 *l. per Annum*.—Mr. *Robert Chapman*, to the Rectory of *Little Weſton* in *Lincolnſhire*.—Mr. *John Coles*, to the Rectory of *Chilton*, with the Vicarage of *Bridgewater* in *Somerſetſhire*.—M. *John Leyland*, to the Rectory of *Normanton* in *Nottinghamſhire*.—Mr. *Tho. Barth*, to the Rectory of *Eaſt-Raſen*, alias *Market-Raſen*, in *Lincolnſhire*.—Mr. *Pyle*, of *Marlborough*, to the Living of *Weſt-Alvington* in *Devonſhire*.—Mr. *Brackenridge*, to the Rectory of St. *Michael Baſſiſhaw*, in the Room of Dr. *Lavington*, now Rector of the united Pariſhes of St. *Mary Aldermary* and St. *Thomas the Apoſtle*.—The Worſhipful *Edw. Simpſon*, L. L. D. made Official General of the Archdeaconry of *Canterbury*, on the Reſignation of the Worſhipful *George Lee*, L. L. D. now one of the Lords of the Admiralty.—Mr. *John Barnwell*, preſented to the Vicarage of *Shephall* in *Hertfordſhire*.—Mr. *Edward Bate*, to that of *Leighford* in *Staffordſhire*.—Mr. *Robert Jeffrys*, to that of *Barcburch* in *Shropſhire*.—Mr. *Bate*, Rector of St. *Paul's*, *Deptford*, choſen Lecturer of the ſaid Pariſh.—The Worſhipful *George Paul*, L. L. D. made Commiſſary General of the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*, in the Room of the late Dr. *Tenniſon*.—Dr. *Symes*, preſented to the Living of *Stoke Charity* in *Hampſhire*.—Mr. *Lant*, to the Vicarages of *Brent* and *Furneux-Pelham* in *Hertfordſhire*.—Mr. *Matt. Dutton*, to the Rectory of *Uly* in *Glouceſterſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

CHR. *Coates*, Gent. made Secretary of the Colony of *New Jerſey*.—Brigadiers *John* Lord *Rothes* and *Charles Frampton*, Eſq; added to the General Officers to command the Troops in *Flanders*.—Sir *John Inglis*, of *Cramond*, Bart. made Poſt-Maſter General for *Scotland*.—*Thomas Clutterbuck*, Eſq; made Treaſurer of the Navy, in the Room of the Right Hon. *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; He was re-choſen for *Plympton* in *Devonſhire*.—Capt. *Strudwick* made Col. of a Company in the Third Reg. of Foot Guards.—Lieut. Colonel *Browne*, Col. of a Reg. of Dragoons in *Ireland*.—Capt. Lieut. *Noel*, Col. of a Company in the Second Reg. of Foot Guards.—Lieut. *John Hume* made Capt. of the *Mortar* Bomb-Ketch.—Lieut. Gen. *Tyrrell* appointed Governor of *Berwick*, and *Holy Iſland*.—Major Gen. *Williamſon*, Governor of *Tilbury* and *Gravesend*.—*John Bofworth*, Eſq; Chamberlain of *London*, made Receiver General of the Tax of the City of *London*, and County *Middleſex*.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

RICH. *Clough*, of *York*, Chapman.—*Lluellyn*, of *Blow-Bladder-ſtreet*, Wo[o]dman.—*Rich. Stevenſon*, of or near *Ball-ſtreet*, Packer and Factor.—*Gi[l]man*, of St. *George Hanover-ſquare*, Vi[n]tner.—*Thomas Swannack*, late of *Pe[r]ſ[e]y Hants*, Inn-holder.—*John Farthing*, late of *King's-Lynn*, Merchant.—*George Fu[l]ler*, of *Tetford* in *Norfolk*, and *Cæſar Cur[t]is* of *Brandon Ferry* in the ſaid County, Owners and Joint-Merchants.—*John Dic[k]ſon*, of *Sheffield* in *Yorkſhire*, Factor and Tra[d]eſman.—*Sam. Napper*, of *Sherborne* in Dor[ſ]et, Mercer.—*Barbara Trotter*, late of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*, Widow and Linendraper.—*Thomas Lingwood*, of *London*, Merchant.—*John James*, of the Pariſh of St. *George the Martyr* in *Southwark*, Victualler.—*Thomas Fo[x]*, late of *Surrey-Street* in the *Strand*, Wa[t]chman Merchant.—*Anthony Grant*, of *Tetford*, Tanner and Mercer.—*Wm. Caudell* the yo[u]nger, of *Tetford* in *Norfolk*, Wool-Comber.—*Ricb. Jackſon*, of *Carliſle*, Merchant.—*Careleſs*, late of *Birmingham*, Ironmonger.—*John Whitlock*, of *Holborn*, Mercer.—*Perſhouſe*, late of *Wolverhampton*, Tanner.—*Wm. Caudell* the elder, of *Tetford* in *Norfolk*, Wool-Comber.—*Wm. Elmes*, of St. *James Weſtminſter*, Baker.—*Jo. Stephens*, of *London*, Merchant.—*William Emerſon*, of *Kingſton*, Chapman.—*John Snelling*, of *Botolph-Lane*, Merchant.

Abſtract of the *London* Weekly BILL, from *Apr.* 20. to *May* 4.

Chriſtned	Males 638	1291
	Females 653	
Buried	Males 1426	2898
	Females 1472	
Died under 2 Years old		1[0]8
Between 2 and 5		[4]1
5 10		[2]2
10 20		[1]6
20 30		[2]1
30 40		[2]1
40 50		[1]8
50 60		[1]3
60 70		[1]1
70 80		[1]0
80 90		[3]
90 and upwards		[0]

Hay 51 to 54*s.* a Load.

N the 8th of last Month the Garison of *Egra* surrendered the Place by Capitu-n, which was in Substance, That the ons should march out with the Honours War, four Pieces of Cannon, and two red Waggons, and to be conducted to ew; and that they should not serve a-st the Emperor, or his Allies, for a cer-Term.

The *Prussians* having retired from *Moravia* *Bohemia*, as mentioned in our last, they e followed by the *Austrian* Army under Command of Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, ch entered *Bohemia* on the 28th past, by Pass of *Zdor*, and on the 6th Instant the Armies came to an Engagement near *yslow* in *Bohemia*, of which the following count was sent from the Field of Battle he Emperor, *viz.*

The King of *Prussia* having had Intelli-ce in the Night that the Enemies were rching to him, drew his Army up in Or-of Battle at Break of Day, and waited them in good Order till Eight in the rning, when the Battle began. The left ng of the *Prussian* Cavalry was shaken a le at first, and so was the right Wing, ause the *Austrian Hussars* had turn'd round Army, and fallen upon the Baggage; this Disorder of the Cavalry did not last g, and was soon remedied by the stout ntenance of the Infantry, but above all, that of the King himself, who has be-v'd and given his Orders every where with derful Stedfastness, Courage, and Pre-ce of Mind, insomuch that the Cavalry, ich had soon recover'd itself again, and Infantry having charged the Enemy at e and the same Time, they have been ge-rally routed. The Deserters assure us, t the *Austrian* Army amounted to 30,000 n, not including the *Hussars* and the *Spaches*.

The Loss on our Side, as much as can be es'd, does not amount to 2000 Men; but t of the Enemy's seems to be of above o Men on the Field of Battle, besides at they shall lose in their Flight. We not think much of making Prisoners, do I see there are as yet above 2000 them, but 'tis likely we shall make a ater Number. Likewise of the Wounded, cannot know the Number of Men on ir Side till To-morrow, or even after, as y are obliged to leave them in their Re-at; but it must needs be vastly great, the e of the *Prussian* Infantry having been t terrible. The Prisoners said just now, t the Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* is among Wounded: Count *Rottenburg* is dange-sly so on the Side of the *Prussians*.

This was the *Prussian* Account of this ttle, but by other Accounts, and particu-y by that published at *Paris*, we were , that the *Prussian* Cavalry suffered ex-

tremely, but that Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* finding it impossible, from the Situation of the Ground, to do any Execution on their Infantry, he ordered a Retreat to be sounded, and retired in good Order, without being pursued one single Step; so that we must wait a little for the true Accounts of this Battle. In the mean Time I shall observe, that the Conduct of the *French* Court is now very different from what it was in Queen *Anne's* War; for they now magnify the Distresses they are drove to, and the Losses sustained by them or their Allies; and on the other hand, they conceal the Advantages they enjoy, and take great Care to conceal or diminish the Victories obtained by them or their Allies. We may easily see the Reason of this Difference in their Conduct.

The *Austrian* Forces that were left at *Munich* having retired from thence, and the Citizens having again got the City into their own Hands, they refused Admittance to a small Body of *Hussars* that came a few Days afterwards to that City, and even fired and killed some of them; whereupon Col. *Nuntzel* was sent back with a Body of regular Forces, who attacked the Town so vigorously on the 25th past, that next Day about One o'Clock the Citizens desired to capitulate, and were again allowed the same Terms as before, which is a Proof that the *Austrians* are far from being a cruel or revengeful Enemy.

The *French* have ordered a very large Reinforcement of Troops to march from *France*, in order to join their Army under the Marshal *Maillebois* upon the Frontiers of *Hanover*; and they are preparing to form an Army of 50,000 Men in *Flanders*, and another of 20,000 between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. These Measures, we may suppose, were resolved on, upon the News that a Body of *British* Troops were to be sent into *Flanders*, and the Behaviour of our Fleet in the *Mediterranean* adds to their Jealousy of this Nation; for from *Toulon* we hear, that on the 16th past, in the Morning, that City was alarmed from the Signal House, by a Fire and 28 Signals, occasioned by the Appearance of a Squadron of 28 *English* Men of War, which in the Afternoon advanced within a League of that Place. Upon this all the Seamen who had Leave to lie on Shoar, were ordered to return on board, the Officers, both Sea and Land, were ordered to their respective Posts, and Detachments of Soldiers were sent in the Night-Time to the Batteries and Fortifications along the Coast.

On the 8th the States General took a definitive Resolution on the Propositions made to them by the Earl of *Stair*; who immediately dispatched it by a Courier to this Place. What are the Contents we do not pretend to determine; but it is reported they are far from being agreeable.

EN-

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 229.

The Debate begun in our laſt, the next that ſpoke was L. Papirius Curſor, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows.*

Mr. Preſident,
I R,

I AM ſurpriſed to find Gentlemen expreſs ſo much Impatience, as ſome begin to ſhew in this Debate. I hope no Gentleman comes with a Reſolution to give his Vote upon either Side of any Queſtion that may be ſtarted, till he has heard what may be ſaid for and againſt it; and therefore, in a Queſtion which ſo nearly concerns the Liberties of our Country, I cannot be ſurpriſed at ſeeing Gentlemen expreſs an Unwillingneſs to hear the Argument fully diſcuſſed. If they will not be at the Pains to let us hear their Sentiments upon it any other Way than by their Aye or their Nay, they ought to attend patiently to thoſe that will; for tho' theſe Monoſyllables may determine the Queſtion, I am ſure neither of them will ever convince any reaſonable Man in the Kingdom.

I have not the Vanity, Sir, to imagine, that what I have to ſay A will have great Weight with the Majority of this Aſſembly; but in Duty to my Conſtituents, I think myſelf obliged to uſe my Endeavours, and as a Member of this Houſe, I have a Right to be heard. The Queſtion now before us is not B ſimply, Whether we ſhall agree to this Clauſe or no? It is, Whether we ſhall agree to put an End to our Conſtitution, and make Slaves of ourſelves, our Conſtituents and Poſterity? For this, in my Opinion, will be the certain Conſequence of our agreeing C to this Clauſe, howſoever amended. That our Liberties, nay and our Properties too, depend upon the Freedom of our Elections, is a Maxim which, I believe, no Man will conteſt. A corrupt Parliament may for a Time ſupport an oppreſſive and D wicked Miniſter; but a Parliament is but the Stream, our Elections for Parliament Men are the Fountain

Head, and as long as they are left free and uncorrupted, the Stream will of course refine, and will at last become as pure as the Fountain from whence it flows. But this Clause, Sir, seems to be contrived for poisoning the Fountain itself, and for rendering all the Elections in the Kingdom dependent upon the Will of every future Minister.

Let us consider, Sir, that the Freedom of a Man's Vote at any Election may be taken away, not only by an immediate Bribe in ready Money or Bank Notes, but by the Hopes of being rewarded for his Compliance, or the Fears of being made to suffer for his Stubbornness; and if we consider how much a Minister has it already in his Power to make use of every one of these Methods, we shall be extremely cautious of making any new Additions to that Power. That our Ministers have now a much greater Command of ready Money, than they formerly used to have, can be denied by no Man, who considers the late Increase of the Civil List Revenue, the great Sums of late Years allow'd even in Time of Peace, for secret Service Money, and the Savings that may be made out of the vast Sums now granted for the current Service. I believe, Sir, it will be as little contested, that our Ministers have now a much greater Number of lucrative Posts and Employments at their Disposal than any former Ministers ever had in this Kingdom. These, Sir, are a two-edged Sword in the Hands of a Minister; they serve not only for cultivating the Hopes of the Compliant, but for increasing the Fears of the Stubborn at Elections; and by our late Practice they are now become more useful in both these Respects, than ever they were before. It is now become a general and an established Opinion, that no Man is to expect, or to hold any Post or Employment in the Governm... unless he, and all those over w... he has an Influence, take Care ... vote at every Election according ... the Directions of the Minist... What an Effect this must have at ... Elections, Gentlemen may easily i... magine: If an Elector has an... Thing mercenary in his Temper, ... he will certainly vote according ... Court Directions at every Elect... in Hopes that he, his Son, his Br... ther, or some near Relation, may ... get a Post, or a Preferment in the ... Service of the Government; and it ... is a great Hardship upon honest ... Men, I mean those who vote upon ... all Occasions according to Conscience, to find themselves excluded ... from all the Benefits that are to be ... reaped by serving their Country in ... a publick Capacity. Whether it is ... so or not, I shall not pretend to say, ... but I am sure it is generally thought ... that no Man is now deemed capable ... to serve his Country, unless he be ... ready upon all Occasions to sacrifice ... the Liberties of his Country to the ... Dictates of those, who have the ... Disposal of our publick Employments; and this of itself would in ... most Countries be sufficient for ... establishing arbitrary Power.

But, Sir, to the Honour of my ... Country, I must observe, that ... it has been found otherwise. Our ... People have in their Temper such a ... laudable Stubbornness, and such a ... Love of Independency, that in most ... Places, especially in our Counties, ... Majority of them cannot be influ... enced, either by present Rewards ... or future Hopes, to give up their ... Independency at Elections. If they ... can but live and follow their Business ... in a private Way, they chuse ... to forego the Honour and Advan... tage of serving their Country in a ... publick Capacity, rather than vote ... according to a Minister's Direction ... at any Election; and for this Reason divers Methods have been con... trived ...

'd, and ſeveral Schemes laid, for king it impoſſible, or at leaſt y troubleſome, for a Man to live follow his Buſineſs in a private y, unleſs he ſubmits to vote for Court Candidate at every Elec-. This, Sir, has, I am convin-, been, with ſome Gentlemen, chief Motive for promoting ſe-al of thoſe penal Laws, that are ſubſiſting; and this leads me conſider the third Method of r-awing Elections, by ſubjecting Electors to the Fear of ſuffering their Stubbornneſs. In a Coun- where there is a Multitude of al Laws, and eſpecially when ſe Laws not only puniſh but cre- Crimes, Innocence can be no tection againſt the Malice or Re-ge of thoſe, who are intruſted h the executive Part of the Go-nment. A Man may, without wing it, be guilty of a Breach ſuch intricate Laws; and even n he is guilty of no Breach, he be plagued and harraſſed out of Life, or at leaſt out of his Buſi-, by the Government's Officers: ſuch Circumſtances, he muſt not be a very honeſt, but a very ve and reſolute Man, who will to vote at any Election contrary hoſe Menaces that are whiſpered im by the Tools of a Miniſter; if we conſider what Numbers Electors are already brought into Circumſtances, by the many al Laws lately enacted, we ſhall e more Reaſon to wonder at any ction's being carried againſt a rt Intereſt, than at the Mini-'s having the Direction of moſt he Elections in the Kingdom. When our Liberties are in ſo t Danger; when there is ſo h Reaſon to apprehend the Pre-nce of a Court Influence upon e- Election in the Kingdom, ſhall paſs a Law, which will enable iniſter to diſtreſs every Man in Kingdom, that ſhall dare to diſ-

A obey his Orders at any Election? I ſay, Sir, every Man in the Kingdom; for this Law will enable a Miniſter to diſtreſs not only our Seamen, but every Man in the Kingdom, that has a Houſe over his Head. As for our Seamen, they muſt certainly be abſolute Slaves to the Will of every future Miniſter, or otherwiſe, let their Rank or Condition be what it will, they muſt expect to be preſſed into his Majeſty's Service, and obliged to ſerve before the Maſt. The Preſſing of Seamen into his Majeſty's Service is, 'tis true, an ancient Practice, and a Practice which of late Years has been too often made uſe of; but it is as yet warranted by no expreſs Statute: It ſtands ſingly upon the Footing of common Law and Prerogative, therefore this Power muſt always be exerciſed at the Peril of the Miniſter; and if it ſhould be exerciſed unneceſſarily, or in a more oppreſſive Manner than is neceſſary, it would be a Miſdemeanor, for which the Adviſers might be proſecuted and puniſhed in Parliament. Thus, Sir, the Law ſtands at preſent; but by this Clauſe the Practice of Preſſing is to be authoriſed by an expreſs Statute, and that without any Limitation as to the Neceſſity or Time of Preſſing, or as to the Seamen or Seafaring Men that are to be preſſed.

Seamen or Seafaring Men, Sir, are ſuch general Words, that they may comprehend a great many Gentlemen, who never dreamt of their being Seamen. When a Gentleman is favoured with his Paſſage on board any of his Majeſty's Ships of War, I have been told, it is uſual to put his Name upon the Ship's Books, as a Seaman on board that Ship, and ſome one of the Officers on board is allowed the Advantage of receiving his Pay: If this Clauſe ſhould be paſſed into a Law, every ſuch Gentleman might be preſſed

into the Service; and if he ſhould deny his being a Seaman, the Books of that Ship would be produced, as an inconteſtable Proof of his being a Seaman. Beſides, Sir, there are many real Seamen, who ought not to be preſſed as common Seamen; Commanders, and ſeveral other Officers belonging to Merchant Ships, ought not to be preſſed into his Majeſty's Service as common Seamen. In like Manner, when a Man has left the Sea Service, and is ſettled in ſome good Buſineſs at Land, he ought not to be preſſed into his Majeſty's Sea Service; but if this Clauſe be agreed to, we are to authoriſe Preſſing without any Reſtriction or Limitation; ſo that not only Seamen in actual Service, but every Man that has ever been at Sea, or in any Buſineſs upon the Water, will be liable to be preſſed as common Seamen, and conſequently, will be ſubject to that Sort of Court Influence, which proceeds from the Fear of being made to ſuffer for any Sort of Diſobedience to the Will of a Miniſter; and can we expect, that ſuch Men will vote freely at any Election, where there is an Oppoſition to the Court Candidate?

But this, Sir, is not all: Such a Law as this will have a moſt fatal Effect upon the Freedom of our Elections, not only with regard to all ſuch as are or have ever been at Sea, or in any Buſineſs upon the Water, but with regard to every other Man in the Kingdom, that happens to be a Houſe-keeper. Quiet and Security at home is an Advantage, which every Man muſt deſire, and conſequently, being diſturbed by unwelcome Gueſts, or at unſeaſonable Hours, is a Danger which every Man muſt dread. By this Law you are to put it in the Power of a Miniſter to diſturb any Houſe-keeper in the Kingdom as often, and at ſuch Hours, as he thinks fit; and conſequently every Houſe-keeper in the Kingdom muſt be under a conti-nual Terror of doing any Thing that may provoke the Miniſter to make uſe of this Power againſt him. The Interpoſition of an Information upon Oath will be no Reſtraint upon this Power; becauſe Miniſters are generally well provided with Informers of all Kinds, and the more wicked and oppreſſive a Miniſter is, the more of this Vermin he always has about him, and the more profligate they are. In my Opinion, it will be ſo far from diminiſhing, that it will increaſe the Danger of this Clauſe; becauſe Juſtices are to be not only impowered, but required to grant their Warrant, and Conſtables are obliged to execute the Warrant of the Juſtices. If you leave it as it ſtands at preſent, the Execution of the Law muſt be regulated, or at leaſt it ought, I think, to be regulated by the preſent Practice in the Caſe of Vagrants. When the Juſtices grant their Warrant for a general Search after Vagrants, and other idle and diſorderly Perſons, the Conſtables are not to ſearch every Houſe in the Diſtrict; they are to ſearch no where but in Night-Houſes, or Houſes of ill Repute, and if they ſhould diſturb Houſes of good Character by Virtue of ſuch a Warrant, they might be proſecuted and would be puniſhed; and therefore, as this Law now ſtands, the Conſtables could, in my Opinion, ſearch no where but in Houſes reputed to be Harbourers of abſconding Seamen. This, I ſay, is my Opinion, but if the Clauſe ſhould be paſſed into a Law, I ſhall not ſay, that my Opinion would be obeyed or followed, and therefore I do not think we ſhould agree to a Law, which by too extenſive an Interpretation might be made of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, both to the Liberties of our Country, and to the Property of every Subject.

But, Sir, if you make the Amend-

t propoſed; if you require the
ice to grant his Warrant upon
Oath of any Informer, you will
e the evil Conſequences of this
w certain and unavoidable. The
ice muſt then grant his Warrant,
the Houſe muſt be ſearch'd, let
Character of the Houſe be never
good, let the Character of the
former be never ſo bad. This,
is more than is done even in
Caſe of Felony, and expoſes in-
cent Men to great Danger. In
Caſe of Felony, a Juſtice is im-
wered to grant his Warrant to
rch a Houſe upon an Information
Oath, that there is Cauſe to
ſpect ſtolen Goods being concealed
that Houſe; but he is not requi-
ſo to do: He may and ought to
uſe granting his Warrant, if the
former be a mean Perſon, or one
a bad Character; and if upon
rching no ſuch Goods be found,
e Informer would be made an-
erable for all Damages ſuſtained
ſuch Search: Nay, the Juſtice
mſelf would be made anſwerable,
it ſhould appear, that he had
anted his Warrant upon the Infor-
ation of an inſufficient Perſon.

I therefore wiſh, Sir, the Hon.
entlemen imployed in drawing up
is Bill, had conſidered a little bet-
the Conſtitution and the Laws of
eir Country; for from the Bill as
ſtands at preſent, People without
oors will be apt to imagine, they
ve very little Regard to the Li-
rties, the Properties, or the Eaſe
the Subject, provided they can
t increaſe the Power and Influ-
ce of the Crown. From what I
ve ſaid it will, I think, appear,
at if we are to authoriſe Preſſing
an expreſs Statute, we ſhould
ke Care to lay it under ſeveral
eſtraints. It ought never to be al-
wed, but in Caſes of the moſt ex-
eme Neceſſity, and when we our-
lves, or ſome of our beſt Allies,
e in the moſt imminent Danger of
being invaded; for notwithſtanding the Lowneſs of the Wages in his Majeſty's Service, a common Seaman has ſo many Advantages in that Service above what he has in the Merchant Service, that if proper Care be taken to uſe them well, when they are on board our Ships of War, and not to allow the Officers to oppreſs them, or to cheat them of what is their Due, our Government can never be at a Loſs for Seamen upon any ordinary Occaſion; and when it has Time to ſend Sea Officers about, in the ſame Manner as Land Officers are now ſent, with Money in their Pockets to beat up for Volunteers.

In paſſing ſuch a Law, Sir, we ſhould likewiſe take Care, that thoſe who are in any ſuperior Station in the Merchant Service, ſhall not be preſſed as common Seamen into his Majeſty's Service; and that thoſe Seamen who have left off the Sea Service, and are ſettled in ſome good Buſineſs at Land, ſhall not be preſſed into his Majeſty's Service at Sea; for if we eſtabliſh Preſſing by Law, without ſuch Reſtrictions, it will deſtroy our very Breed of Seamen, by preventing any Man's breeding himſelf to the Sea for the future, and by driving moſt of the Seamen we now have into foreign Service; for tho' they know that in other Countries they muſt be as much Slaves, as they are in their own, they will nevertheleſs have this Comfort, that in ſuch Countries they are upon an equal Footing with the reſt of the People; whereas in this Country, if we eſtabliſh Preſſing by Statute, without proper Reſtrictions, every Seaman, let his future Fortune be never ſo conſiderable, muſt be a Slave to our Miniſters, and whilſt we have any Liberty left, which, I am afraid, would not be long, they will with Regret look upon themſelves as the only Slaves in the Nation.

But

But this Bill goes a great deal farther: It not only eſtabliſhes the arbitrary Method of Preſſing, without any Reſtriction as to the Neceſſity for making uſe of that Method, or as to the Circumſtances of the Seamen that are to be preſſed, but likewiſe it makes every Seaman a Sort of an Out-law, unleſs he goes and enters into the Government's Service, as ſoon as the Preſs begins; for whoever harbours a Seaman, that is to ſay, whoever gives him a Night's Lodging or a Meal's Meat, either gratuitouſly, upon Truſt, or for ready Money, is to be ſubjected to a Penalty, or at leaſt to a Proſecution, which every prudent Man will avoid as much as he can: This, I ſay, will be the Caſe of every Seaman that does not go and enter into the Government's Service, as ſoon as a Preſs begins; for as the Clauſe is worded, I do not ſee how he can otherwiſe with any Certainty avoid the Character of being an abſconding Seaman. Would not this be an intolerable Hardſhip upon our Seamen in general? Would it not in many Caſes be cruel and inhuman? Would it not be cruel to puniſh a Mother for concealing a favourite Son? Or a Daughter for concealing her Father? I ſhall grant, Sir, that as long as we have any Seamen in the Kingdom, this Bill may properly be called an Act for the ſpeedier manning his Majeſty's Fleet, becauſe it would make it almoſt impoſſible for a Seaman to live for two Days after a Preſs begins, in any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions, without entering himſelf on board his Majeſty's Fleet; but how an Act by which our Seamen, and all their Friends and Relations, are ſubjected to ſuch Hardſhips, can be called an Act for the Incouragement and Increaſe of Seamen, is what I cannot comprehend.

In all Conſtitutions and Regulations of Government, there are, there muſt be ſome Inconveniences, and the Inconveniences that proceed from Republican Forms of Government, are generally made uſe of by crafty and ambitious Men, for introducing ſuch Alterations and ſuch new Regulations, as make way for arbitrary Power. When ſuch Men get into the Government of a Commonwealth, they take Care to increaſe every Inconvenience that proceeds from the Fences of Liberty in order to introduce new and uncontroulable Powers. Thoſe of weak Underſtandings, which is often the Majority, are ſo blinded by the Inconveniences they feel, that they neither ſee, nor can be made to ſee the Dangers and Inconveniences that muſt inſue from the Alterations propoſed. It is by this Method that all free Governments have been overturned; and we have every Day more and more Reaſon to ſuſpect that ſome amongſt us are practiſing this Method here. The Frauds of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe have been made a Pretence for introducing ſeveral Regulations and Laws of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to Liberty; and if the late famous Exciſe Scheme had ſucceeded, our Liberties had been utterly undone; becauſe it would have done what, I think, will be the Conſequence of the Scheme now under our Conſideration: It would have made our Miniſters Maſters of every popular Election in the Kingdom. Inſtead of lowering our Duties, and correcting the Neglects and Abuſes of our Cuſtom-houſe and Exciſe Officers, which would have been the proper, and I believe an effectual Method for preventing Smuggling, almoſt every Seſſion has produced ſome new Scheme for increaſing the Powers of thoſe Officers; and I am afraid their Neglects and Abuſes have been connived at, in order to increaſe the Inconveniences we feel from Smuggling, that thoſe Inconveniences might

ght afterwards be made a Pre-
ce for veſting ſome new dange-
Power in our Government.

Upon this Subject, Sir, I cannot
paſs unobſerved the late famous
Act. By the eſtabliſhed Laws
the Land, before that Act was
ed or thought of, no Perſon could
Beer, Ale, or ſpirituous Liquors
Retail without a Licence from
Juſtices of Peace: The Juſtices
a Power to refuſe granting their
ence, or to recal it when they
ſed; and if any one ſold ſuch
uors without a Licence, he was
Law made liable to ſevere Pe-
ies. Beſides this, there were ſe-
Laws againſt all ſuch as allow-
Drunkenneſs or Tipling in their
uſes; and moreover, there were
eral of our Gin-ſhops that might,
elieve, have been indicted as a
lick Nuſance. By a Neglect of
theſe Remedies, Tipling and
nkenneſs in Gin-Shops and Ale-
ſes came to a monſtrous Height,
was generally complained of,
often preſented by our Grand
queſts without any Redreſs, be-
ſe our Juſtices of Peace, who
entirely under the Direction of
Miniſters, would not put the
ws in Execution againſt theſe E-
mities. At laſt, when the People
re work'd up to a ſufficient Rage
inſt theſe Enormities, we were
that the Laws in being were
ſufficient for preventing them;
tho' every one that underſtood
Law knew the contrary, we
e prevailed on to agree to a
Law, by which a very great
dition was made to the Civil Liſt
venue, and every Vintner, Inn-
per, Alehouſe-keeper, Victualler,
ee-houſe, and Brandy-ſhop in the
gdom, brought under a moſt ſla-
Dependence upon our Juſtices
the Peace and Commiſſioners of
iſe.

That theſe were the Effects of the
-Act muſt be apparent, Sir, to
every one who conſiders, that the
great Increaſe of the Civil Liſt Re-
venue pretended to ariſe from its
Share of the Duties upon ſpirituous
Liquors, was owing to the Enormi-
ties complained of, which were per-
haps for that very Reaſon indulged;
and for the ſame Reaſon perhaps it
was pretended, that no Stop could
be put to them by the Laws in be-
ing, becauſe if a Stop had been put
to them in that Way, the Increaſe
which had aroſe to the Civil Liſt
Revenue by indulging thoſe Enor-
mities, would have been annihi-
lated, without any Recompence from
the Aggregate Fund. And if we
conſider the Neceſſity every Keeper
of a publick Houſe lies under, for
ſelling ſpirituous Liquors in ſmall
Quantities to his Cuſtomers, the
high Penalties he is by that Act
ſubjected to if he does ſo, and the
Power given to the Commiſſioners of
Exciſe and Juſtices of the Peace,
to mitigate thoſe Penalties, we may
ſee, that the Keeper of every pub-
lick Houſe muſt be under a ſlaviſh
Dependence upon our Commiſſioners
of Exciſe and Juſtices of the Peace;
and conſequently that he muſt ex-
pect to be ruined, ſhould he give
his Vote againſt a Court Candidate
at any Election.

Thus we may ſee, Sir, that from
all the Inconveniences that aroſe
either from a Deficiency in our
Laws, or from a Neglect in the Ex-
ecution of them, an Advantage is
taken for introducing ſome new Re-
gulation by which the Power and
Influence of the Crown may be in-
creaſed. This has ſo conſtantly in
all Ages been the Practice of our
Miniſters, that one may from thence
conclude, that every Man, as ſoon
as he becomes a Miniſter, or as he
calls himſelf a Servant of the Crown,
begins to think himſelf in Duty
bound to uſe every Art he can think
of for deſtroying the Liberties of
the Subject. This, I ſay, ſeems to
have

have been the Way of thinking among Miniſters in all Ages, and, I am ſure, in no Age more apparently than in this. Shall we then, upon this or any other Occaſion, throw aſide our Jealouſies and Fears? Shall we put a Truſt in thoſe who by their Practices have given us ſo good Reaſon to be convinced of their having a Deſign to betray us? If we are under any preſent Inconveniences: If we are under any preſent Difficulties, with regard to the Manning of our Fleet, let us examine whether they proceed from the Neglect or Miſconduct of thoſe concerned in the executive Part of our Government, or from any real Defect in our Conſtitution. If from the former, let us remove thoſe who have run us into ſuch Difficulties; and if from the latter, let us conſider our Conſtitution, and apply thoſe Remedies which are moſt conſiſtent with its Security and Preſervation; but do not let us plunge into the Pit which our Enemies have dug for us on one hand, for Fear of tumbling over the imaginary Precipice which they frighten us with on the other.

I am far from thinking, we can be under any Difficulty in manning all the Ships we can have Occaſion for in the preſent War; but ſuppoſe we were, there are many other Remedies beſides that now propoſed. Let us give farther Encouragements for foreign Seamen to enter into our Service: Let us call upon our Allies for Aſſiſtance: Let us hire the Ships of other Nations. We have now foreign Troops in our Pay, tho' we have no War, nor are like to have any War upon the Continent. Why do we not hire foreign Ships inſtead of foreign Troops? If we are under the Difficulties ſuggeſted, we have Occaſion for the former, but we can have no Occaſion for the latter. Surely this Nation is not yet reduced to ſuch melancholy Circumſtances, that we muſt [illegible] have no Allies, or accept of [them] upon ſuch Terms as they themſelves may be pleaſed to preſcribe. The Remedy now under our Conſideration is the very worſt that could be thought of: It is publiſhing our Diſtreſs to the World, and giving our Enemies juſt Cauſe to triumph over us. If the *French* or *Spaniards* owe us a Grudge, they could in no Way ſo effectually puniſh us, as by forcing us to deſtroy our Conſtitution and give up our Liberties, for the Sake of defending ourſelves againſt them. Our paſſing ſuch a Bill would give great Joy to every *Frenchman* or *Spaniard* that underſtands any Thing of our Conſtitution, and as I am againſt making a Holy-Day either in *France* or *Spain*, I muſt be againſt agreeing to this Clauſe.

Marius Statilius *ſtood up next, and ſpoke to this Effect:*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

FAR be it from me to blame Gentlemen for being jealous of the Liberties of their Country, or cautious of agreeing to any Thing that may look like an Incroachment upon our Conſtitution. This in general I ſhall always think laudable; but ſtill, I muſt think, it may be puſhed too far, and when it is ſo, will always be of infinite Prejudice to the Nation; therefore, Gentlemen ſhould as cautiouſly avoid oppoſing thoſe Powers that are abſolutely neceſſary for the Exerciſe of Government, as they ſhould avoid going raſhly into the giving of any Power that is unneceſſary and dangerous. No human Contrivance can form a Government or Syſtem of Laws ſo perfect as to ſtand in Need of no Addition, Alteration, or Amendment: Future Events may make the Imperfections appear; and when they appear, Care muſt be taken to [remedy]

dy them by new Regulations. is our Caſe at preſent, and if Regulation propoſed be abſo- y neceſſary for the Safety of the le, we muſt agree to it, even it ſhould be attended with ſome er to the Liberties of the Whole Part of the People; but I hope e able to ſhew, that it can be ded with no Danger; and that Manning of our Navy is abſo- y neceſſary for the Safety of the on has, I think, been acknow- ed by every one that has ſpoke is Debate.

he two chief Objections made his Regulation are, that it will f dangerous Conſequence to the dom of our Elections, and that ill be ſuch a Hardſhip upon our nen, as will force them into ſo- n Service, and prevent Men breeding themſelves to the for the future. I ſhall firſt con- the laſt of theſe two Objec- , and in order to ſhew, that the ulation now propoſed will be no dſhip upon our Seamen, I ſhall Leave to explain the Condition are now in, and the little Al- ion that is to be made in their umſtances by this Regulation.

Power of preſſing Seamen into Majeſty's Service, however much y be doubted of by thoſe, who not examined our ancient Re- , is a Power that has been veſt- n our Government, I believe, ſince our Conſtitution had a Be- We have mentioned in ſome ur Law Books a Statute made in Reign of *Richard the Firſt*, for ng ſome new Regulations with d to Ships and Seamen preſſed the King's Service, which , that Preſſing was cuſtomary e that Time, and that it was thought to be legal; and in famous *Inquiſition of Queenbo-* , in the Reign of *Edward the* , it is expreſsly given in Charge e Inqueſt amongſt other Things, To inquire of thoſe Mariners that were preſſed for the King's Service, and deſerted the ſame. I could mention ſeveral other Records to ſhow, that this Power of preſſing Seamen into the King's Service has always been deemed legal, and has in all Times been looked on as a Part of the Common Law of *England:* Nay, it may even be ſaid to be eſtabliſhed by Statute; for in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*, a Statute was made, by which it was enacted, That Watermen who withdraw themſelves in Time of Preſſing, ſhall ſuffer a Fortnight's Impriſonment, and be prohibited to row any more upon the *Thames* for a Year and a Day after: By an Act of the ſecond of Queen *Anne*, a certain Allowance of able Seamen is eſtabliſhed for Ships in the Coal Trade; and it is enacted, That if any Officer impreſs any of the Men ſo allowed, he ſhall forfeit 10 *l.* for every Man ſo impreſſed, beſides Coſts of Suit; and by another Act of the ſame Reign, it is declared, That no Perſon of eighteen Years of Age ſhall be exempted from her Majeſty's Service, on Account of his being an Apprentice, who ſhall have been in Sea Service before he bound himſelf Apprentice; and farther, it is by the ſame Law enacted, That ſuch Watermen, Bargemen and Lightermen, as ſhall not appear, when called on by the Watermens Company, to be ſent to her Majeſty's Fleet, ſhall ſuffer one Month's Impriſonment, and be diſabled working on the *Thames* for two Years.

Thus it appears, Sir, that the Power of Preſſing is by Implication ſtrongly eſtabliſhed by Statute; and the Reaſon of its not being expreſsly eſtabliſhed, was certainly becauſe it was always deemed to be ſo expreſsly eſtabliſhed by Common Law, that it was unneceſſary to eſtabliſh it in expreſs Words by any Statute. Having thus ſhewn, that the Power

of Preſſing is eſtabliſhed both by the Common and Statute Law of this Kingdom, I ſhall next examine the Cuſtom, which in all ſuch Caſes explains the Law; and it is certain, that the Cuſtom has always been, not only to preſs Seamen out of Merchant-Ships, but alſo to ſearch the Ships for ſuch as abſcond or conceal themſelves on board. Theſe, Sir, are the Circumſtances our Seamen are in at preſent; theſe are the Circumſtances they have always been in: They may be preſſed at Land, if they are found in the Streets or Highways, or in any Houſe where an Officer can have Acceſs to them; they may be preſſed from on board a Ship, and the Ship may be ſearched by an Officer and Preſs-Gang, in order to come at thoſe who conceal themſelves on board. What then is the great additional Power deſired? What is the great Alteration to be made in a Seaman's Circumſtances, by this Clauſe? It is no more than this, that a Seaman who abſconds from his Duty may be ſearched for in a Houſe, as well as on Ship-board, with this material Difference, that a Ship may be ſearched for him without the Aſſiſtance of any Civil Officer; but a Houſe is not to be ſearched without the Aſſiſtance of a Civil Officer.

Is this, Sir, ſuch an additional Hardſhip upon our Seamen, as will force them into foreign Service, or prevent Men from breeding themſelves up to the Sea for the future? Is it ſuch an additional Power to the Crown, as will deſtroy the Freedom of our Elections? I am really ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear ſuch imaginary Dangers ſuggeſted. By the Law, as it ſtands at preſent, the Crown, as I have ſhewn, has a Power to preſs any Seaman into the Service, and may exerciſe that Power againſt any one in the Character of a common Seaman, unleſs he makes himſelf a cloſe Priſoner in ſ[ome] Houſe; yet we know by Exp[erience], ence, that Seamen are as little [under] der the Influence of the Crown, [or] of any Miniſter, with regard to [their] voting at Elections, as any [other] Part of his Majeſty's Subjects; [and] the Reaſon is very plain, a Sea[man] may very eaſily prevent his [being] preſſed by entering himſelf on [board] ſome of our Ships of War, as [ſoon] as a Preſs is like to begin; and [if] he does his Duty on board, no M[i]niſter, nor even the Captain [of] whoſe Command he is, can inflict any Puniſhment upon him, or ſubject him to any Hardſhip, on Account of his not voting according to his Direction at an Election. The Caſe has always ſtood, with regard to the Danger of being preſſed and as the Danger of being ſearched for may be avoided in the ſame Manner, therefore we cannot ſuppoſe it will have any Effect upon the Freedom of our Seamens voting at Elections.

As to the Terms Seamen and Seafaring Men, it is true, Sir, they are in general; but, I think, they are eaſily underſtood, and have been ſufficiently explained by Cuſtom; for no Man is ſuppoſed to be a Seaman or Seafaring Man, unleſs he is, or has within a few Years been in actual Service at Sea, as a common Seaman; and none but ſuch have ever been, or could, I think, from this Clauſe paſs into a Law, be preſſed as common Seamen into his Majeſty's Service: Therefore, Maſters and Mates of Merchant-Ships or Seamen that are or may be ſettled in ſome good Buſineſs at Land can be brought into no Danger, nor under any Influence, by this Clauſe, and conſequently, with regard to Seamen of all Ranks and Degrees, it can no Way incroach upon the Freedom of our Elections, or in any Way endanger the Liberties of the Subject.

come now, Sir, to the other
of the Objection, which relates
e Influence which the Power
arching for Seamen may have
House-keepers that are not
en; and here in general I muſt
ve, that there is not any one
r the Crown is, or can be in-
d with, but what might be
inconvenient even to the moſt
ent, if thoſe who have the Ex-
of it, ſhould preſume to make a
Uſe of it, and our Judges ſhould
ve at their Preſumption; but
l Caſes theſe two Cauſes muſt
ur, before the Exerciſe of any
r can produce ſuch an Effect;
hen any Power is given by the
lature for a good Purpoſe, it is
Buſineſs and the Duty of our
es to prevent its being turned
bad Purpoſe, by puniſhing eve-
agiſtrate or Officer that ſhall be
y of ſuch a high Preſumption.
efore, whilſt thoſe imployed in
xecutive Part of our Govern-
act regularly, or our Judges
e juſtly, our Liberties can ne-
be in Danger from any Power
d by the Legiſlature in the
n, for the neceſſary Ends of
rnment; and if all our Officers
d become tyrannical, and our
es corrupt, I do not ſee how it
d be poſſible to preſerve either
Liberties or Properties, any o-
Way than by a general Inſur-
on; even tho' the Crown had
ear ſo many Prerogatives, or ſo
Power, as it has at preſent.

the Crown, Sir, had never, in
Inſtance before, been poſſeſſed
Power to ſearch Houſes by
t or by Day, there might be
Room for being cautious of
ing the Power now deſired;
ſuch a Power the Crown, or at
the Judges and Magiſtrates ap-
ed by the Crown, have in ma-
aſes been poſſeſſed of, ever ſince
Conſtitution had a Being. As
al of theſe Caſes have been
mentioned by my honourable and
learned Friend, I need not repeat
them; but one which he did not
mention, I cannot omit taking No-
tice of, which is that of arreſting
the King's Debtor; for upon a Pro-
ceſs at the King's Suit againſt any
Perſon, who is his Debtor, the She-
riff or his Officer may break open
any Houſe in Search of him, after
he has ſignified his Errand to the
Owner, and has been refuſed Ad-
mittance. If it were poſſible to
turn any ſuch Power towards influ-
encing Elections, ſurely it would be
much more eaſy in this Caſe to turn
it to that Purpoſe, than in the Caſe
now before us. The Sheriff is a
Magiſtrate appointed by the Crown,
as well as our Juſtices of Peace, and
Sheriffs Officers, I believe, are ge-
nerally Men of no better Character
than petty Conſtables. Beſides, it
is a Pretence that might be much
oftner made uſe of; for to ſearch
Houſes for Seamen can never be pre-
tended, but in Time of a hot Preſs,
and after the Lord High Admiral, or
Commiſſioners of the Admiralty,
have iſſued their Warrants for that
Purpoſe, which they cannot do but
upon extraordinary Occaſions, and
ſuch as happen but very rarely.

Therefore, Sir, if we are to judge
from Experience in other Caſes,
which is certainly one of the ſureſt
Ways of judging in all Matters of
a political Nature, we muſt con-
clude, that the Power of ſearching
Houſes, in the Caſe now before us,
can be of no bad Conſequence to
the Freedom of our Elections, or
inconvenient to any Man in the
Kingdom, except to thoſe Seamen
that abſcond in Time of Danger
from their Country's Service, and
to ſuch as render themſelves ſuſ-
pected of harbouring and conceal-
ing ſuch Seamen; and ſurely the
Publick is more intereſted in having
his Majeſty's Fleet manned in Time
of Danger, than it is in having the

Debts due to his Majeſty paid, or his Debtors arreſted.

Thus, I hope, Sir, I have ſhewn, that there is nothing in either of the two chief Objections that have been made againſt this Clauſe; and as the Navy is not yet ſufficiently provided with Seamen, after trying Embargoes, Preſſing, and every other Method that could be thought of, it is abſolutely neceſſary to contrive ſome new Method for ſupplying the Deficiency. The encouraging of foreign Seamen to enter into our Service, or the hiring of foreign Ships, are Methods which cannot be truſted to; and they are Methods which I ſhall never be for making uſe of, as long as we can have Ships or Seamen of our own, not only becauſe we cannot rely ſo much upon the Courage and Fidelity of foreign Seamen, as upon our own, but alſo becauſe it would tend to the Increaſing of the naval Power of ſome foreign Neighbour, who may ſome Time hereafter be our Enemy. Therefore, as the Method now propoſed is the beſt I have yet heard of, I muſt be for it till I hear ſome better offered; and if Gentlemen think the Amendment propoſed would be more dangerous than the Clauſe as it now ſtands, they may either reject the Amendment, or they may leave out the Word *require*, and only impower Juſtices of the Peace to grant their Warrant for ſearching any Houſe upon an Information on Oath, by ſome creditable Perſon, that there is Cauſe to ſuſpect Seamens being concealed in the Houſe.

As for that Part of the Clauſe which is to inflict Penalties upon thoſe, who ſhall harbour or conceal abſconding Seamen, it can affect none but ſuch as knowingly do ſo, and ſuch, I muſt think, deſerve highly to be puniſhed. A Seaman who abſconds, when his Country is in Danger, and ſtands in Need of his Aſſiſtance, I muſt ſuppoſe to be as heinous a Traitor, as any one can be declared ſo by Law; and therefore, I think, he ought to be treated with as much Rigour as a Traitor whatſoever; for which Reaſon, I can neither think it cruel or inhuman to puniſh a Mother for concealing her Son, or a Daughter for concealing her Father: In which what is uſually done in Caſes of Treaſon; it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of the Common-wealth; for if any merciful Allowance is in ſuch Caſes to be made for human Weakneſs, it ought to be left to his Majeſty, as other Acts of Mercy are, that he may, in his Royal Wiſdom, diſpenſe it, or refuſe it, according to the Circumſtances of the Caſe, and the Merits of the Perſons that ſue for it.

I am ſorry, Sir, to find that we are in ſuch Diſtreſs as we are at preſent, for want of Seamen: I wiſh it were otherwiſe; I wiſh we had in Time of Peace thought of Methods for preventing it; and I ſhall, to my knowledge, it might have been foreſeen: I believe it was foreſeen by our Miniſters; but as popular Aſſemblies are not generally very good at foreſeeing diſtant Dangers, and not eaſily perſuaded to take proper Meaſures for preventing them, eſpecially when the Meaſures are ſuch, as muſt put them to an immediate Expence, our Miniſters would not venture to propoſe any ſuch Meaſures, becauſe they deſpaired of meeting with Succeſs. This, I believe, was the true Reaſon of their neglecting to do ſo, and not their Deſire to keep up a more numerous ſtanding Army than was neceſſary; for I think it was happy for us, that we kept up in Time of Peace a Number of regular Troops as we did, becauſe if we had not, we muſt have made greater Levies for Land Service at the Beginning of this War than we did, and

d have diſtreſſed us ſtill more,
regard to the Sea Service, than
re at preſent. But ſuppoſe our
eſs to be owing to ſome Neglect
iſconduct in our Miniſters, will
emoving or puniſhing them re-
us from that Diſtreſs? Or will
agreeing to what is now propo-
nterrupt our Inquiry into their
duct, or prevent our being able
move or puniſh them?

he Bill now propoſed, the very
oſition, Sir, even tho' it ſhould
ject-ted, will publiſh our Diſtreſs
ur Enemies; but I had rather
ſhould hear of our Diſtreſs by
agreeing to ſuch a Bill, than
they ſhould become ſenſible of
the Succeſs of their Privateers
nſt our Merchants, or by the
ceſs of their Squadrons againſt
Squadrons of this Nation. What-
Diſtreſs our Enemies may ſup-
us to be in, they can expect no
d to themſelves from our paſſing
Bill; becauſe we paſſed a Bill
he ſame Nature in the late glo-
s War in Queen *Anne*'s Time,
en we were ſo ſucceſsful both
Land and Sea. It will only con-
ce them, that we are reſolved to
rt our whole Strength againſt
m, and the Terror of this will,
ope, ſoon bring them to Reaſon.

next that ſpoke was Horatius Co-
les, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance*
bus:

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

HAVE obſerved of late Years,
that there is a Party of Men in
s Kingdom, who upon all Occa-
ns declare themſelves for an In-
ry into the Conduct of our Mini-
rs, and for puniſhing them, if
y ſhould be found to deſerve it;
they oppoſe every previous Step
t is neceſſary for entering upon
Inquiry, and if it were ſet on
ot, I believe, they would oppoſe
every Thing that might tend to-
wards rendering it effectual. The
ſame Party of Men, Sir, always
declare, that we ought to be jealous
of our Liberties, and cautious of
granting any Power that may con-
tribute to their Overthrow; yet they
are always ready to approve of every
Thing propoſed by the Court, and
to think every Power neceſſary for
the Exerciſe of Government which
our Miniſters declare to be ſo. I
hope, there are none of this Party
in this Aſſembly; for every Gentle-
man here has, I hope, ſo much Ho-
nour as to be ſincere in every Thing
he profeſſes. I muſt acknowledge,
Sir, that I am, and, I hope, al-
ways ſhall be truly jealous of every
new Power that is, or can be aſked
by Miniſters: Whether I puſh this
Jealouſy too far upon the preſent
Occaſion, I muſt leave to the Houſe
to judge; but I muſt declare that,
in my Opinion, the Power now de-
ſired never can be neceſſary, that it
is far from being neceſſary upon the
preſent Occaſion, that it would be
of the moſt dangerous Conſequence
to our Conſtitution, and that it would
at laſt deſtroy the very End for
which it is ſaid to be deſired.

That I may regularly follow the
Hon. and learned Gentleman, I
ſhall begin with the laſt. He has
been pleaſed, Sir, to ſhew, what a
hard Condition our Seamen are in
by the Laws as they now ſtand; and
ſays he, the adding but one Hard-
ſhip more can no Way diſcourage
our Seamen, or leſſen the Breed of
that uſeful Body of Men. Sir, when
a Rope is ſtretched to its utmoſt
Length, if you attempt to ſtretch
it but one Inch further, it breaks.
He was likewiſe pleaſed to dip into
our ancient Records, in order to
ſhew what has not, I think, been
denied in this Debate. That upon
great and ſudden Emergencies the
King has by his Prerogative a Power
to preſs Seamen into his Service,

is

is what no Gentleman denies; but every Gentleman muſt grant, that this Prerogative ought not to be made uſe of upon every trifling Occaſion; and that when it is made uſe of, it ought to be with as much Lenity as poſſible, and it ought to be accompanied with as many Encouragements as it is in the Power of the Government to beſtow. In the Exerciſe of this Prerogative, perhaps the Cuſtom may have been to ſearch Ships for Seamen who conceal themſelves on board; but I doubt much whether an Officer with a Preſs-Gang has by Law a Power to break open the Doors or Hatches of a Ship, in caſe the Maſter ſhould refuſe to open them, eſpecially when the Ship happens to be in any River or Port which is not within the Juriſdiction of the Admiralty. But whatever may be the Law in this Caſe, we know that our Seamen are already ſubject to many Hardſhips which the reſt of the People are free from; and therefore, when we are contriving a Bill for the Encouragement and Increaſe of Seamen, we ought not ſurely to heap new Hardſhips upon them, becauſe, whether thoſe Hardſhips be inſufferable or no, is a Queſtion that is not to be determined by the Opinion of this Houſe, and much leſs by the Opinion of our learned Gentlemen of the long Robe, but by the Opinion of our Seamen and other People without Doors; for if they think them inſufferable, they will certainly endeavour to avoid them, our Seamen by running into foreign Service, and the reſt of our People by taking Care not to breed themſelves or their Children to any Sort of Sea Service.

As to the Meaning that has been, or may be put upon the Words Seaman or Seafaring Man, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but this I am well aſſured of, Sir, that Mates of Merchant Ships, and Seamen ſettled in Buſineſs at Land, have been ſometimes preſſed into his Majeſty's Service; and if we ſhould expreſly authorize preſſing by Statute, I do not know but a Liberty might be taken to preſs the Captains or Maſters of coaſting or trading Veſſels, and even ſuch Seamen or Sea Captains as had acquired or ſucceeded to a Land Eſtate, and thought themſelves ſettled in an eaſy Manner for the remaining Part of their Lives. Even in the late Queen's Time, when an Act of this Nature was paſſed for one Year, it was thought neceſſary to reſtrain the Meaning of the Word Seamen, to ſuch as had been in Service in her Majeſty's Reign, which was then in its fourth Year only. From hence, I think, it is evident, that if we intend to authoriſe preſſing by an expreſs Statute, we ought to make ſeveral Exceptions and Regulations, in order to prevent its being a moſt intolerable Oppreſſion upon many of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects; and we ought to take Care, that common Seamen returning from a Voyage ſhall have an Opportunity to offer themſelves as Volunteers, and that no Seaman ſhall be rejected as a Volunteer, and afterwards accepted of as a preſſed Man, in order to intitle the Officer to a Reward for preſſing him.

Now, Sir, with regard to the Influence this Bill may have upon our Elections, I am really ſurpriſed to hear Gentlemen pretend, that our Seamen vote as freely as any other Sort of Men in the Kingdom. Moſt of the Boroughs upon our Coaſt are a convincing Proof of the contrary. Are not many of theſe Boroughs now called Admiralty Boroughs, becauſe they always return ſuch Repreſentatives as the Board of Admiralty pleaſes to direct. The very Nature of Things is a demonſtrative Proof, that Seamen muſt be under the Influence of the Admiralty Board in

Elections; for let a Seaman be ever ſo exact in the Performance of his Duty, his Commander may ſubject him to many Hardſhips and Inconveniences on board, if he has or is ordered to have a Pique at him upon any other Account. Beſides, A
all Seamen while they are on board, hope to be preferred in the Navy, and will of courſe take every Method they can think of for recommending themſelves to the Government. Even Seamen that are ſettled on Shoar, muſt be under the B
influence of the Admiralty at Elections, otherwiſe they may depend upon being preſſed as ſoon as an Opportunity offers, and of being hardly uſed, whilſt they are in the Government's Service. They have no Way to avoid this, but by leaving their C
buſineſs and abſconding, and even this melancholy Reſource you are now to take away from them: Therefore, if this Bill ſhould paſs, we muſt ſuppoſe, that all Seamen, be where they will, let their Circumſtances be what they will, muſt D
for the future be the abſolute Slaves of a Miniſter, and muſt vote at all Elections, as he ſhall be pleaſed to direct.

Then with regard to the reſt of the Subjects who have not the Misfortune to be Seamen, is it not a E
terrible Thing for a Man to be in continual Danger of having his Houſe laid open to a petty Conſtable and a Preſs-Gang, by Day or by Night? Beſides the Inconvenience of being diſturbed, he muſt never ſtir from home, or if he does, he muſt not F
take the Key of any Cloſet along with him; becauſe a Preſs-Gang may come and break it open before he returns. The Power of ſearching for the King's Debtors is, I ſhall grant, a dangerous Power, and might be made a very bad Uſe of; G
but I muſt obſerve, that this Power was introduced, when Sheriffs were not named by the Crown, but choſen by the reſpective Counties; and tho' Sheriffs Officers are ſeldom Men of any great Character, they are more to be truſted to than petty Conſtables, becauſe the former give Security to the Sheriff for the due Execution of their Office, and the Sheriff himſelf is anſwerable for their Behaviour; whereas petty Conſtables give no Security, nor is any Juſtice of the Peace anſwerable for the Damage they may occaſion. I could ſhew, that the Power now deſir'd is, on ſeveral other Accounts, more dangerous than the Power of ſearching for the King's Debtors; but ſuppoſe it were not, is one dangerous Power any Argument for granting another of the ſame Nature? If the Power already granted has never been made a bad Uſe of, the granting another of the ſame Nature might be the Cauſe of both's being made a bad Uſe of in Time to come; becauſe an Effect may be produced by making a bad Uſe of both, which could never have been hoped for by making a bad Uſe of one. The Hopes of Impunity is what occaſions a Power's being made a bad Uſe of; and that Impunity may be ſecured by making a bad Uſe of two Powers, which could never have been expected from making a bad Uſe of one.

This, Sir, is the great Danger, and it is not eaſy to determine, where our Security ends, and where the Danger begins. One Thing, however, is certain, that if we go on thus yearly putting new Powers into the Hands of our Miniſters, the Danger will become not only unavoidable but irretrievable. Our Officers will be regular, our Judges will be juſt, as long as they are in Danger of being called to an Account by Parliament, if they act otherwiſe. If we put it once in their Power to guard againſt this Danger, they will act here as they do in all other arbitrary Governments;

ments; and this will be the certain Conſequence, if we put it in the Power of our Miniſters to over-awe or Influence the Majority of our Elections. It is by having our Parliaments always dependent upon our Miniſters, and by this Method only, we can be reduced to the lamentable Circumſtances of having no Remedy but a general Inſurrection, againſt the Injuſtice of our Judges, and Oppreſſion of our Officers; and ſuch Parliaments will certainly provide our Miniſters with an Army ſufficient to protect them againſt an Inſurrection of the People; ſo that we can then never expect any Redreſs but by a Mutiny in our Army, and by that, as in *Turkey*, we may ſee a Change in the Perſons of our Oppreſſors, but can expect no Relief from Oppreſſion.

Thus, Sir, I think, it is apparent, that this Power added to all the Powers our Miniſters are already poſſeſſed of, will be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; and conſidering how long our Government has ſubſiſted without it, I am ſurpriſed to hear any Gentleman pretend, that it is now abſolutely neceſſary for the Exerciſe of Government. If Seamen are now more unwilling to enter into the Government's Service than they were formerly, it muſt be owing to ſome late Miſconduct in our Miniſters; and therefore, the beſt Encouragement we can propoſe for our Seamen is, to remove thoſe that have diſobliged them. The learned Gentleman ſays, our agreeing to this Clauſe can no Way prevent our being able to remove any Miniſter. Is not this, Sir, begging the Queſtion? If it adds to a Miniſter's Influence at Elections, will it not tend to prevent its being in the Nation's Power to remove him by any Sort of Parliamentary Method? Let us conſider, Sir, that this is the very laſt Seſſion of a Septennial Parliament, and that a new Septennial Parliament is next Summer to be chose and then we may perhaps ſee, whether ſuch a Power is deſired at this critical Conjuncture.

For my Part, Sir, I have not heard one Argument made uſe of for ſhewing, that this Power is neceſſary at all, and much leſs that it is neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion: I ſay I have not heard one Argument for this Purpoſe, but one drawn from a News-Paper, by a Gentleman no Way concerned in the Admiralty. From that News-Paper, indeed, he has endeavoured to frighten us with an Invaſion, and to make us believe, that if we do not make a Surrender of our Liberties to our Miniſters, the *French* and *Spaniards* will come and take them from us; but as he confeſſed, he knew nothing of the Matter, and thoſe who ought to know, have not been pleaſed to declare, that we are in any real Danger, I ſhall not be ſuch a Child, as to be frightned out of my Senſes by ſuch an imaginary Bugbear.

The laſt that ſpoke in this Debate was Julius Florus, *which Speech was to the Subſtance thus.*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

THE two honourable and learned Gentlemen who ſpoke in Favour of this Clauſe, were pleaſed to ſhew, that our Seamen are but Slaves already, and now they moſt deſtly deſire, you ſhould make them wholly ſo. Will this increaſe the Number of Seamen? Or will it make thoſe you have more willing to ſerve you? Can you expect, that any Man will make himſelf a Slave if he can avoid it? Can you expect that any Man will breed his Child up to be a Slave? Can you expect that Seamen will venture their Lives or their Limbs for a Country

made them Slaves? Or can you
ect, that any Seaman will ſtay
the Country, if he can by any
ans make his Eſcape? Sir, if you
this Law, you muſt, in my O-
ion, do with your Seamen, as
y do with their Galley Slaves in
nce; you muſt chain them to
ir Ship, or chain them in Cou-
, when they are aſhoar. But
poſe this ſhould both increaſe the
mber of your Seamen, and ren-
them more willing to ſerve you,
will render them incapable. It
common Obſervation, that when
Man becomes a Slave, he loſes
lf his Virtue. What will it fig-
y to have your Ships all manned
heir full Compliment? Your Men
l neither have Courage nor a
mptation to fight; they will ſtrike
he firſt Enemy that attacks them,
auſe their Condition cannot be
de worſe by a Surrender. Our
men have always been famous
a matchleſs Alacrity and Intre-
ity in Time of Danger: This
ſaved many a *Britiſh* Ship, when
er Seamen would have run below
ck, and left the Ship to the Mer-
of the Waves, or perhaps a more
el Enemy, a Pirate. For God
e, Sir, let us not by our new Pro-
s put our Seamen into ſuch a
dition as muſt ſoon make them
rſe than the cowardly Slaves of
nce or *Spain*.

The learned Gentlemen were next
aſed to ſhew us, that the Govern-
nt was already poſſeſſed of ſuch
ower as is now deſired; and how
they ſhew it? Why, Sir, by
wing that this was the Practice
the Caſe of Felony, and in the
e of thoſe who are as bad as Fe-
, I mean thoſe who rob the Pub-
, or diſſipate the publick Money.
ll we, Sir, put our brave Sailors
n the ſame Footing with Felons
publick Robbers? Shall a brave
eſt Sailor be treated as a Felon,
no other Reaſon, but becauſe af-
ter a long Voyage he has a Mind to ſolace himſelf amongſt his Friends in the Country, and for that Purpoſe abſconds for a few Weeks, in order to prevent his being preſſed upon a *Spithead* or ſome ſuch pacifick Expedition? For I dare anſwer for it, there is not a Sailor in *Britain*, but would immediately offer his Service, if he thought his Country in any real Danger, or expected to be ſent upon an Expedition, where he might have a Chance of gaining Riches to himſelf, and Glory to his Country. I am really aſhamed, Sir, to hear ſuch Arguments made uſe of in any Caſe, where our Seamen are concerned. Can we expect, that brave Men will not reſent ſuch Treatment? Could we expect, they would ſtay with us, if we ſhould make a Law for treating them in ſuch a contemptible Manner?

But ſuppoſe, Sir, we had no Regard for our Seamen, I hope we ſhall have ſome Regard for the reſt of the People, and for ourſelves in particular; for I think, I do not in the leaſt exaggerate, when I ſay, we are laying a Trap for the Lives of all the Men of Spirit in the Nation. Whether the Law, when made, is to be carried into Execution, I do not know; but if it is, we are laying a Snare for our own Lives. Every Gentleman of this Houſe muſt be ſuppoſed, I hope juſtly, to be a Man of Spirit. Would any of you Gentlemen allow this Law to be executed in its full Extent? If at Midnight a petty Conſtable with a Preſs-Gang ſhould come thundering at the Gates of your Houſe in the Country, and ſhould tell you he had a Search Warrant, and muſt ſearch your Houſe for Seamen, would you at that Time of Night allow your Gates to be opened? I proteſt I would not: What then would be the Conſequence? He has by this Law a Power to break them open. Would any of you patiently ſubmit to ſuch

an Indignity? Would not you fire upon him, if he attempted to break open your Gates? I declare I would, let the Conſequence be never ſo fatal; and if you happened to be in the bad Graces of a Miniſter, the Conſequence would be, either your being killed in the Fray, or hanged for killing the Conſtable or ſome of his Gang. This, Sir, may be the Caſe even of ſome of us here, and upon my Honour I do not think it an Exaggeration to ſuppoſe it may.

The honourable Gentlemen ſay, no other Remedy has been propos'd. Sir, there have been ſeveral other Remedies propos'd. Let us go into a Committee to conſider of what has been or may be propoſed. Suppoſe no other Remedy ſhould be offered, To tell us we muſt take this, becauſe no other Remedy can be thought of, is the ſame with a Phyſician's telling his Patient, Sir, there is no known Remedy for your Diſtemper, therefore you ſhall take Poiſon; I'll cram it down your Throat. I do not know how the Nation may treat its Phyſicians; but, I am ſure, if my Phyſician told me ſo, I ſhould order my Servants to turn him out of Doors.

Such deſperate Remedies, Sir, are never to be apply'd but in Caſes of the utmoſt Extremity; and how we come at preſent to be in ſuch Extremity I cannot comprehend. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, we were not thought to be in any ſuch Extremity, tho' we were then threatned with the moſt formidable Invaſion that was ever prepared againſt this Nation. In our Wars with the *Dutch*, a more formidable maritime Power than *France* and *Spain* now are, if they were united againſt us, we were not ſuppoſed to be in any ſuch Extremity, either in the Time of the Commonwealth, or in King *Charles* IId's Time. In King *William*'s War againſt *France*, when their naval Power was vaſtly ſuperior to what it is at preſent, and when we had more Reaſon to be afraid of an Invaſion than we can have at preſent, we were thought to be in no ſuch Extremity. In Queen *Anne*'s Time, when we were engaged in a War both againſt *France* and *Spain*, and were obliged to raiſe great Levies yearly for the Land Service, no ſuch Remedy was ever thought of but for one Year only, and then it was found to be far from being effectual.

This, Sir, I am convinced would be the Caſe now, as well as it was then. It was at that Time computed, that by Means of ſuch a Law as this, there was not above 1400 Seamen brought into the Government's Service; and conſidering the Methods that have been already taken, and the Reward propoſed by this Bill to be offered to Volunteers, I am convinced, that the moſt ſtrict and general Search would not bring in half the Number. Shall we then for the Sake of adding 6 or 700, or even 1400 Seamen to his Majeſty's Navy, expoſe our Conſtitution to ſo much Danger, and every Houſe-keeper in the Kingdom to the Danger of being diſturbed at all Hours in the Night?

But ſuppoſe this Law were to have a great Effect, it can be called nothing but a temporary Expedient, becauſe it can no Way contribute towards increaſing the Number of our Seamen, or towards rendering them more willing to enter into his Majeſty's Service. It is an Obſervation made by *Bacon* upon the Laws paſſed in *Henry* VIIth's Reign, That all of them were calculated for Poſterity as well as the preſent Time. This ſhewed the Wiſdom of his Councils: I wiſh I could ſay ſo of our preſent. We have for ſome Years thought of nothing but Expedients for getting rid of ſome preſent Inconvenience by running ourſelves into a greater. The Eaſe

Conve-

venience of Poſterity was never thought of, I believe, than it been of late Years. I wiſh I d ſee an End of theſe tempo- Expedients; for we have been ing them ſo long, that we have oſt undone our Country, and o- urned our Conſtitution. There- Sir, I ſhall be for leaving this ſe out of the Bill, and every r Clauſe relating to it. The will be of ſome Service with- them; and when we have paſſ- t, we may then go into a Com- tee to conſider of ſome laſting hods for increaſing our Stock of men, and for encouraging them all Occaſions to enter into his eſty's Service.

This JOURNAL *to be continued in next.*]

Craftſman, May 29. Nº 830.

ther Conſiderations upon the Nature nd Expediency of TACKING. *(See* 232.)

THE Powers which a Houſe of Commons poſſeſs, as a Branch he Legiſlature, may be divided *dependent* and *abſolute*. The ner, which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, are e properly Rights than Powers, ſiſt in moving, reſolving, voting, reſſing, remonſtrating, impeach- petitioning, ordering and enact- ; and I call them *dependent*, be- e they refer to other Branches of Legiſlature, before they can have Effect, or be carry'd into Execu- . Their *abſolute* Power conſiſts ly in *granting Money*; but if they part with their *abſolute* Power, muſt be render'd dependent another Body, for any Effects ch they may wiſh to ſee from other Powers.

o prove this, we need but only reflect upon the Nature of our vernment, which has veſted ſo large and unlimited an Exerciſe of Power in the Crown, without any other conſtitutional Check upon it, than the Right of denying Money to ſupport its Meaſures. I know the Publick has been long accuſtom'd to look upon the Power of the Sovereign, as circumſcribed and cramp'd, without the Concurrence of Parliament. But from what does this Limitation ariſe? Not from any poſitive Act of the Conſtitution; for if we except the Power of levying Money, I ſee very little real Power of which the Kings of *England* are abridged, that is poſſeſs'd by any other Prince. The making Peace and War; the appointing Officers into all Places of Profit and Truſt; the Diſpoſal of the publick Money when granted; the Prorogation and Diſſolution of Parliaments; the Right of Pardoning; and numberleſs other Rights, are now veſted abſolutely and uncontrolably in the Crown. If, therefore, the People ſhould make amends to the Court, for its being abridged of the Power of levying Money, by granting as liberally as it would command, were that Check taken off, I cannot ſee the leaſt Reaſon why the Court ſhould be under the leaſt Conſtraint from the remaining Powers of a Houſe of Commons; eſpecially while a large Army is at its Devotion.

Let me ſuppoſe, during the late Parliament, that the Convention had been diſapproved of, and cenſured by the Houſe of Commons, and yet ratify'd and carry'd into Execution by the Miniſter. What would have been the Conſequence, ſuppoſing all the Money the Court wanted had been given? The Commons would have addreſs'd, petition'd and reſolved: And what then?——Why, *nothing*. The Miniſter had done no more than what the Conſtitution impowers the Crown to do, and you have no Power to prevent its being

carry'd into Execution. Supposing this should have irritated them to have made the utmost Stretch of their *dependent* Power, and that they had proceeded to Impeachment; but what avails the Power of *Impeaching*, when that of *judging* is vested by the Constitution in another Body? Supposing that the *Impeach'd* had been, contrary to all Conviction and Proof, acquitted or pardon'd: What then?——Why, *nothing*. "We have a Right to acquit, we have a Right to pardon.——The Constitution has invested us with those Rights, we are accountable by the Constitution to no Power for the Exercise of those Rights." What could the House of Commons have then legally done? Why, *nothing*: Perhaps have presented an unregarded, ineffectual Address, or Remonstrance.

Such may be the Effects of granting Money *unconditionally*, were it not for the personal Virtue of the Prince, who would certainly have disapproved of such a Conduct. Whereas, by the prudent and cautious Granting of Money, the Prince never can suffer in his Prerogative, and the People are secured in their Properties. For, if the Court is in earnest the Friend of the People, the Jealousy of the latter will never be any Bar to its granting an Equivalent for their Liberality; and if the Court be the Friend of the People only to Appearances, and that it may gain its own Ends, no Consequence can in any Event be so bad from their refusing to grant Money, as may, nay must, arise from the Court's refusing to comply with the just and reasonable Expectations of the People.

Common Sense, June 5. N° 277.

DIALOGUE *between* A *and* B.

A. WELL, Sir, what think you now? Will the Affair come to any Thing?

B. I think it ought to come to something.

A. Right or wrong, guilty or not guilty?

B. O, by no Means!

A. Let us leave all Criminals to the known Course of the Laws in the Courts below, they are sufficient to punish or acquit: You know well too there are particular Laws against this same paltry Accusation, and common Practice on both Sides, of Bribery at Elections. What! I warrant you are for a Bill of Pains and Penalties at least?

B. I warrant you I go a great deal farther, and if any Person should be convicted of this Crime to an exorbitant Degree, I am for a Bill of High Treason.

A. Hey! Fire and Faggot! a Writ *de Politico comburendo!* what a Stern Enthusiast art thou! dost thou know how far such a Bill may affect thyself or thy Posterity?——No *ex post Facto* Doings, I beseech you.

B. Do not be frighted, my Friend, tho' this Practice of Bribing may be as common as you imagine it, yet it will be some Time e'er you can suffer.

If they should punish all that guilty be,
'Twill be an age e'er it can come to thee.

A. Aye, but by an *ex post Facto* Law, an innocent Man may suffer in violent Times by Prejudice and Party Rage.

B. An innocent Man would be an unfortunate Man, if King, Lords and Commons, should join in a Law to destroy him. But tell me where is the Danger of punishing by Parliament, such a Delinquent as I have described, as a Traitor to his Country.

A. A Traitor to his Country, ha! ha! Why I will tell you, Sir, by the Statute 25 *Edw.* III. every Species of Treason is therein declared and enumerated; and I do assure you, there is no Mention made of Treason against our Country.

B. The 25th of *Edw.* III. hath, you ſay, enumerated and declared the ſeveral Species of Treaſon triable by our Judges in the Courts below; and very wiſely was it provided, that none of the inferior Courts ſhould have it in their Power to create conſtructive Treaſons; that, eſpecially there, where the Subject was by the Law to ſuffer the utmoſt Puniſhment that can be inflicted on his Perſon, Property, and Family, the Judges might have a ſteady and limited Rule to walk by, and not be miſled by any Comments or Prejudices, or Partiality of their own: Yet you are to obſerve, Sir, that at the ſame Time this very Law declares, That the Parliament (as it muſt neceſſarily be) were left Judges of all other Treaſons not therein before enumerated.

A. So, Sir, and what do you conclude from all this?

B. Shall I have your Leave to aſk you a Queſtion or two?

A. As many as you pleaſe. Support your *ex poſt Facto* Law if you can.

B. Suppoſe then there ſhould be any over-grown daring Corruptor, fully convicted, by Evidence taken in the moſt ſolemn Manner, of an Endeavour to ſubvert the Conſtitution, as ſtrongly ſupported as can be imagin'd, yet his Crimes not ſpecified in this Law: Where is he to be tried?

A. In Parliament, doubtleſs.

B. If then his Crimes ſhould be prov'd to be, his being intruſted with prodigious Sums of publick Money for many Years, which he profuſely ſquander'd in bribing the Electors and Returning Officers in many Corporations, to chuſe and return ſuch Perſons, as he ſhould appoint and name: Would not this appear to be an Endeavour to ſubvert the Conſtitution? Is it not more than to compaſs and imagine the Deſtruction of our Liberties? Is it not a plain ouvert Act?

A. If it were prov'd——

B. Aye, if fully prov'd, would not ſuch an Attempt be High Treaſon?

A. Certainly.

B. And do you not conceive it would be the Duty of the Commons of *England* to impeach ſuch a Criminal of High Treaſon? Would not ſuch an Impeachment be juſt?

A. If the Impeachment is laid for an Attempt to ſubvert the Conſtitution, he muſt be impeach'd of High Treaſon.

B. May not the Commons likewiſe, when they pleaſe, turn their Impeachment into a Bill to puniſh him as a Traitor?

A. Nothing can bind the legiſlative Power.

B. And would not ſuch a Bill be highly equitable, laudable and unexceptionable, for Example to Poſterity, for the future Security of the State, and to ſatisfy the loud Demands of an injur'd People for Juſtice? You will obſerve, I have ſpoke of a Criminal too big for any inferior Proceſs, and therefore only to be tried by Parliament.

A. I muſt confeſs, if the accuſed Perſon is not to be come at, or cannot receive a Puniſhment in an inferior Judicature, adequate to his Crime, an Impeachment, or a Bill of Attainder are the only Remedies our Conſtitution knows: But ſtill, in my Opinion, a Law *ex poſt Facto* is a moſt dreadful and arbitrary Engine of State, and ought never to be made uſe of but in Caſes of the utmoſt Neceſſity and Danger.——But if you have no other Charge againſt your ſuppos'd Criminal, you know well, the Crime of Corruption in the Electors or the Elected, on every Side, is a common known Practice, and you may put the Laws in Execution; we have ſeveral againſt theſe corrupt Ways; tho' I believe it is too general and too much practiſed, not only not to

go on with Impunity, but not to be approved and countenanced.

B. The greater is the Crime of him, who made the Practice so common and so known. When the late Earl of *Macclesfield* was impeached for selling some Places in the Court of Chancery, some Part of his Plea was, That such a Practice had been common there, and that it never was accounted criminal, and that it would be very hard he should be punished for what his Predecessors had never been question'd: But he was answered, That Custom could not alter the Nature of Things; that Crimes were Crimes, tho' never so much, so frequently and openly practised; and that, tho' it might have been the Practice of former Chancellors to take Money privately for Employments in that Court, yet had they been questioned for it, they must have been punished; but that he had done it notoriously and exorbitantly, and therefore it was absolutely necessary to put a Stop to such Practices by making him an Example.

A corrupt M——r, in like Manner, may plead that it has been the Practice for many past Years to open the T———ry on the Calling a new Parliament, and by the Fruits of it to purchase Boroughs, and to send a List down to the several Corporations, of such of his Servants Names as he was pleased to have returned: Yet, if this were true, (which I don't allow) it was done with such Caution and Secrecy, it could not be prov'd, and was most certainly a very criminal Practice, and punishable in the highest Degree; but when it came to be practised impudently and openly, sure it calls for immediate Redress, as it tends to destroy the very Vitals of our Constitution.

But if it should appear, that a Minister had, instead of purchasing a few venal Boroughs, squandered immense Sums of the Nation's Money for many Years, and by that Means for some Time crowded the H—— of C——— with a Majority of his own Creatures, in order to support himself in his iniquitous Practices, to the almost total Ruin of the Nation; the People might very well complain, that they were denied, or defrauded of their lawful Claim to Justice, if such a Criminal should escape the utmost Punishment our Laws can inflict.

A. But, Sir, the Executor of our Laws can———

B. It is not fair to bring that Name into our Argument.—For we all know our Princes are obliged to observe the *great Charter of our Liberties*, in which they promise—— *Nulli differemus, nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus Justitiam*——That is, We will not delay, we will not deny, we will not sell Justice, to any Man.

Craftsman, June 5. N° 831.

Of MINISTERS, *and the Opposition against them.*

SIR,

AMONG those few who have still either the Stupidity or Effrontery to vindicate the late Minister, nothing is more common than the following Remark, viz. That scarce any one of our Ministers, for many Reigns back, seem to have been in the good Graces of the People; on the contrary, that the Cry, soon or late, went forth against them all; and that if all were not disgraced, it was rather owing to the Favour of the Sovereign, than the Gratitude of the Subject. Whence they very ingeniously conclude, that we have Discontent rooted in our very Hearts; that we inherit a seditious and turbulent Disposition from our Fathers; that Innocence is no Preservative from our Clamours; that Merit can-

not

procure our Praiſe; and that
ices cannot exact our Acknow-
ments: Thus, chuſing rather to
the whole Nation with one ge-
l Invective, than join in the ge-
l Condemnation of one obnoxi-
Individual.

muſt, however, be confeſs'd,
the Remark has Truth for its
ndation. In all the latter Part
our Hiſtory, at leaſt, we can
ce find one Inſtance to authoriſe
being brought into Queſtion;
then nothing is more falſe than
Concluſions deduced from it.
Miniſter ever yet did a known
vice to the People of *England*,
he was over-paid for it; no Mi-
er ever yet manifeſted real Me-
but it met with all the Applauſe
eſerved; and no Miniſter ever
incurr'd the publick Odium or
entment, unleſs he had firſt pro-
ed the Publick with repeated
aries. Whence it is apparent,
if we have oppoſed all Mini-
s indifferently, all Miniſters in-
erently have abuſed their Power.
But while we thus get rid of this
ficulty, we fall inſenſibly into a
ater. There are thoſe among us
o, eſpouſing the Inference laſt
ntioned, have the Boldneſs to de-
e others from it, which reflect
much Diſhonour on human Na-
e in general, as thoſe of the Mer-
aries, above exploded, on the
tiſh Nation in particular. Ac-
ding to theſe Latitudinarians in
iticks, if all Miniſters *have* been
aves, all Miniſters *will* be Knaves.
ver, ſay they, has the Quality
ribed to *Circe*'s Cup; whoever
nks of it foregoes his Humanity,
inſtantly becomes the Reverſe
what he was; or rather, from
t Moment, takes off the Maſk,
appears what he really is.
Thus not only thoſe, who attain'd
firſt Round of Greatneſs by flat-
ng the Pride, and foſtering all
Vices, Humours and Follies of
Kings, become Slaves to the Throne
on one Side, and Baſhaws to the
People on the other; but even the
Patriot who, on the Shoulders of the
Multitude, and by the irreſiſtible
Tide of Oppoſition, (while Liberty,
A Property, Trade, and Navigation,
dropp'd like Manna from his Tongue)
wedged his own Way to Power and
Dominion, has no ſooner taken ſure
Hold of the State-Rudder, but, in-
ſtead of a *Cato* or a *Brutus*, he turns
out to be a *Sejanus* or a *Rufinus*;
B and, as a Servant to the Crown,
makes it his Buſineſs to undo all he
had done in Behalf of the People.

Wentworth, afterwards Earl of
Strafford, who both adviſed and act-
ed ſo many violent Things, in Com-
pliment to the Prerogative, was at
C firſt one of the Leaders of the then
Oppoſition. *Hyde*, afterwards Earl
of *Clarendon*, had diſtinguiſh'd him-
ſelf in the ſame Manner; he like-
wiſe at firſt enter'd the Liſts as a
Champion for the People; but with
a Glance of Court Favour, was in-
D duced to take up his Gage, and ride
off to the other Side. And as to
Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Earl of *Shafts-
bury*, the greateſt Politician perhaps
of his Time, he was, like one of
our modern Worthies, avowedly ei-
ther Vizier or Incendiary, as ſuited
E beſt with his Intereſt at Court, or
his Credit among the People.

In King *William*'s motley Reign,
Apoſtaſies of this Nature were al-
moſt without Number; and but yeſ-
terday, as it were, we ſaw the Mon-
ſter of the Times applauded in the
F Character of a *Country Gentleman*.
From all which it is manifeſt, that
the Corruption of a Patriot is the
Generation of a Stateſman.

The very Tenure of a delegated
Power is a blind Submiſſion to the
Will of him who beſtows it. If,
G therefore, a Prince has the Stomach
of an Oſtrich, the Selfiſhneſs and
Perverſeneſs of a Hog, the Pride of
a Peacock, and the Brain of a Do-
terel,

terel, he who enters into his Service, must become the Servant of his Passions too; once embark'd, he must float as the Current drives, and, if he makes to Shore without Leave, 'tis Odds if he does not rush upon his own Ruin.

As the Reign is then, so will be the Administration; if the Prince is wise, he will disdain to employ a Fool; if he is honest, he will assuredly punish a Knave, the Instant he is detected. But if he is neither, we have little for it but our Prayers. Changes will be nominal only; the Instrument may be removed but the Evil will remain.

Such is the System of these Latitudinarians; which, it must be own'd, contains many shrewd Things; but is, nevertheless, both fallacious and pernicious, in the highest Degree.

For, were it to obtain universally, and a Period should arrive, when we had every Thing to apprehend from the ill Qualities of the Prince upon the Throne, and nothing to expect from his Understanding, we should look upon our Case as desperate; and, in Consequence, should fold our Hands in Expectation of that Ruin, which, by a proper Use of them, we might prevent. For, if Opposition was once look'd upon as an insignificant and dangerous Experiment, who would be at the Trouble, or run the Risque of setting it on Foot? Nay, who would not, from a Principle of Self-Preservation, go over to the Oppressor, rather than stay to be undone with the Oppressed? Thus to believe, that, in a bad Reign, both Wisdom and Virtue are useless, and that a Succession of Knaves must necessarily follow each other, is to enter into Confederacy with Corruption, and prepare the Vassal for his Chains.

When *John*, *Henry* III. *Edward* II. *Richard* II, *&c.* were driving full-speed to absolute Power, had the Barons waited in Expectation of their Conversion only, *Magna Charta* had never been either obtain'd, renew'd, or observed; on the contrary, the Yoke had been rivetted, and we had now been the Sons of Slaves for many Generations.

In absolute Monarchies, indeed, where the People are effectually disarm'd, and all Power centers in the Prince, Will and Pleasure are conceived as Reason and Justice, and blind Submission is a Duty not to be dispensed with, or even disputed; but where any Degree of Liberty remains, the Vices of a Prince may both be detected and corrected, by the Virtue of the Publick: Or, if Nature is not to be alter'd, if it remains at Bottom the same, he may, however, be obliged to wear the Appearance of Lenity and Goodness; if the Demon cannot be ejected, he may be restrain'd from roaming about, like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour; and, of a King of *Great Britain* in particular, what is principally required is, not to do any Mischief.

But Ministers have their Vices, as well as Kings; and, in order to gratify them, they may enter upon Terms with their Masters, and engage to comply with whatever is demanded, on one Hand, provided they are indulged in, and indemnify'd for accumulating, no Matter by what Means, whatever they look after, on the other.

True, they may; nay more, whoever accepts of Power on such infamous Terms, is, by Contract, an Enemy to the People he governs, and must studiously endeavour to ruin them, to prevent his being ruin'd by them; consequently, should such Ministers as these be changed once a Week, no Benefit would result to the Publick, at whose Instances, perhaps, the Change might be made; whatever Name it was fill'd with, the Commission would be the same.

Upon

Upon the Whole then; ſuppoſe a
ince, by authorizing, or conni-
g at a Series of Frauds or Op-
ſſions, had drawn upon himſelf
Suſpicion of going Halves with
Miniſter, and, in order to purge
nſelf, found it expedient to put
Care of the Publick into leſs
noxious Hands, is it impoſſible to
ceive the Charge, without being
nted with the Guilt, ſo long con-
cted with it? Notwithſtanding all
t has been ſaid, I take upon me
anſwer, No. In ſuch a Caſe,
wever artificial his Views may
however calculated to tempo-
e only with his People, and ra-
r ſubdue than pacify them, 'tis
vertheleſs in the Power of the
w Miniſter, not only to preſerve
Integrity ſpotleſs, but to ſet
h an Example as ſhould even
lige his Maſter, in the long Run,
make it the Rule of his Beha-
our.

Not, however, if he had either
pes or Fears. Whoever is proud
being a Favourite, or covetous of
ealth, or in love with vain Titles
d nominal Honours; will fix his
e on them only; will reſolve to
n them at any Rate; will dread
loſe them; and by Conſequence,
ſt make whatever Compliances
Sovereign pleaſes to exact, as
Price of his Favours; as *Shake-*
r ſays, *Let no ſuch Man be truſt-*
d for no ſuch Man can be true to
y Thing but his Intereſt.

But if the Man, whom the King
ights to honour, is above every
ſh Conſideration, and is indeed
h Patriot and Philoſopher, the
ng will have no Aſcendency over
Paſſions, and, of Courſe, can
ke no Impreſſion upon his Virtue.
his Counſels will be founded
on what is right, not what is pa-
able; nor will he ever be pre-
ll'd upon to countenance what he
ver can approve. Whatever he
s will be true, whatever he does
will be honeſt. In his Hands the Intereſt of Prince and People will be really the ſame; and, wherever he preſides, the Wretch, who endeavours to divide them, will be treated as a Traitor of the moſt dangerous Kind. Cabals and Oppoſitions can neither terrify nor hurt him. Having no Guilt to anſwer for, he will have no Puniſhment to apprehend; and a Diſmiſſion from Power, would only be ridding him of a Burden, which he had never taken up, but for the Service of his Country.

In Virtue there is the higheſt Authority, ſince it ſeems to be derived from God himſelf. Even Kings, therefore, may very well be ſuppoſed to ſtand in Awe of it; and, as to the People, when wedded to Power, they would almoſt idolize it. Whoever, therefore, founds his Grandeur on his Integrity, builds on a Rock, which neither Winds can ſhake, nor Waters undermine. If ever he falls, it will be into the Arms of the Publick, and his Diſgrace will be his Glory.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.
SEVERUS.

Common Senſe, June 12. N° 278.

Common Senſe *of* May 29. *gives ſome Account of* Landois, *Favourite of the laſt Duke of* Brittany; *which, as our Readers may ſee it in our* Mag. *for* 1735, *p.* 74, 75, *we have here omitted: But in this Paper, the Author purſues his Remarks on the ſame Subject, as follows, after having given a ſhort Character of a Courtier.*

LANDOIS, whom we took Notice of before, was one of theſe accompliſh'd Courtiers. This Remnant of a Man, this *Shred of a Taylor*, govern'd the Dukedom of *Brittany* with a moſt abſolute Sway, under (I ſhould have ſaid over) a weak, inſignificant Tool of a Prince; but

but what were his great Talents? Why he was bold, ambitious, and never tied down, either by Conſcience, Honour, or Gratitude. With ſuch Virtues how could he fail of riſing in ſuch a Court?

His firſt Avocation ſeem'd to foretel that high Fortune, which he afterwards attain'd; for the Hiſtorians tell us, he had the Honour, immediately after his appearing at Court, of being employed as a Pimp; and ſo aſſiduous was he in his Buſineſs of Pimping, that he made his Way over the Shoulders of all the great Men, his Brother Pimps, even thoſe by whom he had been firſt introduced. Now the wiſe Duke being a nice Judge of Merit, and having a Mind to honour it wherever he met with it, finding *Landois* to be ſo excellent a Pimp, what could he do leſs for him, than to reward him with the moſt profitable Employment in his Dukedom? Accordingly he makes him his Treaſurer; and to uſe the Words of our Slaves, Princes have a Right to chuſe their own Servants without giving an Account to their Subjects.

I take it for granted, that the Duke's Choice of ſo accompliſh'd a Perſon for the high Office of Treaſurer, muſt have furniſh'd ſufficient Matter for Panegyrick to the Court Writers of thoſe Times; the Wiſdom of ſuch a Prince, and the Abilities of ſuch a Miniſter, were a copious Subject for Praiſe, the one for preferring, the other for being preferred.

At certain Times there is, no Doubt, a very great Affinity betwixt a Pimp and a Treaſurer, and whoever is fit for one, muſt be extremely qualified for the other.

When the Treaſurer, for Example, attempts to ingroſs the whole Power of the Government into his own Hands, his whole Buſineſs is to corrupt; this is alſo the Buſineſs of a Pimp.

The Treaſurer, in ſuch a Situation, has to do with nothing but Proſtitutes; no more has the Pimp.

The Treaſurer ſinks a great Part of the Bribery Money into his own Pocket; ſo does the Pimp.

The Treaſurer does not like to be called to an Account; no more does the Pimp.

But to return to *Landois*;—this Slip of a Taylor, this Son of a Cucumber, could not be content with two ſuch honourable Employments as thoſe of Pimp and Treaſurer; his high Ambition prompted him to uſurp the whole Power of the Duke: he would admit no Partner, no Equal in Buſineſs, nor would he ſuffer any Employment to be diſpoſed of without his Approbation; which ſo diſguſted the Nobility, that they preferr'd him at laſt to that Poſt which he deſerv'd a great while ſooner.

The World hath ſeen a *Landois* in another Country, and in a later Time, who ſurpaſs'd this *Landois* in all his Accompliſhments.—I cannot better explain to what an Extravagance this Man's Vanity and Inſolence carried him, than by giving an Account of a ſhort Converſation which happen'd betwixt a Native of this Country, which was ſo happy to have *Landois* the Second for Miniſter, and a Foreigner, who he came acquainted with in his Travels.

To make it better underſtood, I ſhall put it into a Dialogue betwixt *A.* and *B.*

A. Your Country, Sir, was once the Envy of all its Neighbours; you were the Umpires and Arbitrators of *Europe*. As often as a weak Power was in Danger of being oppreſs'd by a ſtronger, they have flung themſelves upon you for Protection, and have found it. You have ſaid to the Mighty, ſo far ſhall your Power go and no farther; and you have

as good as your Word; but
me Leave to obſerve, that your
re is miſerably ſunk, for 20
s paſt you have been of no Con-
ence at all in the Affairs of *Eu-*

. I wiſh it was in my Power to
our Shame, what you ſay is a
h too evident to be denied.
. There was a Time, when your
y gave Laws to the Ocean; I
old it is ſtill as large as ever.
y comes it to paſs, that your
s are now deſpiſed, as much as
Treaties are laugh'd at by the
e World. Give me Leave, Sir,
ſk the Meaning of ſo great a
nge?
. Sir, I ſhall give you all the
faction I am able.
. Reputation abroad commonly
nds upon good Conduct at home;
if it be true, that during a
e of 30 Years, and a Trade
all the World, your People
been as much tax'd as ever,
yet your publick Debts are not
niſh'd, it is no Wonder, that
are deſpiſed.
. I am not at all ſurpriſed at it.
. Pray, Sir, who hath the Di-
on of your Finances?
. A great Officer whom we call
Chancellor of the Exchequer.
. I have read an Author, who
s an Account of your Govern-
t, who ſays, that your Exche-
is an Office contrived to check
controul the Treaſury,——who
preſides in your Treaſury?
. The Chancellor of the Exche-
.
. How, Sir, is he appointed to
himſelf honeſt?
. Yes, Sir, he will ſuffer nobo-
lſe to keep him honeſt: O, Sir,
don't know how wiſe we have
.
. But ſure, Sir, he does not di-
all Branches of your Revenue?
. All! yes, Sir, more than all;
will not ſatisfy him.——You

know when *Alexander* had conquer'd one World, he wept that there was not another World for him to conquer; ſo when our great Man had robb'd one Treaſury, he wept there was not another Treaſury for him to rob.

A. May I know who adviſed your foreign Treaties?

B. The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A. Who commands your Fleets?

B. The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A. Who is Commander in Chief of your Armies?

B. The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A. You make me laugh,——who is your Secretary of War?

B. The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A. Who is your principal Secretary of State?

B. Sir, we have two.

A. May I know who they are?

B. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A. By what I find, Sir, your Chancellor of the Exchequer is like a Character in one of our Comedies, where the Poet introduces a cowardly Officer bragging that he is a Captain, Lieutenant, Enſign, and whole Company himſelf.

B. You have hit it, Sir, he is juſt the Man.

A. It is ſaid, Sir, that your Country hath been brought to the Brink of Ruin by Corruption within;—— who is the Author of all that Corruption?

B. The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A. One Queſtion more, Sir, and I have done.—In Affairs of Government, by which I underſtand the Art of making the People happy and eaſy at home, and of ſupporting the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation abroad,—who do you take

to be the moſt ignorant Man in your Kingdom?

B. Without all Doubt, Sir, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A. Sir, I thank you.——We are the Chancellor of the Exchequer's moſt humble Servant,——by his good Conduct we have gained Part of your Trade, and humbled our Enemies upon the Continent,——long, very long may he rule over you for our Sakes; but if he was our Chancellor of the Exchequer, we ſhould ſerve him a Trick that I don't much care to tell;——however, I am obliged to you for your Information, and am your obedient Servant.

Craftſman, June 12. N° 832.

Of antient and modern STATESMEN, *and their* WRITERS.

IN reading the *Grecian* and *Roman* Hiſtories, I obſerve, that the great Men, who had deſerved well of their Country, were not only beloved and applauded by the People, but had often Statues and Columns erected to their Memories. Some of them ſeldom walk'd in Publick without voluntary Trains after them, ſhouting their grateful Acclamations, to expreſs their Gratitude for the Services they had received from them; and their publick Monuments of Reſpect were erected to the Virtues of a martial or a civil Patriot, as ſuch Indications of their Gratitude and Eſteem as might ſurvive their Mortality, and render *his* Worth and *their* Gratitude equally durable.

Lucius Junius Brutus and *Publicola* could ſeldom appear in the Streets of *Rome*, without being carry'd along by a Tide of Fellow Citizens, whoſe Love to them was always flowing from a Senſe of their Delivery from Tyranny and *Tarquin*; and *Trajan*'s Pillar, the nobleſt Monument of that Kind which has ever been, aroſe to the Skies, pointing out the Place to which *Trajan* and his Fame aſcended.

To theſe Inſtances of the Reward and Gratitude of the Antients to their great and publick Benefactors I muſt add another; which is that of giving them an additional Name expreſſive of their Virtues, civil or military. Thus *Ariſtides*, among the *Greeks*, ſtill lives with the Appellation, beſtow'd on him by his Countrymen, of *Ariſtides* the *Juſt*; and among the *Romans*, one of the illuſtrious *Scipio's* ſtill continues glorious, with the Acquiſition of *Africanus* added to his former Name.

Let us turn our Eyes from theſe antique Objects of our Veneration, and reflect on the Uſage which ſome modern Servants of the Publick have met with from the People. A late Miniſter of State, (a Title that is become odious and contemptible in ſome Nations) inſtead of Statues or Columns erected to his Memory, has, on various Occaſions, had moſt Effigies of him, framed for a publick Show of Scorn and Odium, which has been carry'd about all Day as a Spectacle of Reproach, and at Night thrown into the Flames, to expreſs the Indignation of an injured People. Of the ſame Miniſter Mr. *Voltaire* takes Notice, that his Picture is to be ſeen ſcarcely any where but in his own Cloſet. I have never heard that he was followed by the joyful Acclamations of a Crowd, but that he has been purſued by the bitter and juſt Invectives of thoſe who beheld him as he paſs'd along. His guilty Mind was always far from expecting the Voice of Approbation to reach his Ear, but ſeem'd fearful of ſome dreadful Effect of the People's Reſentment; for his goings out and comings in have often been like the Skulkings of a Thief; and he has employ'd and hired *Fellows of no Mark or Likelihood* to guard him againſt

t the Rage of an incenſed Mul-
e; and this he has often done,
Fear and Trembling, when
has been no tremendous Foes
nd, no Daggers near, but thoſe
is own Breaſt, the Throbbings
puſillanimous Heart, and the
al Apprehenſions of a weak, diſ-
er'd Mind. Among the Ho-
s pay'd to the greatly deſerving
ng the Antients, I mention'd
of an additional Name, ex-
ive of their Virtues; but what
ellations have been added, by
Countrymen, to thoſe which he
ved from his Father, and from
Font, but ſuch as, *Bob Booty*,
Screen, the *Blunderer*, and many
rs equally expreſſive of his Ig-
iny, and the People's Hatred
Diſdain?

he Incenſe offer'd, by the Poets,
he Great, is not look'd upon as
infallible Indication of exalted
th in thoſe Days; but I will
ure to affirm, there never was a
Poet, in whom the Man of
our likewiſe met, that ever pro-
ted his Genius to the Praiſe of
Worthleſs.

emmius is the Object of *Lucre-*
s Praiſe, and of his Eſteem;
Memmius has the Character of a
te and accurate Scholar given
by *Cicero*, in his Book *de Clar.*
t. He was great in the Field
in Council, and had great Vir-
Lucretius was a Philoſopher,
a Poet with a rich Fancy. *Mæ-*
s had thoſe Virtues of Benevo-
e, which attracted the Love of
he was an able and upright
eſman; he had himſelf a fine
ius, and was, therefore, the
ier to encourage it in other Per-
Virgil and *Horace* have re-
d their liberal Patron with Im-
tality; and they were both not
Men of the moſt exalted Ge-
but remarkable for their In-
ity. *Cicero* and *Cornelius Nepos*
e Patrons to *Catullus*, *Cicero*'s
Excellencies and Virtues were above the common Rank of Men; and *Cornelius Nepos* was of a great Family, himſelf a conſiderable Man in the State, a great Scholar and a fine Writer. *Catullus* obtain'd the A Name of *the Learned* among the Antients, as appears by *A. Gellius*, and the two *Pliny's*. *Tibullus* had a Patron of great heroic Virtues, and one who adorn'd civil and ſocial Life. *Meſſala*'s Love for *Tibullus*, was equal to the Poet's for him. *Ti-* B *bullus* accompany'd him into *Gaul*, and forſook him not till Death; for he died in his Attendance on *Meſſala*, in one of his Expeditions. *Horace* has given us a Character of *Tibullus*, in an Epiſtle to him, of a learned and a wiſe Man, rich, and C one who knew how to make a right Uſe of his Riches. *Propertius* was honour'd with the Patronage of two of *Virgil*'s and *Horace*'s Patrons, *Mæcenas* and *Gallus*, the latter of which was a gallant Soldier, and a polite Scholar, and himſelf a Poet. *Pro-* D *pertius* was a moſt delicate Imitator of the *Greek* Elegiac Poets, and of *Mimnermus* in particular. I could mention other Patrons, and other Poets, among the Antients, who reflected equal Honour on each other; but they, of whom I have already E ſpoke, are ſufficient to my preſent Purpoſe.

What have been the Creatures, who have offer'd their publick Adulation to a late Miniſter? The Groupe of Writers, who have moved like ſo many Satellites round F this ſtrange Phænomenon, was compoſed of ſome of the moſt contemptible Part of the Clergy, low ignorant Attornies, and their Clerks, Collar makers, Organiſts, ſome of the *Poetæ Minores* of this Iſland, and many other neceſſitous illiterate G Wretches of various Degrees. They have all had large Sums of Money from him; ſome of them have received their Thouſands in Caſh,

and

and others have been put into Places, which they have ſold, one after another, till they have realized their Thouſands. Some, from the loweſt State of human Littleneſs, have, without Capacity or Honeſty, been toſs'd into their own Chariots, for doing that which merited a Seat in the Cart to *Tyburn*. From a Senſe of his own Miſconduct, this *Pſeudo-Miniſter* has been always ready, I may ſay eager, to accept the Offers of any Scribbler to write in his Praiſe, or Defence; and his extreme Ignorance of Compoſition was ſuch, that he could not diſtinguiſh any Degrees of Excellence, if there were any to diſtinguiſh. A Creature of his own Power, who has now retired with a happy Fortune iniquitouſly acquired, that is, by defending him, has often ſaid, that the Miniſter was ſo far from being any Sort of Judge of Compoſition in Writing, that he was not capable of diſtinguiſhing betwixt a *Shafteſbury* and a *Bunyan*; and the Perſon, whom I here mean, was one of the moſt diſcerning that ever proſtituted his Pen and Character to him. Some few Perſons of Talents have, in their very early Days, wrote in the miniſterial Cauſe of thoſe Times, preſs'd by narrow Fortunes, and lured on by the indiſcriminate Profuſion of the Giver, and have afterwards left him with Deteſtation, from a juſt Senſe of the Meanneſs and Iniquity of ſuch a Proſtitution. He was ſo ill a Judge of the Writings and Underſtandings of Men, that he has often been impoſed upon by little Tricks and Artifices, peculiar only to the loweſt Claſs of Writers; and it is well known, that one of his reputed Authors never had Capacity to write or ſpell, but by hiring others to write for him, has impoſed himſelf on this mighty Stateſman for a conſiderable Writer.

Now, let the Reader view the great Men among the Antients, and the Writers whom they patronized, and then compare them with the modern Miniſter, and his ſervile, flattering Train, and I believe that he will find no Difficulty to diſcover many Degrees of Compariſon betwixt them.

PHÆDRUS.

Common Senſe, June 19. N° 279.

SIR,

I Take the Liberty of communicating to you a Dream I lately had, which if you think it worth a Place in your Paper, I ſhall leave it to the *wiſe Men of the Land* to interpret.

I found myſelf on a ſudden in a large Hall, or Kind of Exchange, crowded with People of all Ranks and Profeſſions. At the upper End was a large *Screen* of *gilt* Leather pierc'd in many Places, thro' which it was eaſy to diſcover what was doing behind; tho' many were very buſy in endeavouring to repair the Peep-holes with *Gazetteers*, *Pamphlets*, *Commiſſions*, *Patents*, *Bank Bills*, &c. &c. &c. Going to a Hole at one Corner, I obſerved a Woman who bore the Remains of Beauty, ſet off with all the Help of Art and Ornament of *foreign* Dreſs: On her right hand was plac'd a young Lady agreeable in her Perſon, and a peculiar Modeſty in her whole Demeanor, bluſhing as from a Conſciouſneſs of ſuperior Merit, diſgrac'd in ſuch Society. On her Breaſt was written in Letters of Gold, *She ſhall be a Lady*. On the other Side was a Creature as remarkably unfortunate in her Appearance, as the other was engaging; but on her Breaſt was written in capital Letters, *Thirty Thouſand Pound*, which ſeemed to render her not quite unworthy the Notice of *two tall* [illegible] *made civil Gentlemen in Regimentals*, for whom alſo the Lady in the Mid-

dle

e (like Autumn between Summer
d Winter) ſeem'd to bear a parti-
lar Regard, which appear'd not
ly in the gracious Smiles, and
nder Glances with which ſhe fa-
oured them alternately, but from
e Preſents I obſerved her to make
each of them of the Subſcription
a new *Opera*, in little ſilken
urſes, as ſhe received them from
veral *young* Men, who by their
ppearance and the Pains ſhe took
be agreeable to them, ſeem'd to
e of great Diſtinction. Theſe on
eir Part were endeavouring by all
e little Arts of Flattery to expreſs
eir Regard, and Reſpect to the
oung Lady.

On a ſudden hearing a Noiſe from
hind the Screen at the other End,
ran haſtily thither, where a new
cene preſented itſelf. *Two* Men
very noble Appearance, the one
ith a Fiddle in one Hand, and a
ſture in t'other; the other with a
ſket full of *Ribbons* of *various Co-
rs*, but *chiefly red*, and a golden
ſh fill'd with Pine-Apples and
ruffles, ſeem'd wholly to engage
e Attention of a Crowd of white
eathers, that ſurrounded them.

I was tempted by this extraordi-
ry Appearance to lend an Ear to
eir Declamation, which I found
be in Praiſe of Luxury, Muſick,
reſs, and Painting; tho' ſo larded
ere their Expreſſions with *French*,
d *Italian*, and the *Engliſh* itſelf
unintelligible, that it was with
e utmoſt Difficulty I could gueſs
their Meaning.

When each had finiſh'd his Ha-
ngue, there aroſe ſuch a confuſed
oiſe, of *Cloe*, *Barbarini*, *Monte-
lli*, &c. that I was glad to leave
is Satire on Mankind, and turn-
g from the *Screen*, I beheld an-
her Crowd but of a very different
ppearance; they were divided in-
two Bodies, and led by Chiefs in
hom they ſeem'd to repoſe the ut-
oſt Confidence. Theſe were ad-

vancing by ſlow Degrees towards an Altar ſacred to Liberty and Juſtice, on which lay a Kind of Spear, which by the Inſcription on it, I found to have the ſame Virtues *Milton* gives to *Ithuriel*'s. For no Falſhood can endure Touch of Cœleſtial Temper, but returns of Courſe to its own Likeneſs.

This Altar had been long *railed* in, and on each Side ſtood a Herd of Prieſts of different Orders, and at ſome Diſtance a Body of Military Men, with their Bayonets fix'd, ready to execute the Commands of their Maſters: All theſe retired back in Proportion as this majeſtick Band of Patriots advanced: And now the Rails began to open of themſelves.——Thouſands of Voices cry'd out for Juſtice from all Corners of the Hall;——*Mercy* and *Pity* reſounded from *behind the Screen*. On a ſudden there ſeem'd to be a great Confuſion in the Aſſembly occaſion'd by an unexpected Accident; for one who look'd like a Leader, was by the unaccountable Shuffling of two or three Perſons who ſurrounded him, ſeparated from his ever honourable Friends; he every now and then looked for them, but was conſtantly diverted, nay, pull'd away by theſe officious People, who ſeemed to be preſſing ſomething upon him, which looked like a Coronet, which he often thruſt from him, as if he deſpiſed it; at length, as if wearied by their Importunity, he ſuffer'd them to pin it to his Garment, by all his Motions and Actions ſhewing a particular Diſregard to it.

Another publickly ſet himſelf down to open a *Velvet Bag*, and ſeem'd to laugh at his late Companions; who finding themſelves depriv'd of their Leaders, and not knowing whom they might ſafely truſt, after this Infatuation of the one and Treachery of the other, with down-caſt Looks, deſpairing of Succeſs, ſepa-

rated in Confuſion; when behold the *Screen* vaniſh'd, and there appear'd in a Chair of State a fat old Man, array'd in all the Enſigns of Authority that can diſtinguiſh or ſatisfy the inſolent Ambition of the moſt aſpiring Subject. In his right Hand he held an empty Purſe, and in his Left the Picture of an *Hydra*, on which was written the Word TORY. Under his Feet he trampled the Sword of Juſtice, and around his Chair were aſſembled all that Crowd of titled Slaves and Flatterers, I juſt now mention'd, ſinging aloud his Triumph and Victory.

Some were employed in filling up the Wrinkles in his Forehead, which were grown apparent with the Danger he had juſt eſcaped: Others were performing the ſame Office to one another. Few were without Bruſhes in their Hands, which they dipp'd continually in two Copper Ciſterns that ſtood behind the Chair; but the Liquor was different, the one a Kind of Varniſh, the other as black as Ink, with which they beſpattered a few of that glorious Band that ſtill remained in the Hall: When of a ſudden, I was ſurpriſed with a confuſed Cry from without Doors; the Noiſe was ſo great, that I awaken'd with the utmoſt Terror, and aſtoniſh'd to find what had been ſo naturally repreſented to me, to be only a mere Dream.

Univerſal Spectator, N° 712.

UPON *a Letter, giving an Account of an Officer, who was ordered for* Flanders, *taking Leave of a young Lady, to whom he was upon the Point of being married, (her Parents not conſenting the Marriage ſhould be conſummated before he embark'd) and his ſhedding Tears at their Parting; and* Jack Smart's *ridiculing his* putting Finger in Eye, *(as he call'd it) as beneath the Character of a Soldier;* Mr. Spectator *makes the following Remarks:*

Mr. *Jack Smart* may think himſelf as witty as he pleaſes, but there was nothing in the Captain's Behaviour, but what was becoming an honeſt and brave Man. It is, indeed, more common for the Paſſions of the Female Sex to be moſt violent; and on any Grief they ſhew it ſooner by Weeping than the Men, who, tho' they feel as tenderly, correct their Paſſion by Reaſon. There are, however, ſome Circumſtances, where a Man's Tears are becoming and ſhew a generous Soul; but it is on Incidents, where the Soul receives ſuch a Shock that forces Reaſon to give way to Nature. The Circumſtances the Captain was in are ſufficient Warrant for his being moved; nor does his being a Soldier change him from being a *Man*.

I remember to have ſeen an Inſtance of a Soldier's Weeping, which is ſomewhat particular. A few Years ago, one of the Grenadiers who was poſted on the Stage at *Drury-Lane* Theatre, was particularly obſerved by the Spectators, for the Attention he gave to the Play, and the Motions and Looks by which he betrayed how deeply he was affected by it. The Play was *Venice preſerved*, where the Paſſions are tenderly and nobly actuated: In the Diſtreſſes of *Belvidera* the Fellow ſeem'd melted into Pity. In the Scenes between *Jaffeir* and *Peere* there was an elevated Concern and Attention in his Looks: At ſeveral Speeches he ſeem'd agoniz'd, by diſtorting his Body; and tho' the Audience ſeveral Times laugh'd at him, he remain'd with fix'd Attention to the Scene: But in the laſt, where one Friend ſtabs the other on the Scaffold, he could bear no longer, but pull'd out his Handkerchief, and wip'd his Eyes. The Spectators were ſo affected with the Fellow's ſimple, honeſt Heart, that they applauded him with a loud Clap. But when a noble Duke (then at the Head

d of the Army) who was be-
d the Scenes, heard of it, he
for him, and gave him a Gui-
telling the Gentlemen round
He was ſure he was an honeſt
brave Fellow.

ir *Richard Steele* has, in his Pre- A
to the *Conſcious Lovers*, taken
tice of a General Officer's Weep-
in a front Box, at the Scene
ween *Indiana* and her Father;
which Occaſion he relates Mr.
kes's juſt Obſervation on it, *That*
was certain he would fight *ne'er the*
ſe for that.

iverſal Spectator, June 19. N° 715.

Mr. Stonecaſtle,

N your late Papers on the Uſe
and Abuſe of Pleaſure, (*viz.* of C
y 29, and *June* 12.) you have
ly placed Mediocrity as the pro-
Bounds for it. Virtues have their
nits, beyond which they ceaſe to
and gradually verging to Ex-
nes, deviate into Vices. I know
whether you ever met with an D
Poet, named *Randolph*, who wrote
Ben Johnſon's Time, and was
atly eſteemed by him; but on
Subject of ſhewing the Contraſt
Virtues and Vices, he has ſuc-
ded happily. In his Play call'd
Muſes Looking-Glaſs, every Scene E
different Characters of quite dif-
nt Inclinations: The Poet, to
clude his Scenes with a Moral
aſtrophe, introduces *Mediocrity*,
o ſums up the Precepts inculca-
thro' the Whole: This Speech
I think, an admirable Lecture, F
erefore I have tranſcrib'd it, and
may be agreeable to your Read-
as it is more uncommon than
otations from our modern *Drama*.

MODERATUS.

MEDIOCRITY *enters.* G

M that even courſe that muſt be kept
To ſhun two dangerous gulphs, the mid-
dle tract
'Twixt *Scylla* and *Charybdis*. By compare,
I am a bridge, o'er an impetuous ſea,
Giving ſafe paſſage to the wary ſtep:
But he whoſe wantonneſs or folly dares
Decline to either ſide, falls deſperate
Into a certain ruin.—Dwell with me,
Whoſe manſion is not plac'd ſo near the ſun
As to complain of neighbourhood, and be
ſcorch'd
With his directer beams; nor ſo remote
From his bright rays, as to be ſituate
Under the icy pole of the cold *Bear*;
But in a *temperate zone*.
I am the *golden* MEDIOCRITY;
The labour of whoſe womb are all the *Virtues*,
And every paſſion that's commendable,
Siſters ſo like themſelves, as if they were
All but one birth; no difference to diſtinguiſh
them,
But a reſpect they bear to ſeveral objects;
Elſe had their names been one, as are their
features.
When, in the midſt of dangers, I ſtand up,
I have a confidence 'twixt fear and daring;
Not ſo ungodly bold, as not to be
Fearful of heav'n's juſt anger, when it ſpeaks
In prodigies: I tremble at the hazard
Of my religion; ſhake to ſee my country
Threaten'd with fire and ſword; am a ſtark
coward
To any thing may blaſt my reputation:
But I can ſcorn the worſt of *poverty*,
Sickneſs, *captivity*, *baniſhment*, *death*,
If they dare meet me in the field of honour;
Where, with my country's cauſe upon my
ſword
Not edg'd with private anger, nor made bold
With civil blood, and cuſtomary danger,
I can throw valour as fierce lightning from
me;
And then I am the *Amazon Fortitude*.
Give me the moderate cup of lawful plea-
ſures, [juſt ſteward;
And I am *Temperance*.—Make me wealth's
And call me *Liberality*: With one hand
I'll gather riches home, and with the other
Rightly diſtribute them, and there obſerve
The perſons, quality, quantity, time, and
place;
Neither too thrifty, nor too prodigal:
And if in great expences I be ſet
Chief arbitreſs, I can in glorious works,
Raiſing of temples, ſtatues, altars, ſhrines,
Building of ſhips and bulwarks, become *royal*;
And then I'm call'd with pomp *Magnificence*.
I'm *Magnanimity*, when I with wiſdom
Aim at the honours I deſerve, not urg'd
By popular applauſe (falſe thirſt for fame)
Nor by ambition, but my country's good;
And in that virtue centre all the reſt.
When in my carriage and diſcourſe I keep
The mean that neither flatters nor offends;
I am that virtue the well-nurtur'd court
Gives name, and ſhou'd do being, *Courteſy*.

'Twixt fly diſſembling and proud arrogance,
I am the virtue, time calls daughter, *Truth*.
Give me my ſword and balance rightly ſway'd,
And *Juſtice* is the title I deſerve.
When on the ſtage I come with innocent wit,
And jeſts that have more of the ſalt than gall,
Which laughter move and rational delight,
Without the grief of one; free, chaſte conceits,
Not ſcurril, baſe, obſcene, illiberal,
Or contumacious ſlanders; I am then
The virtue they have term'd *Urbanity*:

To whom if your leaſt countenance appear,
She vows to make her conſtant dwelling here.

The little Criticks and falſe Wits, Mr. *Stonecaſtle*, may nibble, as Mr. *Bayes* calls it, at this old Poetry; but to their Shame it may be objected, we have nothing on our modern Stage ſo moral and inſtructive: It was adapted to the Taſte of thoſe Times, and from *Shakeſpear*'s, *Johnſon*'s, &c. moral Writings, we find thoſe Times more refin'd than the preſent.

§. *The following* DIALOGUE *was ſent Mr.* Stonecaſtle, *as an Interlude in low Life, to ſhew the dangerous Effects which the preſent reigning Taſte for* Shows *and* publick Diverſions *have on the* common People.

SCENE, *A Kitchen in a private Family.*

TIME, Sunday *in the Afternoon.*

PERSONS, *Mr.* Thomas, *an Apprentice*; *Mr.* John, *a Footman*; *Mrs.* Martha, *a Houſe-maid*; *Mrs.* Abigail, *a Chamber-maid*; *Mrs.* Dolly, *Cook, and others, at a Tea-Table.*

Mr. *Thomas*. NO, indeed, Mr. *John*, I confeſs I am ſo unpolite, that I have not been at *Ranelagh* yet.

Mr. *John*. Lard, Sir, you ſurpriſe me! Why all the World——that is, all that have any Taſte have been there a thouſand Times!

Mrs. *Martha*. I envy *you Gentlemen*, Mr. *John*: You have Opportunities of taking all the Pleaſures of the *Beau Monde*; while we in the City can ſcarce do more than look down to the *Mall* on a *Sunday Afternoon*; or perhaps in the Holiday Time, take a Trip to ſome of the *Wells*.

Mrs. *Abigail*. Indeed, Madam, I pity you from my Soul: You do not *live* here in the City; you only breathe and exiſt, as it were.—I would not live in a City Family again for the *Indies*.

Mrs. *Dolly*. Pray, how do you live at the other End o'th' Town?

Mrs. *Abigail*. Why, as we know on what Parties of Pleaſure our Ladies are gone, as ſoon as we diſpatch them, we go on Parties we have made ourſelves: If they are for *Ranelagh*, we whip to *Vaux-Hall*; if they go to *Vaux-Hall*, we to *Ranelagh* or *Cuper*'s.

Mr. *Thomas*. But pray, Madam, do you never go to the *New-Wells*, or *Goodman*'s-*Fields-Wells*? They are all mighty full of a Night, and have mighty good Diverſions.

Mrs. *Abigail*. No, Sir, not above once in a Seaſon; juſt to ſee the Humours of the *Mobile*.

Mr. *John*. Pray, Madam, have you ever had a Party to Breakfaſt at *Rockholt-Houſe* yet?

Mrs. *Abigail*. No; but I have breakfaſted at the *Green-Man* at *Dulwich*.

Mr. *John*. And I only at *Ranelagh*.

Mrs. *Dolly*. But, Mr. *John*, does't not coſt a plaguy deal of Money to ſee all theſe Sights, and Shows, and Breakfaſtings?

Mr. *John*. Humph! it is ſomewhat expenſive: But if one don't ſee *Life*, what ſignifies *living*?

Mrs. *Dolly*. Why, I have heard my Miſtreſs ſay, that Gentry only ſhould go to theſe *Renlaus* and *Places*.

Mr. *John*. And pray, Mrs. Cook, have

e not we as much Right to Plea-
, as any Gentry of them all?—
d I take myſelf to be as good a
ge of Taſte, as any Peer in the
d.

Mrs. *Martha*. Well, now what ſay
all? We who have not been at
alagh yet, ſhall we make a Bar-
n to go next Week?

Mr. *Thomas*. Ay, ay, with all my
art: Mr. *John* will go with us to
w us the Ways of the Place.

Mr. *John*. You may command
r humble Servant.

Mrs. *Abigail*. —But I ſhan't like
go with a *Fellow in Livery*. [*A-*
] Pray, Mr. *John*, do they ad-
Gentlemen of the *Cloth* to ——

Mr. *John*. O, Madam, your hum-
Servant for that: —I have al-
ys a handſome Suit of Cloaths to
t on the Ladies: Beſides, if I
not, my Maſter has; — and
t's all one you know —— Ha,
ha.

Mrs. *Abigail*. Well, I don't care;
you make the Party, I'll be one.

Mr. *Thomas*. Next Week.

Mrs. *Dolly*. But 'pies on't, 'twill
ne ſo confounded dear.

Mr. *John*. Not above Half a Gui-
a-piece.

Mrs. *Martha*. Hang it, for once
er mind it: I am reſolv'd to go.

Mrs. *Dolly*. But if Miſtreſs won't
e you Leave?

Mrs. *Martha*. I'll take it.

Mrs. *Dolly*. But if you loſe your
ce.

Mrs. *Martha*. I'll get another.—
no more Objections; go I will,
you too, unleſs you're a Fool.

Mrs. *Dolly*. Nay, I'll not ſtand out
le: I'll e'en make one amongſt

Mr. *John*. O *Wedneſday* Night then.

Omnes. Agreed, agreed.

No Comment need be made on
Scene. The Introduction of
ury, Expence, Neglect of Buſineſs,
ong the lower Claſs of People, is
fully deſcrib'd; which, if not curb-
ed by ſome Authority, may have
fatal Conſequences.

Craftſman, June 19. N° 833.

Of Political Jealouſy and Credulity, the Struggle betwixt Prerogative and Liberty, and from whence our Danger ſince the Revolution ariſes.

Mr. D'Anvers,

THOSE who pique themſelves on being thought the Notables of the World, make no Scruple to avow, that they look upon all Men as Knaves, till they find them to be otherwiſe; and on the other hand, the Open and Undeſigning think all Men honeſt, till they find them Knaves.

Perhaps neither of theſe Maxims is wholly juſtifiable; for even to ſuſpect the Men of Integrity is a Sort of Injury, and to be too credulous is almoſt a Receipt to ſeduce ourſelves.

To pin our political Faith thus on the Sleeve of any Man, for having ſpeech'd it from Seſſion to Seſſion, in the Cauſe of Liberty, and in Behalf of the People, and to ſpeak, act, and even think according to his Direction only, is to enrol one's ſelf a Dupe; and to place no Confidence in Profeſſions, to pay no Regard to the Endeavours of thoſe, who ſtand forth as our Friends, Advocates, and Deliverers, argues a ſullen, inſenſible, ſordid Heart, and may contribute, ſuch is the Frailty and Inconſiſtency of human Nature, to turn a Guardian into a Betrayer.

The middle Way between theſe two Extremes is certainly the beſt. Every Attempt to ſerve the Publick, from whatever Motive ariſing, ſhould be received with due Acknowledgment; and no Man ought to give up his Conſcience to Authority, without Conviction.

But Perfection or Infallibility was never yet beſtow'd on Man; and too much Jealouſy is far more pardonable in Government Affairs, than too much Credulity.

The Office of a King and a Preſerver ſhould be the ſame; and our Laws preſume the King of *Great Britain* to be no more. But they are far from leaving it to his Courteſy, whether he will be contented with ſuch a limited Commiſſion or not; on the contrary, they have this political Jealouſy for their very Foundation, and our Sovereigns found their Subjects, as far as human Prudence could provide, hedged in from the Power of their profeſs'd Preſerver, as well as from the Turbulence and Violence of each other.

To be reſtrain'd, however, tho' only from doing Miſchief, was what many of their Majeſties could not bear; to miſtruſt their Goodneſs, forſooth, was an Affront; and to tie their Hands, an Indignity. In conſequence, to enlarge the Prerogative of Royalty, and preſerve the Charter of Liberty intire, became the grand Struggle of the People and their Princes, for many Ages; in which almoſt infinite Sums were expended, and many Legions of gallant Lives were loſt.

At length, however, the Balance turn'd in Favour of the People, as I hope it ever will; who, yet ſmarting with the Wounds which they had received from the Abuſe of kingly Power, thought of nothing but how to ſecure themſelves from the like Miſchiefs for the future.

Shielded from the Incroachments and Oppreſſions of the Monarch, little did they think of becoming the Prey of a Miniſter; and leaſt of all, of being fetter'd by their own Repreſentatives. Parliaments had hitherto been look'd upon as the grand Mound between Tyranny and Anarchy, as a ſovereign Remedy for all Grievances, and an infallible Preſervative of the Health, Spirit and Vigour of the Conſtitution.

Having then, by the Revolution, deliver'd themſelves from what they immediately felt or fear'd; and by the Bill of Rights, as they thought, taken effectual Care of their Poſterity, Oppoſition, it was reaſonably believed, would be heard of no more; and both Governors and Governed, from thence forward, aſſiſt each other mutually, for their mutual Preſervation.

But Ambition and Avarice were ſtill left in the human Heart, and continued to be ſtill as reſtleſs and active as ever. Thoſe who, in the tempeſtuous Times of *Charles* and *James*, had endeavour'd to gather the People under their Wings, now pleaded the Merit of their Services and Sufferings, and finding they had the ſovereign Power at their Diſpoſal, reſolved to be indemnify'd for the one, and rewarded for the other.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, therefore, were no ſooner complimented with the Throne, but their Makers found Ways and Means to ſet their own Price upon their Work, and inſiſt on a punctual Payment.

Accordingly we find almoſt every leading Patriot, ſoon after, transform'd into Placeman and Courtier; but one of the whole Liſt (*Sackville*, who was nominated to be Lord of the Admiralty) having the Grace to refuſe, what he knew his Integrity, and all the Merit of his former Life muſt pay for.

From this remarkable Period it has been no longer the Policy of Courts to contend with, but to influence Parliaments; and on the other hand, aſpiring Men ſeem to have made it their Rule, firſt, to ſhew their Teeth, and growl, as if they were, in very Deed, the Guardians of the Conſtitution, only to

the better Opportunity of wor-
it afterwards.
we never had a Miniſtry, who
not at the Devotion of the
rt, and as the Court was never
hout ſome ſecret Views, which
d not be gratified without giv-
Umbrage to the People, becauſe
mpatible with the publick Inte-
; there has always been Room
Oppoſition; and the incredible
tiplication of Debts, Taxes and
ces has enabled all Miniſters, in
n, to call off their Purſuers;
by dealing out a Portion of the
il, ſecure themſelves an Indem-
.

f, therefore, we have been ren-
d more ſecure from Violence by
Revolution, which, perhaps, is
altogether demonſtrable neither,
have certainly been more expo-
to Corruption than ever. If our
nces oppreſs'd us with a high
nd before, our own R———s
e ſold us to the Spoiler ſince;
the Evils we contract ourſelves,
of all the moſt miſerable.——
us, what our Princes forced from
either of Power or Profit, bears
Proportion to what theſe liberal
tornies of ours have compliment-
them with. K. *James* was the
t of our Princes, who was able to
w together a ſtanding Army in
me of Peace, with a View of
mpelling the People to bear his
ke; nor, without the ſlaviſh
mpliances of his only Parliament,
ld this fatal Precedent ever have
en Place. And as to Grants of
pplies, the levying Ship Money,
at and Conduct Money, Fines for
ighthood, *&c.* bating the Man-
, bear no Compariſon, in Point
real Grievance, to the Effects of
r own aſtoniſhing Prodigality.
The whole Expence of our civil
overnment, the Maintenance of
rmies, the Waſte of War, the Op-
ſſions of arbitrary Power, and all
her additional Impoſitions inclu-
d, from *Nov.* 3, 1640, to *Nov.*
1659, amounted to no more than 95,303,095*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, as may be ſeen by the following Abſtract.

		L.	*s.*	*d.*
Subſidies	——	600000	0	0
The Armies	—	32780721	13	0
Tonnage and Poundage		5700000	0	0
Captives	——	102000	0	0
Sale of *Iriſh* Lands		1322500	0	0
Contributions for *Iriſh* Proteſtants		180000	0	0
Forces for Defence of particular Counties		4141088	8	0
Exciſes	——	10200000	0	0
Duty on Coals	—	850000	0	0
Ditto on Currants	—	51000	0	0
Sequeſtrations of Eſtates		6044924	17	0
Poſtage of Letters		301000	0	0
Wine Licences	—	312200	0	0
Compoſition for Court of Wards		1000000	0	0
Offices to publick Service		850000	0	0
Vintners Delinquency		4000	0	0
Compoſitions for Eſtates		1277226	0	0
Sale of *Engliſh* Lands		25380687	3	11½
Settled out of Gentlemens Eſtates to pay P. *Palatine*		85000	0	0
Compound with *Iriſh* Delinquents		1000000	0	0
Charge of Juſtice, 6 Years		1200000	0	0
To the Houſe of Commons, 14 Years comes to	—	745472	0	0
Free Gifts,	in Money	679800	0	0
	in Offices	306110	0	0
	in Eſtates *p. A.*	189365	0	0
	Total	95303095	1	11½

Which, on a Medium, is about 5,000,000*l. per Annum.*

Whereas, in the regular and Patriot Reign of K. *William*, I ſhould ſay the firſt 12 Years only, *viz.* from *Nov.* 5, 1688, to *Michaelmas*, 1700, we granted, levy'd, and borrow'd, no leſs than 65,987,566*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* as may likewiſe be ſeen in the following Abſtract.

Received on	Cuſtoms —	10997955	6	3½
	Exciſe —	12105151	19	7
	Hearth & L. Mon. *&c.*	1769653	1	4⅔
	Land Tax —	17520100	14	5
	Poll Tax —	2527983	12	9
	Promiſcuous Taxes	7170903	17	9½
	Divers Receipts	466999	1	4
	State of Loans	13348680	5	10¼
	Remain'd *Nov.* 5, 88, with which the Treaſ. began	80138	18	3
	Total	65987566	17	8

Have

Have we been more frugal ſince? I am afraid not. Even under the wiſe, upright, and celebrated Adminiſtration of Lord *Godolphin*, our annual Levies amounted to 6 and ſometimes 7 Millions, a great Part of which was laid out in the Purchaſe of Laurels, for that great Man, his Collegue, the Duke of *Marlborough*.

In the late Reign too, tho' we ſtill groan'd under the Incumbrances left upon us by two ruinous Wars, whether Foreigners or Natives were at Helm, ſtill Pretences were made, and Ways and Means were found, every Seſſion, to fleece us to the Quick; and we became tributary, in Turn, to almoſt every hungry Court in the North; for what Reaſon, will be beſt underſtood at *H*———, *B*———*n*, and *V*———*n*.

That on *Dec.* 1741, the national Debt amounted to 46,956,146*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* ½, is a very ſufficient Proof of the wonderful Œconomy of the late Adminiſtration; and that every C——t Demand has been lately comply'd with, without ſtipulating for the Redreſs of any one material Grievance, is a ſufficient Compliment to the good Breeding and Complaiſance of the preſent.

In few Words, almoſt from the Revolution to the preſent Time, Complaints have been made both of the Sums granted, and of manifold Breaches of Truſt in the Application of thoſe Sums: Almoſt every Perſon likewiſe, who has had the fingering of the publick Money, has either heap'd up, or ſquander'd an Eſtate of far greater Value than the viſible Profits of his Employments; and yet, notwithſtanding thoſe continual Complaints, we have as yet received no Earneſt of Amendment; and notwithſtanding many particular Delinquents have been ſingled out from the Herd, in order to be deliver'd into the Hands of Juſtice, not one of them was ever yet made a publick Example.

The Fox has been unkenn'd, the Cry has been raiſed, the Chase has been continued, and when the Felon has ſeem'd to have been in the very Jaws of Deſtruction, by the Interpoſition of ſome Demon, or Coadjutor, he has moſt miraculously made his Eſcape.

This is the grand Myſtery, Mr. *D'Anvers*, and it behoves every Man *ton* to keep his Attention invariably fix'd on the principal Purſuers, in order to find it out: *Legerdemain Smithfield* may be both innocent and entertaining, but in St. *S*——— C———l it is fatal.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.
SEVERUS.

Common Senſe, June 26. N° 280.

Of the pernicious Cuſtom of telling LIES *in Converſation.*

SIR,

I HOPE you will allow me, by Means of your Paper, to repreſent to the genteel People of both Sexes about Town, the ill Conſequences of a very prevailing Cuſtom amongſt them: I mean that of Lying.——The Lies I would ſpeak of, are not ſo much thoſe which are generally underſtood by the Expreſſion, and tend perhaps to the Ruin of the Perſon's Fortune or Reputation of whom they are raiſed, as thoſe which paſs under the Denominations of white Lies, Figures of Speech, and Embelliſhments to Diſcourſe, and are calculated only to ſet raw ignorant Country Girls, and credulous Fools a ſtaring, and not a Thouſand to one to occaſion them the utmoſt Confuſion, when they come to be the Repeaters of the incredible Stories in more reaſonable Companies. This Practice, as it is an Obſtruction to the Pleaſure of Society, I think falls immediately under your Notice, and therefore I ſhall take the Liberty to give you my Thoughts of it.

n Untruth told for no other End
to preſerve Peace, or put a Stop
e Progreſs of an ill-natur'd Sto-
r for any other laudable Purpoſe,
uld conſent to tolerate, provi-
People would keep within due
ds, and adhere ſtrictly to this
, Never to deviate ever ſo little
Truth, except for ſome very
End, and even then but rarely,
with extreme Caution; for who-
once gives himſelf a Licence
y Things he knows to be falſe,
ny Occaſion, will, it is much
e fear'd, ſoon contract ſuch a
it of it, as will draw him in
ractiſe the ſame Thing, on Oc-
ns where it is not to be tolera-
but I do not intend to conſider
Inconveniences of this Vice in a
ious Way, but merely as it af-
the Communication Men have
each other; and to this I think
uſt appear pretty plain to any
derate Perſon, nothing can be
deſtructive.

nd here it is not enough, that
le mean you no Harm, when
quote your Authority for what
never ſaid, and your Example
Things you never did: Perhaps
may even think they do you
our, by attributing that to you
h they call commendable; but
Man has in this, as in all o-
Things, a Right to judge for
f-lf, and whatever he has not
ght fit to do or ſay, it is moſt
y, he would not chuſe to have
Reputation of; beſides, it often
ens, that People are thus by
applauded for Actions, the
rational and diſcerning Part of
kind would have highly con-
n'd, and themſelves have been
h aſham'd of committing. When
a Perſon is known to have this
nt of appropriating to his Ac-
ntance Sentiments and a Beha-
r, which never had any Reality
in his own Imagination, howe-
deſerving he may be in other

Reſpects, we muſt avoid him for our own Sakes. In this Caſe, the greateſt Puniſhment falls where it is moſt juſtly due, *viz.* on the Offender, but ſtill the injured Perſon is alſo a Sufferer; for ſuppoſing him to be of a generous and humane Diſpoſition, it will coſt him no little Anxiety to give up an Acquaintance, and perhaps one he otherways eſteems, tho' he is even convinc'd, it is neceſſary for his own Security.

I ſhall now ſpeak of thoſe Gentlemen, who deal in the Marvellous, or thoſe Enlargers in Converſation, whoſe ſole Drift is plainly to divert themſelves at the Expence of their Hearers, and who are never more thoroughly happy than when ſurrounded by a Parcel of People, who knowing they have had a better Education than themſelves, liſten with the greateſt Attention, and, whilſt this fine Gentleman is relating a thouſand monſtrous Inventions of his own, fancy they are improving by the Converſation of one who, as the Phraſe is, has ſeen the World. But I would fain know where can be the Pleaſure to one of the leaſt Generoſity, in thus impoſing on People, merely becauſe they put a Confidence in you, and happen not to have travelled; for it is only with ſuch, that this Kind of Diſcourſe will paſs, nor indeed dare a Man offer at it in Company where any body preſent could detect him; in the firſt there is ſomething unworthy of one, who has any Pretenſions to the Character of a Gentleman, and the latter favours much of the Coxcomb, who not having in his Life made any Obſervations worth repeating, or that he could poſſibly hope ſhould engage the Attention of the Company ever ſo little, is obliged to ſupply that Defect by inventing ſomething which, from its Singularity, is to gain him a Hearing he has on no other Account the leaſt Pretence to. But this will not do always,

ways, for by a long Indulgence in this Manner of converſing they contract the Habit ſo ſtrongly, they frequently fall into it unawares, and it is then they meet with a ſuitable Reward: For the Inſtant any Man is known to be famous in this Way, A it is a general Rule either to anſwer him in his own Style, and bamboozle the pretty Fellow in his Turn, or elſe to ſhew no Manner of Regard for any Thing he utters, if it favours ever ſo little of Improbability. By this Means, a Man is either a mere Cypher, or what is much worſe, in all reaſonable Companies; it is therefore greatly to be lamented, that this moſt ridiculous Cuſtom extends further than to ſuch Men, who are in all other Reſpects as unfit as in this for a rational So- C ciety: But there are very many otherways finely-accompliſhed young Men now about this Town, who hurt themſelves greatly, and, whatever they may think, inſenſibly fall under the Contempt of People much their Inferiors by this Practice. I D myſelf formerly knew an Inſtance of this Kind in a young Officer, who had had the moſt polite Education, and might truly be call'd a moſt accompliſh'd Perſon. *Eugenio* (for under that Name I chuſe to conceal his real one) had been abroad, where E he contracted this Habit I have been complaining of; at his Return every body was fond of his Company, and charm'd with his Converſation; but they preſently diſcovered, that he ſeldom related any Fact without ſuch Embelliſhments, as made it F chiefly an Invention of his own to entertain the Company at the Time, and himſelf with their Credulity the Inſtant they parted. This was ſoon communicated amongſt his Acquaintance, who, that they might ſecurely enjoy the Satisfaction of his G Company, jointly reſolved never to rely upon any Thing *Eugenio* ſaid, unleſs atteſted by ſome other Perſon: And as a farther Teſtimony of [illegible] Contempt for, and Diſlike to [illegible] Manner of Talking, whenever [illegible] one of his Acquaintance heard [illegible] improbable Story, they preſently [illegible] led it an *Eugenio*. Thus this [illegible] tho' univerſally beloved, and poſſ[illegible] ed of a thouſand great and amia[illegible] Qualities, had by this idle Cu[illegible] brought his Veracity, in ordi[illegible] Things, ſo much in Queſtion, [illegible] could not gain Credit for any Th[illegible] he ſaid, that was ever ſo little [illegible] of the common Road. For my o[illegible] Part, I do not know a more mo[illegible] fying Circumſtance than this w[illegible] be to me. I ſay nothing of the [illegible] tal Conſequences this is ſometi[illegible] attended with, when Men of [illegible] Hearts and weak Heads find o[illegible] they have been impoſed on, tho' [illegible] is well worth a Retailer of Wo[illegible] ders' while to conſider that too. [illegible] I ſhall obſerve farther, is my M[illegible] thod of treating theſe Sort of Sp[illegible] when they fall in my Way, wh[illegible] is to hear them for my own Que[illegible] Sake, and then aſſure them, th[illegible] where I come to relate the Story [illegible] Fact, or whatever they have be[illegible] ſaying, I ſhall infallibly quote th[illegible] Authority for what I ſay. This M[illegible] thod I have long found ſucceſ[illegible] and if every Man would do th[illegible] ſame, I am of Opinion, it would [illegible] Time diminiſh the Number of th[illegible] Wonder-Mongers; for one of th[illegible] chief Views is to have you rep[illegible] what they tell you, as your ow[illegible] and ſo be laugh'd at, or perh[illegible] worſe treated, for endeavouring [illegible] impoſe on your Friends. Now wh[illegible] they hear their own Names are [illegible] be called in Queſtion in whate[illegible] Company you repeat their Abſur[illegible] ties, they are often glad to reca[illegible] and not only ſo, but aſk your Pa[illegible] don; and what is better than all [illegible] ſides, they ſet you down from th[illegible] Time, as a dangerous Man to p[illegible] the Fool with; and if after th[illegible] they converſe with you at all, it

len ſhould talk to each other, ss all Men ſhall converſe, I give my Word, who mean to have Intercourſe with,

SIR,

ur moſt obedient humble Servant,
TOM. TELL-TRUTH.

iverſal Spectator, June 26. N° 716.

Of PLEASURE.

r. Spectator,

ave a long Time bore the Character of n *Epicurean*, and a ſtrict Follower of Philoſophy; therefore I take this Opnity to vindicate myſelf. I am ſo far thinking, that Pleaſure ought to be the chief Purſuit of Life, as the *Epi*s think, that I am of Opinion, a con- Application to its Allurements would ally root out the Force of Reaſon and xion: And the Man that buys his Saion at the Expence of Duty or Diſcreis ſure to over-purchaſe: For when e is ſacrificed to Appetite, Repentance follow; and that is an uneaſy Paſſion. nwarrantable Delights have an ill Fare- and deſtroy thoſe that are greater; and main Reaſon why we have Reſtraints pon us is, becauſe an unbounded Liberty undo us. Beſides, Pleaſure, when it Man's chief Purpoſe, diſappoints itſelf; the conſtant Application to it palls the ty of enjoying it. I believe, really, is more Fatigue in a Round of circu- and continued Pleaſures, than in the cution of Buſineſs and Affairs: The yments we purſue, grow ſtaler in the ſſion; and when we have run through , leave us flat and inſipid, ſpent and laboured. It is a fair Inference, there- from hence, That Pleaſure can only be hen purſued with Moderation. As far ealth is kept up, and Melancholy diſed, by theſe Amuſements, they may be ble enough within a Rule. The End, fore, of Pleaſure is to ſupport the Offi- Life, to relieve the Fatigue of Buſi- and to reward a regular Action. Pleaand Recreation of one Kind or other are tely neceſſary to relieve our Minds and s from too conſtant Attention and La- Indeed, the Uſe of Wiſdom ſtands in ering our Pleaſures. There are ſome ſo or ſo timorous, that they avoid all Di- ons, and dare not but abandon lawful hts, for fear of offending: Theſe are Tyrants, if not Tyrants, to themſelves, and they pretend a mortified Strictneſs, are ous to their own Liberty, and to the Li-

berality of their Maker. We ſhould learn firſt, by a juſt Survey, to know the due and lawful Bounds of Pleaſure, and then beware either to go beyond a known Boundary, or, in the Licence of our Deſires, remove it. ——But a Man ſhould not abſtain from the Appearances of Mirth and Pleaſantry, for fear of being thought a carnal Man, or a Spendthrift: It is entertaining wrong Notions of Things, out of a ſuperſtitious Fear; as if Mirth was made for Reprobates, and Chearfulneſs of Heart denied thoſe who are the only Perſons that have a proper Title to it. It is not the Buſineſs of Virtue or Religion to extirpate the Affections of the Mind, but regulate them; they may moderate or reſtrain, but were not deſign'd to baniſh Gladneſs from the Heart of Man. True Religion and Virtue contracts the Circle of our Pleaſures, but leaves it wide enough for her Votaries to expatiate in. The Practice of true Religion and Virtue are, in their own Nature, ſo far from excluding all Gladneſs of Heart, that they are perpetual Sources of it. In a Word, the true Spirit of Virtue and Religion clears, as well as compoſes, the Soul; it baniſhes indeed all Levity of Behaviour, all vicious and diſſolute Mirth; but in Exchange, fills the Mind with perpetual Serenity, uninterrupted Chearfulneſs, and an habitual Inclination to pleaſe others, as well as to be pleas'd in itſelf. If Men would live (ſaid a learned Divine) as Religion requires they ſhould do, the World would be a quiet Habitation: And the true Reaſon why the Societies of Men are ſo full of Tumult and Diſorder, is, becauſe there is ſo little true Religion among them. So that if it were not for ſome Remainders of Piety and Virtue, which are yet ſcatter'd amonſt Mankind, Human Society would, in a ſhort Time, diſband and run into Confuſion; the Earth would grow wild and become a great Foreſt; and Men would turn Beaſts of Prey one towards another. *Indecent Feuds and Hoſtilities have been, of old, the Reproach of Human Kind*, ſays *Juvenal*; and Mr. *Dryden* has ſome Lines to this Purpoſe:

O wretched man! in what a miſt of life,
Inclos'd with dangers, and with noiſy ſtrife,
He ſpends his little ſpan! and overfeeds
His cramm'd deſires with more than nature needs.
For nature wiſely ſtints our appetite,
And craves no more than undiſturb'd delight;
Which minds, unmix'd with cares and fears, obtain,
A ſoul ſerene, a body void of pain.

We have receiv'd an Optical Diſſertation *from* Ipſwich, *which ſhall be in our next.*

LUCY *and* COLIN.

I.

OF *Leinſter*, fam'd for maidens fair,
Bright *Lucy* was the grace;
Nor e'er did *Liffy*'s limpid ſtream
Reflect ſo fair a face.
Till luckleſs love, and pining care,
Impair'd her roſy hue,
Her coral lips, and damaſk cheeks,
And eyes of gloſſy blue.

II.

Oh, have you ſeen a lily pale,
When beating rains deſcend?
So droop'd the ſlow-conſuming maid,
Her life now near its end.
By *Lucy* warn'd, of flattering ſwains
Take heed, ye eaſy fair:
Of vengeance due to broken vows,
Ye perjur'd ſwains, beware.

III.

Three times, all in the dead of night,
A bell was heard to ring;
And ſhrieking at her window thrice,
The raven flap'd his wing.
Too well the love-lorn maiden knew
The ſolemn boding ſound,
And thus, in dying words, beſpoke
The virgins weeping round.

IV.

I hear a voice you cannot hear,
Which ſays, I muſt not ſtay;
I ſee a hand you cannot ſee,
Which beckons me away.
By a falſe heart, and broken vows,
In early youth I die:
Am I to blame, becauſe his bride
Is thrice as rich as I?

V.

Ah, *Colin!* give not her thy vows,
Vows due to me alone;
Nor thou, fond maid, receive his kiſs,
Nor think him all thy own.
To-morrow in the church to wed,
Impatient, both prepare;
But know, fond maid; and know, falſe man,
That *Lucy* will be there.

VI.

There bear my corſe, ye comrades, bear,
The bridegroom blithe to meet;
He in his wedding-trim ſo gay,
I in my winding-ſheet.
She ſpoke, ſhe dy'd;—her corſe was borne,
The bridegroom blithe to meet;
He in his wedding-trim ſo gay,
She in her winding-ſheet.

VII.

Then what were perjur'd *Colin*'s thoughts?
How were thoſe nuptials kept?
The bridemen flock'd round *Lucy* dead,
And all the village wept.
Compaſſion, ſhame, remorſe, deſpair,
At once his boſom ſwell;

The

LUCIA & CORYDON.

I.

QUas, *Venerum ſæcunda parens*, Lucia *formarum gloria*, *ſiſque ſui*.
Ora nec aſpectu tam læta & pulchra Mo
Flumine de liquido pura reflexit aqua.
Sed dolor & curæ, lætabile quicquid, abe
Egregium ſenſim diminuêre decus;
Sed deceptus amor carptim privavit ocellos
Gemmis, coraliis labra, roſaſque genas.

II.

Vidiſtin' (quin ſæpe vides!) ut languida mo
Lilia, quæ ſubitæ prægravat imber opi
Lanto ſic periit tabo, ſis palluit illa,
Ad finem extremo jam properante die.
Hoc monitæ exemplo, blandos fallacis amanti,
Credula vos nymphæ corda, timete dolos!
Diſcite, vos juvenes, læſam quàm certa dea
Vindicta inſequitur, quàm gravis ira, fi

III.

Tinnitu ſonuit terno campanula, cuncta
Nocte intempeſtâ cum ſiluere loca.
Terque alâ increpitans cornix, roſtroque ſinu
Pulſans, lethales edidit ore ſonos.
Accepit, novitque omen, bene conſcia virgo
Fati, feralis quod recinebat avis;
Et moriens nymphis circum lachrymantibus ip
Sic ſuper exequiis illachrymata ſuis.

IV.

Vocem ego, quam vobis non eſt audire, jube
Audio, maturem præcipitemque fugam.
Dextram ego, quam vobis non eſt ſpectare, vo
Specto, ne fingam quid meditere mali.
In primæ moror ſucciſa ben! flore juventæ,
Pectoris infidi capta puella dolo.
Idne æquum & fas eſt vitio mihi vertere, ſ
Quòd minor eſt longè dos mea dote tua?

V.

Vota mihi, juvenis, ſoli mihi credita, nullâ
Oh! alienari conditione ſinas.
At neque tu, virgo, blandè nunc oſcula dantem,
Quòd tuus eſt hodie, dixeris eſſe tuum.
Jungere cras dextræ dextram properatis utra
Et tardè interea creditis ire dies.
Credula quin virgo, juvenis quin perfide, uno
Scite, quòd & pacti Lucia teſtis eri.

VI.

Exangue ob! illuc, comites, deferte cadaver,
Quà ſemel ob! iterum congrediamur, ait;
Veſtibus ornatus ſponſalibus ille, caputque
Ipſa ſepulchrali vincta pedeſque ſuâ.
Dixit, & occubuit—delatum exangue cadav
Quà ſemel in longum congrederentur, erat;
Veſtibus ornatus ſponſalibus ille, caputque
Illa ſepulchrali vincta pedeſque ſuâ.

VII.

Quo thalamos ritu credas celebrarier ibu!
Ut Corydon *animi diſcruciatus erat!*
Lucia *ubi exanimis jacuit, cœlere juventus,*
Et tota in fletus villa ſoluta fuit.
Extemplo juvenem pudor, ira, inſania, laſſat
Diſtrahit, & furiis exagitatus amor;

e damps of death bedew'd his brows,
ſhook, he groan'd, he fell.

VIII.

m the vain bride, (ah bride no more!)
The varying crimſon fled;
en, ſtretch'd before her rival's corſe,
She ſaw her huſband dead.
to his *Lucy*'s new-made grave,
Convey'd by trembling ſwains,
e mould with her, beneath one ſod,
For ever now remains.

IX.

at this grave, the conſtant hind
And plighted maid are ſeen;
h garlands gay, and true-love knots,
They deck the ſacred green.
, ſwain forſworn, whoe'er thou art,
This hallow'd ſpot forbear;
member *Colin*'s dreadful fate,
And fear to meet him there.

Pallidaque humectans gelidis ſudoribus ora,
Perfidiæ ingemuit conſcius, & cecidit.

VIII.

Conjugis a vultu, nec jam ultra conjugis, omnis
Purpura continuo fugit, & omnis honos:
Rivalem & ſponſum, extenſum cum corpore corpus,
Funera cùm vidit procubuiſſe duo.
Virginis ad tumulum deſertæ ille, oſſibus oſſa
Mixturus, juvenum lugubre ſertur onus.
Idem nunc reſtat ſub eodem cæſpite pulvis,
Unaque cum nymphâ contumulatur humus.

IX.

Sæpius hunc viſunt, qui numina juſta verentur;
Cum fidâ pariter virgine fidus amans.
Textilibus ſertis, vittiſque in mutua nexis,
Sæpius hunc ſignant condecorantque locum.
Sed quicunque fidem dederis, nec fœdere certo
Servatam, à ſacro cæſpite ſiſte gradum.
Quod ſubiit Corydon *fatum, memor eſto; nec illic*
Te triſti occurſu terreat umbra, cave.

Imitation of ANACREON. *ODE* XXIII.

OULD golden plenty e'er prevail
My drooping life to ſave;
ld riches e'er a med'cine prove
To keep me from the grave;
theſe as honey'd ſweets I'd ſeek,
ndefatigable as the bee;
theſe, the buſy ant I'd trace,
And learn frugality:
at if grim Death ſhould e'er approach
To haſte my fleeting hours,
bribe him with a golden purſe,
Then ſhew him out of doors.
ſince not all the coſtly ſpoils
From *Africk*'s diſtant ſhore,
all the gems that *India* boaſts,
Can add one minute more;
y ſhou'd I then in heavy notes
Thus ſigh and thus complain?
y ſhou'd I ſeek ſuch glitt'ring toys,
And ſeek but ſtill in vain?
e me, ye gods, with generous wine
To crown the live-long day;
give me with each pleaſant friend
To talk the hours away:
n let my charming *Chloe* too
e but as kind as fair;
cheriſh love's tranſporting flame,
And never know deſpair.

To BELINDA.

OONER ſhall *S—n* quit the patriot cauſe,
Ev'n *M——y*'s eloquence diſgrace the laws;
venal boroughs uncorrupt commence,
Sips unletter'd borrow plans from ſenſe:
—r, unlearn the ſubtle laws of chance,
And forget the movements of her dance:
—y deſiſt with myſteries to ſport,
honour fix her reſidence at *court*:
The 'Change deteſt the golden *frauds* of *trade*
And *piety* be learnt at *maſquerade*:
2—— with joy their tenths to *Levi* bring,
Muſti's crack jokes and *burgomaſters* ſing:
Ev'n ———'s bankrupt politicks ſucceed,
And ——— unpenſion'd *for Britannia* bleed;
Ev'n truth ſhall lie, nay, knotted oaks ſhall move,
Than I perfidious to *Belinda* prove.

In Imitation of the firſt ſix Verſes of the hundred and thirty ſeventh Pſalm.

1.

AS near *Sabrina*'s bord'ring ſhade,
I told my ſecret, am'rous care,
Ideas of th' inchanting maid
Forc'd down my cheek the ſi'ent tear.
The muſe could pleaſe no more, the lyre unſtrung,
On zephir-bending willows, careleſs hung.

2.

When lo! my little conq'ror came,
Attune (ſhe cries) attune thy lyre!
Neglected why thy *Cælia*'s name,
Whoſe charms excite intenſe deſire?
But how can fancy flow, can numbers move,
While ev'ry ſenſe is chain'd, and chain'd by love?

3.

To hear, my *Cælia*, hear my vow,
Thy gracious ear incline;
If I thy influ'nce diſallow,
Or prize a form but thine;
Then may my lyre, in jarring diſcord, tell,
Each artleſs ſwain's does *Strephon*'s hand excel.

4.

When the full bowl, ſole bane of care!
Gives mirth and wit to ſhine,
If I preſer another fair,
Or name a health but thine,
Then may my tongue to love its aid deny,
And liveliest thoughts in ideot utt'rance die!

To MERCATOR, *on a Country Life.*

FRIEND, if in town you think to ſpend your life,
Know, you are doom'd to everlaſting ſtrife;
For as ten thouſand tongues are tattling there,
In the vaſt ſcandals you muſt feel your ſhare.
But in the country, as but few are nigh,
The ſtream of life glides on with harmony;
Peace ſmiles on ev'ry roſy hour of light,
And peace illumes the ſullen gloom of night.
Such are the noiſy hurries of the town,
Where's the one minute you can call your own?
Would your eye roll within, and meditate
The mighty moment of a future ſtate,
A tide of mortal cares at once would roll,
And quench the kindling purpoſe of your ſoul.
Beſides, the country beſt enſures your health,
(Bleſſing ſuperior to a world of wealth.)
The wholſome gale will make the purple flood
Play free and eaſy thro' its winding road;
And where conſumptions pall'd the cheek before,
New life and vigour ſhed their bloomy pow'r.
In town unnumber'd illneſſes reſort,
'Tis there they keep an unmoleſted court,
The dire diſeaſes that are waſting there,
Are countleſs as the pompous buildings are;
And groſs as ſmokes that o'er the Cockney ſpread,
Hang the diſeaſes black'ning o'er his head.
Laſtly, when heav'n our great forefather made,
He bids his reſidence be *Eden*'s ſhade,
Conſcious that tinkling rills, and verdant bow'rs,
Would ſhed the choiceſt comforts on his hours,
And beſt excite him to adore the name,
Whence his young being, and his bleſſings came.

JUVENIO.

On the DEITY. *By a Diſſenting Clergyman at* Briſtol.

GOD's vaſt exiſtence ne'er decays,
His age does never grow;
Paſt, preſent, future, in his ſight,
Are one eternal *Now*.

Man meaſures out his fleeting ſtate,
By motions in the ſkies,
And like his own frail veſture wears,
With ev'ry hour that flies.

Succeſſive moments make our day,
Succeſſive days our year;
The moments paſt ſhall ne'er return,
Tho' ſeaſons like appear.

Still a new ſpring ſhall bleſs the earth,
And a new harveſt riſe;
But the laſt year ſhall ne'er again
Reviſit mortal eyes.

Old *Time* with his keen-pointed ſcythe,
Conſumes the life of man,
Our periods leſs'ning from the hour,
Our beings firſt began.

Each year fulfils ſome new event,
Heaven long decreed before,
Removes unnumber'd lives away,
And gives unnumber'd more.

Soon ſhall th' appointed angel ſtand
O'er earth and air and ſea,
And ſwear by him that ever lives,
Time ſhall no longer be.

Then ſhall the league of nature ceaſe,
The ſun forſake his way,
And years and ages loſe their names,
In one *eternal day*.

Lewen's Mead, May 5, 1742.

The LOUVRE EPIGRAM.

NON orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ulla,
Urbſve domum, dominum nec domus ulla parem.

PARAPHRAS'D.

NOT all the world, to *Europe* yet unveal'd,
So fam'd a nation as the *French* can yield:
Not all the nations, tho' for wealth renown'd,
So fair a city in their ample round:
Not all the cities, to the wond'ring eye,
So proud a palace as * *Verſailles* ſupply:
And ſure no palace, *Louis*, but thy own
Receives a prince ſo worthy of a throne.

Poole. *H. PRICE.*

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I Should be glad, if in your next *Magazine* you'll inſert the following Lines. They are indeed the happy Produce of Dr. *Swift*'s Brain; but as they are now by no Means agreeable to the Times, a Repetition cannot be judged improper.

Your very humble Servant.
R. P.

A Hare had long eſcap'd purſuing hounds,
By often ſhifting into diſtant grounds,
Till finding all his artifices vain;
To ſave his life he leapt into the main.
But there, alas! he could no ſafety find;
A pack of dog-fiſh had him in the wind:

* *If the Reader would ſee a more particular Deſcription of this noble Pile of Building, I refer him to* Morery's *Dictionary.*

ours away; and to avoid the foe,
nds for ſhelter to the ſhades below:
Cerberus lay watching in his den,
ad not ſeen a hare the lord knows when.
ounc'd the maſtiff of the triple head;
the hare with double ſwiftneſs fled.
ed from earth and ſea, and hell, he flies,
lent him wings, for ſafety to the ſkies.
was the fearful animal diſtreſt!
d a foe more fierce than all the reſt:
, the ſwifteſt of the heavenly pack,
but an inch to ſeize him by the back.
ed to earth, but firſt it coſt him dear,
ft his ſcut behind, and half an ear.
us was the hare purſu'd, tho' free from guilt; [thou wilt.
B— ſhalt thou be mawl'd, fly where
, honeſt *Robin*, of thy corpſe beware;
art not half as nimble as a hare:
pond'rous in thy bulk to mount the ſky,
can you go to hell before you die.
een thy hunters, and thy ſcent ſo ſtrong,
turns and doublings cannot ſave thee long.

the Memory of RICH[illegible]D WEST, *Eſq*; *who died at* Popes *in* [illegible]*ordſhire, June* 1742, *after a tedious and painful Indiſpoſition, in the 26th Year of his Age.*

WHILE ſurfeited with life each hoary knave
ws here immortal, and eludes the grave;
virtues prematurely met their fate,
mp'd in the limit of too ſhort a date.
hy mind, not exercis'd ſo oft in vain,
ealth was gentle, and compos'd in pain:
ceſſive trial ſtill refin'd thy ſoul,
plaſtick patience perfected the whole.
friendly aſpect, not ſuborn'd by art;
eye, which look'd the meaning of thy heart; [fraught,
ongue, with ſimple truth and freedom
faithful index of thy honeſt thought.
hy pen diſdain'd to ſeek the ſervile ways
partial cenſure, and more partial praiſe;
o' ev'ry tongue it flow'd in nervous eaſe,
h ſenſe to poliſh, and with wit to pleaſe.
o lurking venom from thy pencil fell;
ne was the kindeſt ſatire, living well:
vain, the looſe, the baſe, might bluſh to ſee, [ſhould be.
what thou wert, what they themſelves
et me not charge on Providence a crime,
o ſnatch'd thee, blooming, to a better clime;
raiſe thoſe virtues in a higher ſphere,
ues, which only could have ſtarv'd thee here.

A Neceſſary RULE *for Converſation.*

WHenever *Solon* 'mongſt the crowd appear'd,
Greeks were ſtruck with virtues ſo rever'd;
The tongue, no looſe, no trivial mirth, profan'd,
The very thoughts of vice his preſence rein'd:
And *Socrates*, if they but heard his name,
The greateſt libertines confeſs'd their ſhame.
Such power have virtue's moſt reſplendent beams,
To wake the guilty wretch from ſordid dreams.
Three gentle youths, all hum'rous, blithe and gay, [day;
With flowing bowls had wing'd the joyous
The joke was crack'd, the jeſt ſo glibly flew,
And all their ſtock of wit allur'd the view;
Till the too-potent fumes o'erflow'd the brain,
And every ſober dictate render'd vain;
Then, as is oft the caſe, from pureſt law
Abſurdeſt conſequence they each would draw,
The heavenly precept ſcorningly diſown,
And e'en inſult their great Creator's throne.
Then 'roſe *Sophronius*, virtuous, good and ſage,
And mildly forceful, thus reprov'd their rage.
'Exempt from trivial talk, and light debate,
'Your Maker, virtue, and a future ſtate.
'In other things with mirth you may behave,
'But always be on theſe ſedate and grave.
'Rather than here irreverence admit,
'Suppreſs the thought, and check the ſallying wit,
'Leſt, if you mingle ſacred with profane,
'Your preſent pleaſure prove a future pain.'
See, of their madneſs cur'd, the headſtrong fools
Bleſs the wiſe ſeer, and hail his golden rules.
E.

SOLUTION *of the* RIDDLE *in our laſt, p.* 252, *in the Manner of* Sternhold *and* Hopkins.

YOUR lines, ſo turn'd t'amuſe the thought,
With pleaſure we explore;
Your whim, ſo well bedeck'd and wrought,
We view, Sir, o'er and o'er.

Nor quibbles can, or puns conceal'd,
The wiſh'd ſolution hinder;
For, by theſe preſents 'tis reveal'd,
That SMOCKS are oft made TINDER.

But HOLLAND's fate! a fate like this!
Maids, ne'er will hap to you,
If fond of paths that lead to bliſs,
All vice you will eſchew.

The wretch inflam'd by pride and luſt
Will, or the devil's in't,
Soon loſe to pleaſure, edge and guſt,
And need a STEEL and FLINT. *E.*

The TRUE BRITON: Or, *The* POET *to the* PAINTER, *in Anſwer to the* Amazon.

Ut pictura poeſis erit. HOR.

WOU'D you paint the charming fair,
Form'd to ſooth my riſing care,
Let

Let her perſon graceful be,
——She's the only girl for *me*.

Let her features all expreſs
Beauty, love, and tenderneſs;
Let her face and mind agree,
——She's the only girl for *me*.

She, whoſe radiant eyes impart
Comfort, to the captive heart;
Where we pow'r and pity ſee,
——She's the only girl for *me*.

Silken ſmiles, and dimple ſleek,
Tincture on her blooming cheek;
Let all art a ſtranger be,
——She's the only girl for *me*.

In whoſe lovely form we find
All that's courteous, all that's kind;
From affected vapours free,
——She's the only girl for *me*.

If on earth a nymph there dwell
Who doth thus her ſex excel,
Wiſe, and virtuous, fair, and free,
——Brighteſt *Billa!* thou art ſhe.

CORYDON.

The Modeſt Queſtion, *ſet by Mr.* Ruſſel, *anſwer'd: By a fair Moraliſt of Quality.*

A SONG.

DIRE love ſhou'd be check'd by advice,
When nymphs of diſcernment agree,
Falſe *Damon!* that *Molly*'s unwiſe
In owning a fondneſs for thee!

Quite ſage are the maids who deſpiſe
The joys thou allur'ſt them to taſte;
Who doubt all thy oaths and thy ſighs,
And ſwift from thy blandiſhments haſte.

Bright wiſdom will leſſen their cares;
Feign'd love will depreſs ev'ry joy,
Will bring them, too ſoon, to gray hairs;
Too late make them wiſh they'd been coy.

Then, *Molly*, be wiſe; nor give way
To joys will make thy blood run cold;
Will ſnatch all thy comforts away,
And ſoon make thee wrinkled and old.

The Diſappointed FRIAR.

FRIAR *John* in his cell made his exit of late,
By the gravel, ſome ſay; but no matter for that:
He dy'd; that's enough; and, if ſtory ſays right,
Was ſoon at hell's gate in a pitiful plight.
Who comes there? ſays the demon on guard; quoth the other,
A guilty poor prieſt, Sir, a catholick brother.
Halt, inſtantly halt, cries the ſentry, ſtand clear,
Go, be damn'd ſomewhere elſe, thou ſhalt ne'er enter here;
I'll truſt none ſo ſavage, no wretch ſo uncivil,
Who above eat his God, may below eat the devil.

To the Lady E————N, *with a* ROSE.

HOW tranſient is the faireſt face!
Soft beauty's gayeſt charms how vain!
This roſe, dear *Cloe*, lately ſhone
The brighteſt glory of the plain:
It bloſſom'd like the ruddy morn,
All pregnant with etherial dew,
Diffus'd ambroſial ſweets around,
And bluſh'd almoſt as bright as you.
Alas! how chang'd its damaſk pride!
Ah! where is now that ſoft perfume?
That glow that ſwell'd the arched leaf,
The orient dye, the fragrant bloom?
All ſhrivel'd, faded, and decay'd,
Now drooping low its pallid head,
No longer grateful to the ſenſe,
All its bright glories now are fled.
'Tis thus, dear *Cloe*, thus thy charms,
Now ſhining like the new-born day,
Each ſplendid blooming grace ſhall loſe,
And like this wither'd roſe decay.
That ſnowy ſkin, thoſe killing eyes,
Muſt periſh with the circling years;
Old age with hoary hairs comes on,
And every beauty diſappears.
Learn then with charms to deck thy mind,
Thoſe graces that can ne'er decay,
Nor feel the waſteful hand of time,
Nor fall the flying age's prey.
The beauties of the mind alone,
Still verdant in eternal bloom,
No baneful change of ſeaſons know,
Nor with the froſt of age conſume.
But in immortal youth ſhall live,
When all that gay attracting form,
Which wond'ring mortals now admire,
Shall nouriſh the devouring worm.

EPIGRAMMA.

PHyllida conjugio duxit Cornutus amatam,
Quæ ſecreta ſolet fallere jura tori;
Sed dum dedecoris deluſum fama mariti
Effugit, hæc peccat tuta, nec ille dolet?

ENGLISHED.

CORNUTUS weds the idol *Phyllis*,
But moſtly all on game her will is;
But ſince the ſeat eſcapes his ear,
He's pleas'd himſelf, nor teazes her.

In Mr. Savage's *Poem on* Valentine's *p.* 146, *line* 21, *inſtead of*, *Cloe*'s luſtres *read Cloe*'s luſtre boaſt. *Ibid. line* 45, *of*, Then from a limpid lake, *read* form a limpid lake.

The Genuine Old Maid, *&c. did not come to Hand. We have receiv'd the* Young Moraliſt, *and the* Compariſon, *which ſhall be conſidered.*

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

TOwards the End of last Month, Admiral *Haddock* arriv'd in Town, in an ill State of Health, from *Dartmouth*, at which Place he landed from on board the *Roebuck* Man of War, that brought him from *Mediterranean*. He left the Fleet in good er under the Command of Admiral ock. (See p. 255.)

unday, *May* 30, being the Birth-Day of Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Amelia*, alſo of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *line*, when the former enter'd into the Year of her Age, and the latter into 30th, his Majeſty receiv'd the Compli-ts of the Nobility and Gentry on that ſion.

WEDNESDAY, *June* 2.

Liſle and *Sidney* ſtood in the Pillory near *Opera-Houſe*, for defrauding ſome Gentle-n at a Maſquerade with falſe and loaded . (See our *Magazine* for 1741, p. 252.

FRIDAY, 4.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, when two following Perſons receiv'd Sentence Death, *viz.* *Thomas Miller*, of *Twicken-*, for the Murder of his Wife: And *Mich.* *nt*, for the Murder of *Alice Buckley*.

The ſame Day the Sheriffs of this City 'd on the Eſtate and Effects of an emi-t Merchant, who was convicted at the *Baily* for having two Wives.

ame on in the Court of *King's-Bench* in *minſter Hall*, a Cauſe upon an Indictment ſt a Gentleman for winning the Sum of l. at *Hazard*, of another Gentleman, a-ſeven Years ago; when, after a long l, the Jury found the Defendant guilty he Penalty, which is 2500 *l.*

WEDNESDAY, 9.

Court-Martial was held by Admiral *Ca-ſh*, on board his Majeſty's Ship the St. ge at *Spithead*, to enquire into the Con-of Sir *Yelverton Peyton*, late Captain of *Hector*, and of Captain *Fanſhaw*, late ain of the *Phœnix*, during the Time were ſtation'd at *Virginia* and *South Ca-*, from whence they lately return'd to land. The Court adjudg'd Sir *Yelverton* to be diſmiſs'd from ſerving as a Cap-in the Royal Navy; and adjudg'd Capt. *haw* to be mulct'd ſix Months Pay for Uſe of the Cheſt at *Chatham*.

WEDNESDAY, 16.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, gave the Royal Aſſent to the following Bills, *viz.* The Bank Contract Bill.—That for granting 800,000*l.* on Annuities.—The Oath Bill.—That for excluding certain Officers from being Members of the Houſe of Commons.—That for preventing Frauds in Gold and Silver Lace.—That for impowering Juſtices to commit Offenders to the Houſe of Correction.—The *Ledbury* and *Portſmouth* Road Bills. And to ſeveral private Bills.

As his Majeſty was coming down *Conſtitution-Hill* in St. *James's-Park*, the fore Wheel of his Coach came off, and let it down to the Ground, but it did not overturn, or do any Hurt; and the State Coach being ſent for from St. *James's*, his Majeſty got into it, and then went to the Houſe of Peers.

One *Riglesworth*, alias *Smith*, was committed to *Newgate* by the Aldermen *Billers* and *Rouſe*, for robbing the Mail of the *Wiſbech* Bag, and taking out ſeveral Bills of Exchange and Bank Notes; one of which was taken upon him.

SATURDAY, 19.

John Bloſs, Eſq; Citizen and Haberdaſher, and an eminent Stationer in *Pater-noſter-Row*, who was nominated by the Lord Mayor to be Sheriff of this City and County of *Middleſex*, paid his Fine of 400*l.* and 20 Marks, to be excuſed ſerving that Office. As did about the ſame Time *Richard Symonds*, Eſq; and *Charles Polhill*, Eſq; and Sir *Philip Hall* and *Thomas Longman*, Eſq; ſoon after.

Admiral *Mattbews*, we were told, in his Paſſage to join the Fleet, had the good Luck to take ſeveral *French* and *Spaniſh* Ships, and among the reſt one on board of which was 15,000 Pieces of Eight.

By Letters from *Ville-Franche*, dated *June* 2, we had an Account, that Admiral *Mattbews* had detach'd Admiral *Leſtock*, with 17 of the largeſt Ships, upon a ſecret Expedition; that Admiral *Mattbews* was to remain there; and that there were 5000 *Spaniſh* Horſe and 10,000 Foot at *Antibes*, with Don *Philip*, who were under the greateſt Perplexity how they ſhould proceed to *Italy*.

Letters from Admiral *Mattbews* gave an Account, that a *French* Man of War paſſing in Sight of the Fleet, and refuſing to pay the Compliment to the Flag, the Admiral had fir'd at him to bring to; but the Commander perſiſting in his Obſtinacy, a Man of War was order'd out to force him to good Manners, who pouring a Broadſide into him, ſunk him directly.

MONDAY, 21.

The Lightning this Night ſet fire to a Tree

Tree in *Hampton Court Houſe Park*, which continued burning till the next Morning; and alſo made two Holes near the Bottom of the Tree, as if bored through; and beat two Tufts of Graſs from off the Ground near it, into the Holes, in a ſurprizing Manner. And from *St. Ives* in *Huntingdonſhire*, we had an Account, that two Children, with ſeveral Sheep, and other Cattle, were kill'd by the Lightning which happen'd there about the ſame Time.

Came on to be tried, before the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Juſtice *Willes*, at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, a Cauſe wherein Mr. *Benjamin Champion*, a Maſter Weaver in *Spittlefields*, was Plaintiff, againſt *Samuel Jackſon*, an Attorney, Defendant, for Silk and other Goods which were entruſted by the Plaintiff with a Journeyman of his, (who rented a Houſe of the Defendant) to be manufactured for the Plaintiff, which Silk and Goods the Defendant had diſtrain'd for the Rent of the ſaid Houſe; and after a fair Trial, the Jury found a Verdict for the Plaintiff, and gave him the Value of his Silk, *&c.* together with Coſts of Suit, it being adjudg'd that the ſame were not diſtrainable for Rent in the Hands of the Journeyman.

TUESDAY, 22.

Walter Bernard, Eſq; an eminent Packer in *St. Helens*, and one of the Common Council Men of *Biſhopſgate* Ward, was unanimouſly elected Alderman of *Broad ſtreet* Ward, in the Room of *Charles Ewer*, Eſq; deceaſed.

THURSDAY, 24.

Came on the Election of Sheriffs, for the City of *London* and County of *Middleſex*, for the enſuing Year, when *Charles Eggleton*, Eſq; and *Stamp Brookſbank*, Eſq; were choſen without Oppoſition.

Advice came, that his Majeſty's Ship the *Sheerneſs*, of 20 Guns, commanded by Capt. *Ward*, had taken and carried into *Jamaica*, a large and very rich *Spaniſh* Ship, call'd the *N. S. del Roſaria*, bound from *Cadiz* to *Vera-Cruz*, ſaid to have 20 Tons of Quickſilver on board, and other valuable Goods, to the Amount in the Whole of 50,000*l.*

A Proclamation was iſſued out for taking off the Prohibition on *Spaniſh* Wool and Barilla.

SATURDAY, 26.

This Morning died of a violent Fever, the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Godſcball*, Knt. Lord Mayor of *London*, and one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the ſaid City. (See, concerning the Circumſtances of his coming to the Chair, our *Mag.* for 1741, p. 515.) The ſame Day it was ordered by the *Locum Tenens* (viz. Sir *John Eyles*, as Father of the City or oldeſt Alderman) and Court of Aldermen, that a Court of Huſtings ſhould be held on *Monday* for the Choice of a new Lord Mayor for the Remainder of the Year. It is remarkable, that *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; died in his ſecond Mayoralty but laſt Year, (ſee *London Mag.* for 1741, p. 152.) which, no Lord Mayor had died in his M[ay]oralty ſince the Revolution; and that ſhould die in two Years ſucceſſively, is more extraordinary.

MONDAY, 28.

George Heathcote, Eſq; and *Robert W[ilk]s*, Eſq; were return'd by the Common-H[all] and the Court of Aldermen choſe former to be Lord Mayor for the rem[ain]ing Part of the Year. He was return[ed] by the Court of Aldermen in the Y[ear] 1740, but generouſly declin'd the H[on]our in Favour of Sir *Robert Godſcball*, and [was] at laſt excus'd by the Common Co[un]cil. (See *London Mag.* for 1740, p. 506, 507.)

WEDNESDAY, 30.

Samuel Pennant, Eſq; an eminent *Weſt-India* Merchant, and one of the Common Council Men for *Cheap* Ward, was unanimouſly elected Alderman of *Biſhopſgate* Ward, in the Room of the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Godſcball*, deceaſed.

Extract of a Letter from Leghorn, June [2].

Yeſterday three *Engliſh* Men of War arriv'd here from *Villa Franca*, where they left Admiral *Matthews* with two Ships and having order'd Admiral *Leſtock* on a Cruiſe off of the Iſlands of *Hyeres* with 24 Sh[ips] to watch the *Spaniards* and *French*. In the mean Time he has ſtopt three *French* Ba[rks] with Troops of that Nation, that were [go]ing, as they ſaid, to *Monaco*, a ſmall Pr[in]cipality near *Genoa*; but they would not ſh[ow] their Paſſes, ſo are ſtill detain'd at *Villa Franca*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

DR. *Stonehouſe*, an eminent Phyſician at *Coventry*, to Miſs *Neale*, eldeſt Daughter to *John Neale*, Eſq; late Member of Parl. for the ſaid City, a 15,000*l.* Fortune.

——— *Fouquear*, Eſq; of *Charterhouſe Square*, to Mrs. *Byan*, a Widow Lady of plentiful Eſtate.

——— *Meadows*, Eſq; Son of Sir *Philip Meadows*, Knt. to Miſs *Montague*, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.

Wyndham Beavis, Eſq; an eminent Merchant, to Miſs *Tucker*, of *Fiſh-ſtreet-Hill*.

Hon. *George Lee*, L. L. D. one of the Lords of the Admiralty, to Miſs *Morris*, Daughter of the late *Humphry Morris*, Eſq; a Director of the *Bank*.

Mr. *Seraſe*, of the *Temple*, to Miſs *Turner* of *Great Ruſſel-ſtreet*, a 15,000*l.* Fortune.

Rev. Mr. *John Frankland*, Rector of [Ha]*marden* in *Suſſex*, and Prebendary of *Ch[i]cheſter*, to Miſs *Margaretta Green*, Daughter of the late Biſhop of *Ely*.

William Northey, Eſq; Grandſon to the late Sir *Edw. Northey*, Knt. Attorney General, to Miſs *Vyner*, Daughter to *Rob. Vyner*, Eſq; [one] of the Shire for the County of *Lincoln*.

Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, Bart. to Miſs [Jane] *Turton*.

Rev. Mr. *Richard French*, Rector of ...on in *Norfolk*, and Chaplain to the ...*Orford*, to Miſs *Bowkir*.

Grace the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton* ſafely ... of a Son.

DEATHS.

Peter Hay, Knt. ſometime Provoſt of ...h in *Scotland*.

...rd Lowbridge, Eſq; Receiver Gene... Land Tax for *Worceſterſhire*.

Dr. *Alured Clarke*, Dean of *Exeter*, ...ry of *Weſtminſter* and *Wincheſter*, and ...f *Chilbolton* in *Hampſhire*.

— *Bence*, Eſq; of the *Middle Tem*...riſter at Law.

...ſbley Ewer, Nephew to *Charles Ewer*, ...erman of *Broad-ſtreet* Ward, and a ... Son of the late *Henry Ewer*, of ... in *Surrey*, Eſq; He died of the ...x in the 24th Year of his Age.

...ret Counteſs Dowager of *Lauderdale*, ... to the preſent Earl of *Lauderdale*, ...nd Aunt to the Earl of *Glencairn*, ...burdon in *Scotland*.

Colbourn, Eſq; late Poſt-maſter Ge... *Scotland*, and Lord Provoſt of the *Edinburgh*.

... *Spencer*, Eſq; of *Bolton* in *Lanca*...llector of Exciſe at *Lancaſter*.

... *Hammond*, Eſq; Member of Parlia... *Truro* in *Cornwall*, and one of the ... to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of

Henry Weſterman, of *Walthamſtow* in ...n eminent *Dutch* Merchant of this

Nicholas Tempeſt, Bart. of *Stanley* in ...ty of *Durham*.

... *Deacon*, Lieut. Col. of the Yellow ...t of Train'd Bands, and Collector ...ties on Coals at the Cuſtom-Houſe.

...illiam Gordon, Bart. Member of Par... for the Shires of *Cromartie* and ... *Scotland*.

... *Gape*, Eſq; formerly Repreſenta... Parliament for *St. Alban's*.

Jane Hoare, Mother to *Henry Hoare*, ...mber in the laſt Parliament for *Sa*... and to Mr. Alderman *Hoare*.

... *Freeman*, of *Aſpeden-Hall* in *Hert*... Eſq; who repreſented that County ...ment 33 Years.

... *John Graham*, Fort Major and ...ary of the Stores for *Annapolis Royal* ...ntia.

Dr. *Tyrwhit*, Reſidentiary of St. ...and one of the Canons of *Windſor*; ...ried one of the Daughters of the ...Biſhop of *London*, by whom he has ... ſeven Children.

Boreford, Eſq; of *Charlewood* in ...ſhire, poſſeſs'd of a conſiderable E... *Wiltſhire*, and of a large Fortune in

John Aiſlabie, Eſq; who at the Time of the fatal *South-Sea* Scheme was firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Chancellor and Under Treaſurer of the Exchequer, and one of his late Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council.

Rev. Mr. *Weſley*, Rector of *Berkly* in *Somerſetſhire*, and Prebendary of *Wells*.

Charles Ewer, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Shaftſbury*, and Alderman of *Broad-ſtreet* Ward.

Mr. *Charles Cockburn*, Advocate in *Scotland*, Brother to the Hon. *John Cockburn*, Eſq; one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Mr. *John Cox*, an eminent Wine-Merchant, a Gentleman of Learning and Parts, an excellent Temper, and many other valuable Qualities.

John Baſkett, Eſq; Printer to his Majeſty, aged about 75.

Mr. *Matthew Shelſwell*, an eminent Tallow-Merchant in *Little Moorfields*.

Abraham Atkins, Eſq; an eminent Banker in *Lombard-ſtreet*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

SPENCER *Cowper*, M. A. made Canon or Prebendary of *Canterbury*, in the Room of Dr. *Tenſon*, deceaſed.

Richard Terrick, M. A. made Prebendary of *Windſor*, in the Room of Dr. *Lewis*, deceaſed.

Dr. *Young*, Rector of *Thames-Ditton* in *Surrey*, appointed by the Speaker Chaplain to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, in the Room of the ſaid Mr. *Terrick*.

Dr. *Beſt* preſented to the Rectory of *Kellon* near *Bromly* in *Kent*.

Mr. *Edw. Birbeck*, to the Rectory of *Elvington* in *Yorkſhire*.

Mr. *Roger Phillips*, to the Rectory of *Matſon*, alias *Matteſden*, in *Glouceſterſhire*.

William Bunce, L. L. B. to the Living of St. *Clement's* in *Sandwich*.

Thomas Aſhton, B. A. to the Rectory of *Aldingham* in *Lancaſhire*.

Dr. *Thomas Trotter*, made Vicar General of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, in the Room of Dr. *Debutts*, deceaſed.

Dr. *John Berney*, Rector of *Neteriet* near *Norwich*, made Archdeacon of *Norwich*, in the Room of Dr. *Clarke*, deceaſed.

Mr. *Exton* preſented to the Rectory of *Chilbolton* in *Hants*, vacant by the Death of Dr. *Alured Clarke*.

Dr. *William Holmes* made Dean of *Exeter*, in the Room of the ſaid Dr. *Clarke*.

Mr. *Joſeph Spence*, of *New College*, *Oxford*, appointed his Majeſty's Profeſſor of Modern Hiſtory in that Univerſity, in the Room of Dr. *Holmes*, who reſign'd.

Hon. and Rev. Mr. *Charles Hervey*, Son of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Briſtol*, made a Prebendary of *Ely*, in the Room of Mr. *Chriſtopher Clarke*, deceaſed.

Edmund Gibſon, M. A. Son to the Lord Biſhop of *London*, made Archdeacon of *London* and Prebendary of *Windſor*, in the Room of Dr. *Tyrwhit*, deceaſed.—Mr. *Tho. Tanner*, to the Living of *Chidderſtone* in *Kent*.—*John Creyk*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Eaſt-well* in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*.—Mr. *Ayſham*, to the Livings of St. *Deacaman* in *Somerſetſhire*, and *Kentiſbear* in *Devonſhire*.—Dr. *John Thomas*, Dean of *Peterborough*, made a Canon Reſidentiary of St. *Paul* in the Room of Dr. *Tyrwhit*, deceas'd.—*John Hume*, M. A. made a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, in the Room of the late Dr. *Alured Clarke*.—Mr. *Clement* choſen Lecturer of the United Pariſhes of St. *Stephen Walbrook* and St. *Bennet Sherehog*, upon the Reſignation of Mr. *Biſcoe*.—Mr. *Luke Imber*, to the Vicarage of *North Shobury* in *Eſſex*.—Mr. *Caſewell Winder*, to the Rectory of *Halſted* in *Kent*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

HON. Capt. *Faiſax* appointed Major in the Firſt Troop of Horſe Guards; in the Room of Major *Driver*, promoted Lieut. Col. in the Fourth Troop.—Rt. Hon. Lord *Harry Paulet*, late one of the Lords of the Admiralty, made Deputy Lieut. of the *Tower*, in the Room of Sir *Charles Wills*, Knt. deceas'd.—Lieut. *Geary*, firſt Lieut. of the *Victory*, made Capt. of the *Squirrel*, a 20 Gun Ship.—Rt Hon. the E. of *Hyndford*, his Majeſty's Miniſter at the Court of *Berlin*, made a Knight of the *Thiſtle*, for his Service in accommodating the Differences betwixt the King of *Pruſſia* and the Queen of *Hungary*.—Dr. *Edward Wilmot* made Phyſician in Ordinary to his Majeſty: And Dr. *Benj. Hoadley*, Phyſician in Ordinary to his Majeſty's Houſhold, in the Room of Dr. *Teſſier* deceas'd.—*George Wade*, Eſq; General of Horſe, made Lieut. General of the Ordnance, in the Room of the late Sir *Charles Wills*.—Capt. *Boſcawen*, choſen Member of Parl. for *Truro* in *Cornwall*, in the Room of *James Hammond*, Eſq; deceas'd.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

GEO. *Browne*, of *Froome Selwood*, Clothier.—*Rob. Burchall*, late of *London*, Scrivener and Broker.—*John Farington*, late of *Leiceſter*, Butcher.—*Tho. Gerrard*, late of *Warrington*, Haberdaſher of Small Wares.—*Geo. Mandevile*, of *Great Queen-ſtreet*, Merchant.—*Tho. Bidwell*, of *Cambridge*, Innholder.—*Samuel Godden*, late of *Portſea*, Maltſter.—*John Browne*, now or late of *White Fryars*, Lime-Merchant.—*John Willſon*, of *Kingſton upon Hull*, Shop-keeper.—*John Higgens*, of St. *Paul*, *Covent Garden*, Turner.—*Wm. Stammers*, of *Bury St. Edmund's*, Maltſter.—*Seymour Huſſey*, of *Mincing-Lane*, Merchant and Factor.—*Tho. Jones*, of St. *Margaret*, *Weſtminſter*, Bricklayer.—*John Cheetham*, of *Weſt Leigh* in *Lancaſhire*, Chapman.—*Edw. Auſtin*, of St. *Paul*, *Covent-Garden*, Mercer.—*John Harriſon*, of *Canterbury*, Upholſter.—*Thomas Kennedy*, of *Briſtol*, Linen-draper and Merchant.—*John Purvis*, of [illegible] Coal fitter and Merchant.—*Wm.* [illegible] late of *Manchester*, Grocer.—*Sherborn* of *Piccadilly*, Turner.—*Rich. Cloſe*, [illegible] *bam* in *Surrey*, Innkeeper.—*John* [illegible] *Taviſtocke*, Maltſter.—*Tho. Bake*, of [illegible] *Court*, Brush-maker.—*Matthew* [illegible] *Thames-ſtreet*, Timber-Merchant.—[illegible] *lier*, of *Willſell* in *Netherdale*, *Yorkſhire*, [illegible] ver and Flax-dreſſer.—*Wm. Dockery*, [illegible] *Great Woodhouſe* in the Pariſh of [illegible] County of *York*, Clothier.—*David* [illegible] of the Pariſh of St. *Sepulchre*, *Middleſex*, [illegible] *Wynn Blackman*, late of *Chichester*, Baſket Coal-Merchant.—*Tho. Barret*, of [illegible] Pin-maker.—*Roger Phillips*; late of the [illegible] riſh of *Ludford*, *Salop*, Maltſter.—*Chriſtian*, now or late of *Hatton-Garden* Taylor.—*James Holland*, of *Norwich*, [illegible] fectioner and Dealer in Corn.—*Rob. Cha* [illegible] *ler*, of *Eaſt Bedfont*, *Middleſex*, Carpenter.—*Jordan Bentley*, of the Pariſh of *Stoke* Tanner.—*John Giffard* and *George* [illegible] late of *London*, Merchants and Partners.—*Chriſtopher Beaty*, of *Fleet-Ditch*, Coal-Merchant.—*Joſeph Seare*, of *Ipſwich*, Grocer.—*Tho. Cordeux*, of *Barnby*, *Yorkſhire*, [illegible] —*Benjamin Rutter*, of *Briſtol*, Bellows-maker and Brush-maker.—*Peregrin D'Oyly* *Norwich*, Linen-draper.—*Thomas Wright* *Norwich*, Dyer and Coal-Merchant.—*White*, of St. *Clement Danes*, Brickmaker.—*William Newman* the younger, of [illegible] Mealman.—*James Chevalier*, of [illegible] Buildings, Peruke-maker.

Abſtract of the *London* [illegible] BILL, from *May*. 25. to [illegible]

Chriſtned	Males	525	[illegible]
	Females	463	
Buried	Males	962	[illegible]
	Females	986	
Died under 2 Years old			
Between	2 and 5		
	5 10		
	10 20		
	20 30		
	30 40		
	40 50		
	50 60		
	60 70		
	70 80		
	80 90		
	90 and upwards		

Hay 70 to 72l. 2 Load.

SINCE our laſt, we have had the Account of the Battle of *Czaſlow* or *Chotuſitz* between the *Auſtrians* and *Pruſſians* publiſhed at *Vienna*, by which it appears, that the *Pruſſian* Horſe were entirely defeated by thoſe of *Auſtria*, but the latter purſuing their Advantage too far, and the Soldiers having employed themſelves in plundering the *Pruſſian* Camp, gave the Enemy Time to recover, ſo that the *Auſtrians* were at laſt obliged to retire in a ſlow and orderly Manner, behind the River of *Czaſlow*, where they again drew up in order of Battle, and marched from thence to the Camp at *Willimow*. By this Account the *Auſtrians* compute their Loſs at 2000 killed and wounded; but the Enemy's Loſs is much greater, eſpecially in their Cavalry, the *Auſtrians* having found after the Retreat that they had taken 3000 Horſes from the Enemy.

Whatever may be the Caſe, with reſpect to the Loſs on either Side, this Battle, joined with the good Offices of the *Britiſh* Miniſter, and the Slights put upon his *Pruſſian* Majeſty by the *French*, has produced a very good Effect; for on the 31ſt of laſt Month Preliminary Articles of Peace between his *Pruſſian* Majeſty and the Queen of *Hungary*, were ſigned at *Breſlaw* by Count *Podewelitz*, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the King of *Pruſſia*, and the Earl of *Hyndford*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter, by Virtue of the full Powers he had received from her *Hungarian* Majeſty; and it is reported with great Probability, that the King of *Poland* will ſoon follow the Example of his *Pruſſian* Majeſty, and accept of the Terms offered him.

On the 14th of laſt Month, there was a Battle, or rather a Skirmiſh between the *French* Army commanded by the Marſhals *Broglio* and *Belliſle*, and the *Hungarian* Army commanded by Prince *Lobkowitz*, then employed in the Siege of *Frawenberg*, which the Prince left upon hearing that the *French* Army were marching towards him, having firſt ſent his heavy Cannon, &c. employed in that Siege to *Budweis*. The *French* having come up and marched into the Camp which the *Hungarians* had left, the latter attacked them about ſix o'Clock in the Evening, and were every where ſucceſsful till Night parted the two Armies; but as the Prince was jealous of the *French* deſigning to get between him and *Budweis*, in order to cut off his Retreat, he marched that Night towards *Budweis*, to prevent them; on this Account the *French* boaſted of their having gained a compleat Victory, and killed a great Number of the Enemy; tho' the *Hungarians* ſay, they did not loſe above 200 Men. However, an End was ſoon put to this Affair, for Prince *Charles of Lorain* and Prince *Lobkowitz*, having joined their Armies together, and having, for ſeveral Days, maneuvered in vain to bring the *French* to a Battle, at laſt, upon the 27th of laſt Month, in the Evening, Prince *Charles* was informed, that Marſhal *Broglio* had detached a Body of 4 or 5000 Men, moſt of them Horſe and Dragoons, on the other Side of the *Moldau*, under the Command of the Duke of *Beaufflers*, in order to make himſelf Maſter of *Lamnitz*, and ſome other Poſts in the Neighbourhood of *Budweis*. Upon this his Highneſs, who was then with the united Armies, encamped at *Weſeli*, decamped that very Evening, and advanced towards the Enemy. Next Morning he marched with 4 Battalions and 15 Squadrons of Cuiraſſiers and Huſſars, to attack them; and found them drawn up in Order of Battle, advantageouſly poſted, having their Infantry and ſome Field Pieces in the Centre. His Highneſs himſelf attack'd them at the Head of the Cuiraſſiers, with ſuch Fury, that he ſoon put their Infantry and Part of their Cavalry into Diſorder. At laſt the *French* Carabineers, ſuſtained by their Dragoons, repulſed his Highneſs's Cavalry; but theſe laſt rallying and coming a ſecond Time to the Charge, the Shock was ſo great, that not only the *French* Carabineers and Dragoons, but the whole Corps was broken, and fled with great Precipitation, leaving behind them their Cannon, Ammunition, and the greateſt Part of their Baggage. Several Regiments of Horſe and *Huſſars*, together with large Bodies of *Croats*, *Waradens*, &c. were immediately detached to purſue them; and when Marſhal *Broglio*, who was encamped at *Frawenberg*, heard of what had paſſed, he decamped with ſuch Precipitation, that the military Cheſt and a great Part of the Baggage were left in the Camp, and became a Prey to the *Hungarian* Army, which immediately entered the Camp, and ſoon after the Fortreſſes of *Frawenberg*, *Piſeck*, &c. were ſurrendered to the Conquerors, the *French* Army having retired under the Cannon of *Prague*, where we ſhall leave them till our next, but hope the *Hungarians* will not do the ſame.

The Duke of *Modena* not finding himſelf in any Likelihood of receiving Relief from his new Friends the *Spaniards*, retired out of his Dominions to *Venice* upon the 28th paſt, and next Day both the City and Citadel of *Modena* ſurrendered to the King of *Sardinia*, and Count *Traun*, the Queen of *Hungary*'s General; and as the Coaſts of *Italy* are all now guarded by *Britiſh* Men of War, it is thought the *Spaniſh* Army in *Italy* muſt ſoon be ruined by Famine, without being attack'd by the Enemy; for our *Britiſh* Squadrons do not now behave as they did laſt Summer: They now ſeize upon every Ship, of whatever Nation, which they find carrying Relief to their Enemies, and ſink thoſe directly that preſume not to bring to upon their Signal, having very lately ſunk a *French* Man of War for that Reaſon.

ASTRONOMICAL, PHYSICAL.

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ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JULY, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 279.

IN order to explain to our Readers the Occaſion of the following Debate, we muſt premiſe a ſhort Account of one of the principal tranſactions of laſt Seſſion of Parliament, as follows, *viz.* On *Thurſday*, [illegible]. 21, a Motion was made in the [illegible]uſe of Commons, *That the ſeveral Papers preſented to that Houſe on* [illegible]*18th, and likewiſe the ſeveral Papers preſented to that Houſe on the 20th, ſhould be referred to a ſelect Committee; and that ſuch Committee ſhould examine the ſame, and report to the Houſe, what they found material in them.* But upon putting the Queſtion, after a long Debate, it was carried in the Negative by 253 *Noes* to 250 *Ayes*.

Again, on *Tueſday*, *March* 9, the Members being firſt ſummoned by the Serjeant at Arms to attend the Service of the Houſe, a Motion was made, *That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of our Affairs at home and abroad, during the laſt twenty Years.* Upon this Motion likewiſe there was a long Debate; but upon the Queſtion's being put, it was carried in the Negative by 244 *Noes* to 242 *Ayes*.

Notwithſtanding theſe two Diſappointments, the Country Party reſolved to make a third Trial, and on *Tueſday* the 23d of the ſame Month, the Members being firſt ſummoned by the Serjeant at Arms to attend the Service of the Houſe, a Motion was made, *That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of* Robert *Earl of* Orford, *during the laſt* ten *Years of his being firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.* Upon this Motion alſo, there was a long Debate, and at laſt upon putting the Queſtion, it was carried in the Affirmative by 252 *Ayes* to 245 *Noes*. Then it was reſolved, That this Committee ſhould be a Committee of Secrecy, that its Number ſhould be one and twenty, and that it ſhould be choſen by way of Ballotting.

The Committee being accordingly choſen, and the Houſe having ordered,

ordered, that they ſhould have Power to ſend for Perſons, Papers, and Records; and to examine, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, ſuch Perſons as they ſhould think proper to examine, upon the Subject Matter of their Inquiry; they proceeded to Buſineſs, and upon the 13th of *April*, the Lord *Limerick*, their Chairman, reported to the Houſe, That *Nicholas Paxton*, Eſq; *Sollicitor of the Treaſury*, having been examined by the Committee in the moſt ſolemn Manner, did refuſe to anſwer to what had been demanded of him by them: Whereupon the Queſtion was put, for taking him into the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, which was carried in the Affirmative by 197 *Ayes* to 136 *Noes*; and then it was ordered, that while in Cuſtody, he ſhould not be allowed the Uſe of Pen, Ink, or Paper; and that no Perſon ſhould be permitted to ſpeak to him, without Leave of the Houſe. Next Day he ſurrendered himſelf into Cuſtody, and continuing obſtinate, he was the Day following, upon a Diviſion, 180 *Ayes* to 128 *Noes*, committed to *Newgate*, under the ſame Reſtrictions as before, only his Wife was allowed to be with him, under the ſame Reſtrictions with himſelf; and as he ſtill continued obſtinate, the Committee upon the 13th of *May* made a Report to the Houſe in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

That finding themſelves obſtructed in their Inquiry by the Obſtinacy of Mr. *Nicholas Paxton*, they were under a Neceſſity of laying that whole Tranſaction before the Houſe; as alſo an Account of the Behaviour of *Gwyn Vaughan*, Eſq; on his Examination. With regard to the former they reported, That all Perſons examined before them, were examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner; and Mr. *Mich. Gybbons* being examined, ſaid, he was Agent to *John Boteler*, Eſq; who ſtood Candidate for *Wendover* at the Election in 1735; that Mr. *Boteler* did, the Saturday Night before it came on, adviſe with the Examinant what was proper to be done; that the Examinant told him, nothing could be done without 5 or 600 *l.* on which, he believed, Mr. *Boteler* told him that he had not ſo much Money, but he would write a Letter to Mr. *Paxton*; that the next Morning one Mr. *John Jones*, who was a Friend of Mr. *Boteler*'s, was ſent to London, and returned on the *Monday* Morning to *Wendover*; and on his Return told the Examinant, that he had delivered a Letter to Mr. *Paxton*, and Mr. *Paxton* had given him 500 *l.* he, Mr. *Jones*, having at the ſame Time in his Hand great Number of *Bank* Notes, which he told the Examinant was the 500 *l.* in Queſtion, and which he immediately carried in to Mr. *Boteler*, who ſoon after came out, and informed the Examinant, the 500 *l.* was come.

That Mr. *John Jones* being examined, ſaid, that he had no Intereſt in the Borough of *Wendover*, but was employed by Mr. *Boteler* as a Friend; that before the Day of the Election, Mr. *Boteler* deſired the Examinant to go to Town with a Letter to Mr. *Nicholas Paxton* for Money; that he went and gave the Letter to Mr. *Paxton*, and that Mr. *Paxton* gave him a Parcel of Money (of which the greateſt Part, if not the Whole, was in Bank Notes) and told him, on delivering it, *Here is your Anſwer*; that the Sum, he believed, might be about 500 *l.* that he carried it the ſame Morning to *Wendover*, and delivered the ſame, or the greateſt Part thereof, to Mr. *Boteler*.

John Boteler, Eſq; being examined, ſaid, that when he ſtood Candidate at *Wendover* in 1735, he did, on Occaſion of that Election, and not long before it, make an Acquaintance with Mr. *Paxton*, Sollici-

to the Treaſury; that the Exami-
t was puſhed at the Election, and
ted Money, and thinking he
ſome Pretenſions to Favour, on
count of his having been ill uſed
is former Election, and knowing
Paxton was a Perſon about the
aſury, that might have an Inte-
where the Money might be had,
Examinant, as he could not
e away from *Wendover* without
ney to defray his Charges, ſent
Jones to *London*, with a Meſſage
Mr. *Paxton* for Money, which
ſage, the Examinant believes,
a Letter for 500 *l.* that Mr.
s returned with the Money a
le before the Election, and that
Examinant did never give either
d, Note, or Receipt for the Mo-
; nor has Mr. *Paxton* at any
ne ſince made a Demand either
the Money, or any Security for
ſame; nor did he conſider him-
as a Debtor for the Sum thus
eived.

Mr. *Nich. Paxton* being examined,
d, that he knew Mr. *John Jones*
y well, and had known him for
e Years; that he likewiſe knew
. *Boteler*, formerly a Candidate
Wendover, and had known him
eral Years; and that he believed
. *Boteler* ſtood Candidate for *Wen-*
r in the Year 1735, but that he
s not an Agent for Mr. *Boteler*.
d being further aſked, if he ad-
ced any Money to Mr. *Jones* on
Account of Mr. *Boteler*, about
Time of that Election, he ſaid,
will not anſwer that Queſtion, as
may tend to accuſe myſelf. Which
ſual he obſtinately perſiſted in.

The Committee then reported the
amination of Mr. *Richard Banks*,
Partner with Mr. *Paxton*, by
ich it appear'd, that ſeveral ex-
ſive Proſecutions relating to the
ough of *Orford*, had been car-
d on at the publick Charge; as
o the Examination of Mr. *Leonard*
rtin, Son-in-Law of, and Partner
with Mr. *Paxton*, by which it appeared, that the Publick had been at the Expence of a new Charter for the Borough of *Radnor*, and likewiſe of defending three Informations, brought during the paſſing of the Charter, againſt the Bailiff and two Aldermen of that Borough, upon which Informations they were ouſted from their Offices of Bailiff and Aldermen.

And, laſtly, they reported their Inquiry into Mr. *Paxton*'s Behaviour as a publick Accomptant, by which it appeared, that in the ten Years he had been *Sollicitor to the Treaſury*, he ſtood chargeable with 94,697 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* Halfpenny, beſides a Sum of 1500 *l.* which had been delivered to him by Mr. *Thomas Lowther*, by Virtue of a Minute of the Treaſury, for which neither the ſaid *Lowther* nor the ſaid *Paxton* were publick Accomptants; that notwithſtanding the large Sum the ſaid *Paxton* ſtood chargeable with, he had never paſſed ſo much as one Account in the Exchequer, nor had any Proceſs been iſſued againſt him; that upon one of the Accounts delivered in by him, the Deputy Auditor had made ſome ſtrong and juſt Obſervations, which were delivered into the Treaſury on the 9th of *February* laſt; but that notwithſtanding theſe Obſervations, the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury did, the very ſame Day, iſſue their Warrant to one of the Auditors of the Impreſt, to authoriſe the paſſing and allowing of the ſaid Account.

With regard to *Gwyn Vaughan*, Eſq; they reported, That he being examined and aſked, If he knew of any Sum or Sums of Money, paid out of the Salary, or Profits of any Place, or Office under the Government; he anſwered, *I do not know of any at this Time*: Being then further aſked, If he knew of any paid within theſe ten Years; he deſired to know, whether he was to include

clude himself, or only others; and being informed, that the Question was general and included all Persons, he then said, He was apprehensive an Answer to that Question might, in Part, affect himself, and therefore he desired to be excused answering; whereupon the Committee having considered of his Objection, they told him, they would not press the Question further at that Time.

Upon these Facts, the Committee concluded their Report with representing to the House, the great Difficulty they laboured under, from this obstinate and contemptuous Behaviour of Mr. *Paxton*, who, they said, appeared to have been directly or indirectly concerned in most of the Transactions into which they had then inquired; and when they considered the very large Sums which had been issued to him, during the Time of his being *Sollicitor to the Treasury*, and that no effectual Methods had ever been taken to oblige him to account for any Part thereof; (a Circumstance which could not arise from any mere Negligence or Inattention) when they considered that the strong and well grounded Remarks made on his Accounts by the Deputy Auditor of the Imprests, were instantly followed by a Warrant of the Treasury, directing the Auditor to allow his Accounts; when they considered what strong Suspicions must arise from the foregoing Evidence, that some Part, at least, of the Money in his Hands, might have been employed in Practices dangerous to the Liberties of this Nation, and destructive of the Independency of Parliaments; they could not help observing, that this Perseverance in refusing to answer, seemed to take its Rise from a premeditated Scheme, to obstruct and frustrate their Inquiry; and, should it pass unregarded, might probably communicate itself to other Persons, whom they might have Occasion, to call before them; and, by that Means, render it impossible to lay a clear State of Affairs before the House. Therefore they thought themselves obliged in Duty to report these Matters specially to the House, and humbly submitted the same to their Consideration.

Upon this Report's being made to the House, it was resolved, That *Leave be given to bring in a Bill, for Indemnifying such Persons as shall, upon Examination, make Discoveries touching the Disposition of publick Money, or concerning the Disposition of Offices, or any Payments or Agreements in respect thereof, or concerning other Matters relating to the Conduct of* Robert *Earl of* Orford: Which Bill was accordingly brought in the following; and just before it was presented, the Lord *Limerick* reported from the Committee of Secrecy that Mr. *Joseph Bell* having been examined in the most solemn Manner had refused to answer to what had been demanded of him by the Committee; whereupon he was ordered into Custody.

The Bill, when presented, having, as usual, been read a first Time, was ordered to be read a second Time on the *Tuesday* following. Accordingly it was then read a second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House; and the House having immediately resolved itself into a Committee on the Bill, they went through the Bill with some Amendments, and the Report being immediately received and agreed to, the Bill was ordered to be ingrossed. Next Day the Bill was read a third Time, passed, and sent up to the Lords; of which the following is an exact Copy.

WHEREAS an Inquiry is depending in Parliament touching the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, during the last ten Years of his being first Commissioner of the Trea-

aſury, and Chancellor and Un- Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Ex- quer; and it is neceſſary, for Purpoſe aforeſaid, that ſeveral ſons ſhould be examined in rela- to any Miſapplication, illegal corrupt Diſpoſition of any Money nted by Parliament for defraying Expences of his Majeſty's Civil vernment, and better ſupporting Dignity of the Crown of *Great tain*, and for enabling his Maje- to make an honourable Proviſion his Royal Family, and of any er publick Money; and alſo in tion to the Diſpoſition of any ices, and Payments, Allowances Agreements in reſpect thereof, concerning other Matters rela- to the Conduct of the ſaid *Ro-* Earl of *Orford:* And whereas, many Caſes, Diſcoveries relating the ſaid Inquiry cannot be had obtained, without ſome Indem- cation to ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſhall make Diſcovery touching Matters aforeſaid: *Be it enacted* the King's moſt Excellent Maje- by and with the Advice and nſent of the Lords Spiritual and mporal, and Commons, in this eſent Parliament aſſembled, and the Authority of the ſame, That the more effectual making the quiry and Diſcovery aforeſaid, all every Perſon and Perſons (other an the ſaid *Robert* Earl of *Orford*) o having been duly ſummoned, ll, upon his, her, or their being mined or interrogated by either ouſe of Parliament, or any Com- ittee of either Houſe, relating to Matters aforeſaid, truly and thfully diſcover and diſcloſe, to beſt of his, her, or their Know- dge, Remembrance and Belief, all ch Matters and Things as he, ſhe, they ſhall be examined unto, or terrogated upon, touching or con- rning the ſaid Inquiry, and rela- ve thereunto; ſhall be, and he, e, and they, is and are hereby freed, indemnified, and diſcharged of, from, and againſt all Forfeitures, Penalties, Puniſhments, Diſabilities, and Incapacities, which he, ſhe, or they may incur or become ſubject to, for or by Reaſon or Means of any Matter or Thing, which he, ſhe, or they may incur, or become ſubject to, for or by Reaſon or Means of any Matter or Thing, which he, ſhe, or they ſhall, upon his, her, or their being examined, as aforeſaid, truly and faithfully diſcover, diſcloſe and make known, touching or concerning the ſaid Inquiry, and relative thereunto; and that all and every Perſon and Perſons (other than the ſaid *Robert* Earl of *Orford*) making ſuch Diſcovery as aforeſaid, who ſhall have, hold, or enjoy any Office or Offices whatever, ſhall be, and he, ſhe, and they, is and are hereby enabled and made capable to hold, occupy, and enjoy his, her, or their ſaid Office or Offices, notwithſtanding any Forfeiture, Penalty, or Incapacity whatſoever, which ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſhall, or may be liable to, in reſpect of what he, ſhe, or they ſhall diſcover as aforeſaid; any Thing in the Act of Parliament made and paſſed in the fifth and ſixth Years of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, againſt buying and ſelling of Offices, or any Thing therein, or any other Law or Statute to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That this Act, or any Thing herein contained, ſhall not extend, or be conſtrued to extend to give any Benefit or Advantage, or to indemnify, free, or diſcharge any Perſon or Perſons from or againſt any Forfeitures, Penalties, Puniſhments, Diſabilities or Incapacities, who, being examined as aforeſaid, ſhall give any falſe Evidence, or make any falſe Diſcovery, touching or concerning the

ſaid Inquiry, and relative thereunto; any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

This Bill was read a firſt Time in the Houſe of Lords; but was not read a ſecond Time till the 25th of *May*, when it was read a ſecond Time, and a Motion made for its being committed, whereupon a long Debate inſued, and the Queſtion being at laſt put, it was carried in the Negative by the following Majority,

Not Contents	92	In all 109
Proxies	17	
Contents	47	In all 57
Proxies	10	
	Majority	52

As this was an Affair of great Conſequence, we of courſe reſolved to have a Debate upon it in our CLUB, and for this Purpoſe we procured a Copy of the Bill; and after having it read, the ſame Queſtion was put in our Club, whereupon *M. Agrippa* ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following Effect.

My Lords,

AS the other Houſe has always been allowed to be, by our Conſtitution, the grand Inqueſt of the Nation, they have certainly a Right to inquire into the Conduct of any Miniſter or Magiſtrate, and to call for all the Helps our Conſtitution will admit of, for rendring their Inquiry effectual. When, in this Branch of their Duty, they are guided by Juſtice, Wiſdom and Moderation, we ought to aſſiſt them as much as we can; but when, by a Spirit of Party, or perhaps by a too fervent Zeal for the Service of their Country, they are led into Meaſures inconſiſtent with, and of dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution, it is then the Buſineſs and the Duty of this Houſe to interpoſe, and to make uſe of the Share we have in the Supreme Councils of the Nation, to prevent the paſſing of ſuch Laws, as may be of much greater future Prejudice, than they can be of preſent Advantage.

In Countries, my Lords, where the ſupreme Power of the Society is lodged in an Aſſembly of Nobles, they are too apt to combine together in Methods for oppreſſing and enſlaving the People; and in Countries where the ſupreme Power is lodged in a numerous popular Aſſembly, they are too apt to be governed by a Spirit of Party, and to be led into extraordinary or violent Meaſures, which often deſtroy the Liberties they are intended to preſerve and ſecure. In this Country we are guarded againſt both theſe Dangers, by the ſupreme Power being lodged partly in this and partly in the other Houſe; for if any ambitious and oppreſſive Deſigns ſhould ever be formed in this Houſe, the other will always have Power ſufficient to prevent their being carried into Execution; and this Houſe, I hope, will always have Penetration enough to foreſee the Conſequences of Things, and Wiſdom enough to moderate the Zeal of the other Houſe when it becomes too fervent, either for puniſhing thoſe that are, or may ſeem to be guilty, or for rewarding thoſe that have highly merited of the Publick. Upon this mutual Check the Happineſs, the Glory, and the Security of our Conſtitution muſt always depend; and therefore, when any Bill of an extraordinary Nature is ſent up to us from the other Houſe, we ought to examine carefully the Reaſons upon which it is founded, the Motives which chiefly prevailed in carrying it through the Houſe, and, above all, the Conſequences it might probably be attended with, ſhould it be paſſed into a Law.

With

ith regard to the Bill now be-
us, I muſt confeſs, my Lords,
reſented itſelf to me, at firſt
, with all the engaging Allure-
s a Bill can be attended with.
late Conduct of our publick
irs I have often in this Houſe
d Fault with: It has, in my
ion, been for ſeveral Years ſo
extraordinary, that I thought
ghly deſerved a parliamentary
ry: A ſtrict and impartial In-
is what the Nation generally
ts; and what will tend towards
ring the remaining Part of his
ſty's Reign eaſy, happy, and
ous: I could not therefore but
eaſed when I heard of ſuch an
iry's being ſet on Foot in the
House; and I highly approved
e Choice they made of thoſe
were to conduct it, becauſe
were all Gentlemen whoſe
ce, Wiſdom, and Capacity I
great Opinion of: By them
Bill was thought neceſſary: By
of them it was drawn up;
by their Influence and Perſua-
it was carried through the o-
House.

heſe, my Lords, were all, at
View, ſtrong Arguments with
for giving my Aſſent to the
but when I came to peruſe it
Attention, and to conſider it
ſly and maturely, I found it
ſuch a Bill as I could not in
ience give my Aſſent to; for
e to be able to demonſtrate to
Lordſhips, not only that it is
ut Precedent, but alſo that it
onſiſtent with Juſtice, incon-
with the Laws of Nature,
nconſiſtent with the moſt fun-
tal Maxims of our Conſtitu-
I do not ſay this, my Lords,
a Deſign to reflect upon the
House, or upon any of the
y Gentlemen concerned in pre-
and bringing this Bill into
House. Their Intentions, I am
ced, were honeſt and juſt, but
as it often happens even to the beſt and wiſeſt of Men, they were miſled in their Judgment, by a laudable, but a too ardent Deſire to do Juſtice to their Country, which has certainly ſuffered by the Miſconduct, I ſhall not yet ſay, by the Crimes of the Miniſter whoſe Conduct is now the Subject of their Inquiry.

After having thus, my Lords, obviated a Prejudice which ſome of your Lordſhips might have conceived againſt what I was to ſay, I may now repeat, that I look upon this Bill to be contrary to Juſtice, the Laws of Nature, and the fundamental Maxims of our Conſtitution; and that it is without Precedent muſt be evident to every one who is acquainted with our Law Books and Journals of Parliament. We have, 'tis true, upon former Occaſions, had Laws paſſed for indemnifying thoſe who were to give Evidence againſt State Criminals, ſo far as their Evidence might affect themſelves; but ſuch Laws were confined to particular Perſons, and particular Crimes ſpecified in the Body of the Law. I believe, I may with Confidence affirm, that there never was ſuch a general Bill as this propoſed in Parliament: I am ſure there is no ſuch Law now ſtanding upon our Statute Books; and therefore I am juſtified in ſaying, that it is without Precedent.

Now, my Lords, with regard to Juſtice, the Laws of Nature, and the fundamental Maxims of our Conſtitution, I have ſaid, that I think the Bill inconſiſtent with every one of them, and I muſt beg Leave to give my Reaſons for thinking ſo. Juſtice, I ſhall admit, requires that all publick Offenders ſhould be puniſhed, but it likewiſe requires, that the Innocent ſhould be protected and guarded, not only againſt the Danger of being unjuſtly condemned, but alſo againſt the Danger of being falſely

falſely accuſed. I ſhall not ſay, that the noble Peer, whoſe Conduct is now under the Examination of the other Houſe, is either guilty or innocent; but Charity requires a Preſumption in Favour of his Innocence, and therefore, till he is accuſed of ſome particular Crime, and we have ſome Sort of Proof of that Crime, I cannot think it juſt to invite all the Rogues in the Nation to accuſe him, by giving them an Indemnity for the Crimes they have been guilty of, provided they can by their Evidence bring him in as an Accomplice in their Guilt.

When an atrocious Crime has been committed; when the Crime is certain and publickly known, but the Authors of it unknown, a Pardon or Indemnity may be, and has often been promiſed to any one of the Guilty, who will come in and diſcover his Accomplices; but it is contrary to the Laws of Nature, and to all Laws human and divine, to ſet an innocent Man, or at leaſt one againſt whom there is no Proof or Preſumption of a Crime, I ſay it is contrary to all Laws human and divine, to ſet ſuch a one up as a publick Butt for all the Informers in the Kingdom. Againſt ſuch a Method as this, no Innocence can be a Protection; for Informers will naturally expect a Reward, if they can fix any Crime upon a Man, thus ſet up as the Object of publick Reſentment: By this Means, a few of them would probably be induced to enter into a Conſpiracy for charging him with ſome heinous Crime, and that Conſpiracy might be ſo cunningly formed, as to render it impoſſible for him to prove his Innocence, or to avoid Condemnation. I believe, no one of your Lordſhips ſuſpects, that the noble Lord mentioned in this Bill was ever guilty of forming any Deſign for bringing in the Pretender; and yet, if this Bill ſhould be paſſed into a Law, I do not know but that the Committee of the [illegible] Houſe might have not only [illegible] mation, but a connected Proof [illegible] his having formed ſome ſuch a [illegible] ſign; for ſome of the Pretend[illegible] Adherents might perhaps take [illegible] vantage of this Law for obtain[illegible] an Indemnity for the Crimes [illegible] have been guilty of.

By the moſt fundamental Max[illegible] of our Conſtitution, my Lords, [illegible] ought to be extremely cautious [illegible] giving too much Encouragement [illegible] or increaſing the Number of Inf[illegible] mers of any Kind: They are a k[illegible] of Vermin which never breed in [illegible] free Soil, and in all Caſes are [illegible] the moſt dangerous Conſequences [illegible] the Liberty of the Subject, [illegible] eſpecially when they are encou[illegible] ged and employed in Caſes whi[illegible] relate to Treaſons or State-Crim[illegible] and as this Bill, by its being of [illegible] general a Nature, and by its hav[illegible] Relation to thoſe Crimes only whi[illegible] concern the State, will of cou[illegible] give great Encouragement to In[illegible] mers, and that in the moſt dan[illegible] rous Caſe in which ſuch Ver[illegible] can be employed, I muſt therefo[illegible] look upon it to be inconſiſtent w[illegible] the fundamental Maxims of [illegible] Conſtitution.

But beſides, my Lords, I m[illegible] look upon it to be of the moſt d[illegible] gerous Conſequence to the Lives [illegible] Properties of all the Noblemen [illegible] Gentlemen of Figure in the K[illegible] dom; for if this Method of ob[illegible] ing Evidence is to be made u[illegible] againſt Miniſters, it may certa[illegible] be made uſe of by Miniſters ag[illegible] thoſe that oppoſe them: Nay, [illegible] may be made uſe of by the Cr[illegible] by way of Proclamation, as often [illegible] the Miniſters of the Crown may [illegible] pect, or may pretend to ſuſpect, [illegible] any Nobleman or Gentleman in [illegible] Nation has been plotting againſt [illegible] Government. Here, my Lord[illegible] muſt deſire the moſt ſanguine A[illegible] cates for the Bill to put the Q[illegible]

ne to themſelves. Suppoſe ſome
re Miniſter ſhould aſſert in the
er Houſe, that he had great Rea-
to ſuſpect, that one of your
dſhips had been forming Deſigns
inſt the Government: Suppoſe
ſhould upon this get a Secret
mmittee named to inquire into
Behaviour and Conduct of ſuch
ord: Suppoſe one of the Mini-
's Tools ſhould be called before
t Committee, and ſhould refuſe
nſwer any Queſtion, leſt his An-
r might affect himſelf; would
r Lordſhips think it juſt, or con-
nt with our Conſtitution, to have
aw paſſed, reciting, that an In-
ry was depending in Parliament
ching the Conduct of ſuch a par-
ular Lord by Name, and ſo forth,
in the Preamble to this Act; and
refore enacting, That all Trai-
, Conſpirators, and others, who
uld give Information againſt him,
uld be indemnified and pardoned
all the Crimes they had been
lty of, and ſhould, notwithſtand-
all former Crimes, continue to
ſeſs and hold any Poſt or Office
y were then in Poſſeſſion of?
ould ſuch a Law as this be
ought up from the other Houſe,
am perſuaded, your Lordſhips
uld reject it with Diſdain; I am
ſuaded, none of the Advocates
this Bill would think it juſt or
e to paſs ſuch a Bill into a Law:
y, a Proclamation of this Kind
uld, I believe, be condemned by
ry Man in the Kingdom; and as
paſſing of this Bill will be a
cedent for ſuch a Proclamation,
well as for ſuch a Bill, I muſt
refore think, that the paſſing of
Bill would be of the moſt dan-
ous Conſequence to our Conſtitu-
n.

Having thus ſhewn the Injuſtice
Danger of paſſing this Bill into
aw, I ſhall add, my Lords, that
ink it quite unneceſſary; for if
noble Lord, whoſe Conduct is
now under the Conſideration of the other Houſe, has been guilty of any very heinous Crimes, it is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe, that Witneſſes may not be found, who have not been Accomplices with him in his Crimes, and may therefore give Evidence againſt him, without any Indemnity or Pardon. But ſuppoſe no ſuch could be found, it would have been eaſy for the other Houſe to have come to ſuch a Reſolution, as they came to in the Year 1694, That whoever ſhould diſcover any Miſapplications or corrupt Diſpoſitions of Money or Offices, or any other criminal or dangerous Matters relating to the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*, ſhould have the Indemnity of that Houſe for the Share they had any Way had in ſuch Guilt; for if they had come to ſuch a Reſolution, I believe it would have had all the good Effects this Bill can have, without expoſing our Conſtitution and Liberties to any Danger; becauſe all the Accomplices of the ſaid noble Earl would, and might have depended upon this Indemnity; for no Man in the Kingdom would have ventured to have proſecuted, nor would any Judge have ventured to condemn a Man, who was under the Protection of the Houſe of Commons.

I muſt farther add, my Lords, that if any very heinous Crimes have been committed, the Indemnity hereby propoſed may be extended too far; becauſe it may include every one of the Criminals, except the Earl of *Orford* alone; which, in my Opinion, would be doing an Injuſtice to the Publick: When a Crime has been committed, in which many Accomplices have been concern'd, it may be neceſſary to promiſe a Pardon to one or two of them, in order to diſcover and convict the reſt; but it can never be neceſſary to pardon all but one; and as the Publick has a Right

to have Juſtice done upon all heinous Offenders, I think, it is a depriving the Publick of its Right, to pardon more of them than is abſolutely neceſſary.

I have now explained to your Lordſhips moſt of my Objections againſt this Bill: I ſhould be glad to hear them anſwered to my Satisfaction, becauſe I am upon this Occaſion extremely loth to refuſe any Thing to the other Houſe, that I can think conſiſtent with Juſtice and the publick Safety; but unleſs my Objections be removed by what may be ſaid by other Lords upon this Subject, I muſt be againſt committing the Bill.

The next Speech I ſhall give was that made by L. Æmilius Paullus, *the Purport of which was as follows.*

My Lords,

WHEN I heard of this Bill's coming up from the other Houſe, I did not queſtion its meeting with an Oppoſition in this, and I even had ſome Suſpicion, that the Oppoſition would begin from the Quarter where I now find it does. As the noble Lord ſays, he would be glad to hear his Objections anſwered, I hope he will have that Pleaſure; I hope he will hear every one of them fully anſwered, before this Debate is at an End; and then I make no Doubt of having his Concurrence to the Bill. I ſhall not ſay, that I am able to anſwer the noble Lord's Objections to his Satisfaction; I ſhall however attempt it, and my Failings will, I hope, be ſupplied by other Lords, who may ſpeak after me in the Debate. But before I begin to anſwer the Objections made to the Bill, I muſt obſerve to your Lordſhips, the Difference between the Condition of the Crown, and that of the People with regard to treaſonable Practices againſt our Government or Conſtitution; becauſe from that Difference the Neceſſity of ſuch a Bill as this will, in my Opinion, moſt evidently appear.

In this Country, my Lords, and indeed in all limited Monarchies, there are two Sorts of treaſonable Practices; one Sort conſiſts of thoſe Treaſons, which may be committed againſt our King and Government; and the other Sort conſiſts of thoſe Treaſons, which may be committed againſt our Conſtitution. Treaſons of the former Kind muſt always be committed by ſome Subject, or Body of Subjects, againſt the Crown; but thoſe of the latter Sort may, and too often are committed by the Crown, by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of evil Miniſters or Counſellors. I do not ſay, my Lords, that the King can be guilty of any treaſonable Practices againſt our Conſtitution, or that we ought to think of puniſhing him for ſuch; becauſe whatever the King does, is, by our Conſtitution, ſuppoſed to be done by his Miniſters; they only are to be puniſhed; and I hope it will be admitted, that when Miniſters form and carry on Deſigns for overturning the Liberties of the People, and eſtabliſhing arbitrary Power, they are guilty of Treaſon againſt our Conſtitution, and ought to be puniſhed as the moſt heinous of all Traitors.

With regard to the Treaſons that may be committed againſt the Crown or Government, our Kings have taken Care to have them expreſſly declar'd by ſeveral Acts of Parliament; nay by the Help of ſubmiſſive Judges and complaiſant Parliaments, they took Care to multiply Treaſons of this Kind to ſuch a Degree, that the People at laſt took the Alarm, and under one of the beſt of our Kings, I mean *Edward* the IIId, they got a Law paſſed, for leſſening the Number of thoſe Treaſons, and for aſcertaining and confining the Senſe of the Word for the future.

with regard to those Treasons may be committed against our stitution, as neither the People, our Parliaments or Judges ever avoured to extend the Sense of Word beyond its true Meaning, efore Treasons of this Kind have r yet been expresly declar'd by of Parliament, but rest, as all asons originally did, upon the mon Law of the Kingdom; and the Circumstances of every icular Case, the King and Par- ent, or your Lordships singly an Impeachment, are to judge ther the Crime of which a Man ccused, be such a one as ought e deemed Treason against our stitution.

ow, my Lords, with regard to Proof, or the Means of coming full Discovery of the Crime, Condition of the Crown and of the People is vastly diffe- The King has inherent in Crown, a Power to pardon all asons against our Crown or Go- ment, and may grant that Par- to any one he pleases, and upon t Conditions he pleases; but the le can grant no Pardon, not for Treasons against our Con- tion, without the Consent of the n. This makes a most mate- Difference with regard to the ns of coming at a full Disco- of any Crime. When a Sub- has been guilty of any treason- Practices against our King or rnment, his Accomplices all , that they may have a Par- from the King upon making a Discovery, and becoming Wit- against their Associates; and is Reason, when any such Prac- begin to take Air, or to be in- d into, the Accomplices are so om being true and stedfast to nother, that the Contest among generally is, who shall be the nformer: Some of them im- ately run to a Minister of State, e may with full Assurance pro- mise them the King's Pardon, nay, and a Reward too, upon making a full Discovery. On the other hand, when a Minister has been guilty of treasonable Practices against our Constitution, when he has been carrying on Designs against the Liberties and Privileges of the People, his Accomplices all know, that without an Act of Parliament for that Purpose they can have no Indemnity, no Pardon. As such Ministers are generally Favourites of the Crown, their Accomplices know, that from the King they can expect no Pardon: They must expect his utmost Resentment, in Case of their becoming Informers against his favourite Minister or Ministers; therefore, as their mutual Safety depends upon their mutual Fidelity, their common Danger will make them stedfast and true to the wicked Association they have entered into; and thus they will certainly continue, till an Act of Parliament be passed for indemnifying such of them as shall become Informers against the rest. Till such a Law be passed, the People, that is to say, the Parliament cannot be said to be upon an equal Footing with the Crown: Till such a Law be pass'd, no full Discovery can be expected of any treasonable Practices, in the Ministers or Favourites of the Crown, against the Constitution and Liberties of their Country.

This, my Lords, most evidently shews the Necessity of our passing such a Bill as this, as often as there arises a Suspicion that some such treasonable Practices have been carrying on; and upon the present Occasion, there is a most cogent additional Argument for it: An Argument which must prevail with all those who have a greater Regard for his Majesty than they have for his late Minister. It is well known, my Lords, that the Minister, whose Conduct is now under the Examina-

tion of the other Houſe, has been long a Favourite of the Crown. It is well known, that he has lately, and even ſince he became ſuſpected of treaſonable Practices againſt our Conſtitution, received moſt ſignal Favours from the Crown. This has raiſed a Suſpicion without Doors, that his Majeſty will endeavour to protect him, however criminal, and that all thoſe who ſhall give any Information or Evidence againſt him, muſt expect his Majeſty's higheſt Indignation. Every one who knows the true Regard his Majeſty has for our Conſtitution muſt be convinced, that there is no Foundation for this Suſpicion; but however well your Lordſhips may be convinced of this, the Suſpicion generally prevails without Doors, and if not removed, will moſt forcibly tend to alienate the Affections of the People from his Majeſty, which it is certainly our Duty to prevent as much as lies in our Power. Therefore, not only to render it poſſible for the other Houſe to come at a full Diſcovery of the Crimes, this Miniſter is juſtly ſuſpected of, but alſo in order to enable his Majeſty to remove this ill-grounded Suſpicion againſt him, we ought to paſs this Bill; for his Majeſty, by giving the Royal Aſſent to it, will effectually remove all Suſpicions of his intending to protect this Miniſter againſt publick Juſtice.

I have ſaid, my Lords, the Crimes which this Miniſter is juſtly ſuſpected of, for I hope to be able to ſhew, that no Suſpicion was ever better founded; but firſt I ſhall beg Leave to explain a little thoſe Crimes which already begin to appear againſt him, and which chiefly conſiſt in a formed Deſign to overturn the Freedom of our Elections, a converting of the publick Treaſure, with which he was intruſted, to that villainous Uſe, and a moſt ſcandalous Neglect and Profuſion of it upon all other Occaſions. The laſt of theſe Crimes I ſhall call only a Miſdemeanor, but the firſt two are Treaſons of the blackeſt Die againſt our Conſtitution. The Freedom we enjoy abſolutely depends upon the Independency of Parliament, and the Independency of the other Houſe as abſolutely depends upon the Freedom of their Elections; therefore, whoever endeavours, either by Corruption or Force, to bring our Elections under a Dependency upon the Crown, muſt be a Traitor to our Conſtitution; and a converting that publick Money which a Miniſter is intruſted with to ſuch an Uſe, is one of the higheſt Breaches of Truſt he can be guilty of.

I know, my Lords, it is not altogether regular to take Notice of what has paſſed in the other Houſe; but upon this Occaſion, I think, I may, I hope I ſhall be indulged in mentioning the Report from the Secret Committee, which gave Occaſion to this Bill. From that Report it appears, that *Paxton* advanced Money to *Boteler* for corrupting the Election at *Wendover* in 1735; his refuſing to anſwer the Queſtion put to him, is a manifeſt Proof of his knowing for what Purpoſe he advanced it; and his deſiring no Return of, nor any Note or Security for the Money advanced, is to me a manifeſt Proof, that it was publick Money. This, my Lords, is a plain Inſtance of corrupting an Election with publick Money; and if we examine into the Affair relating to the Borough of *Orford*, as likewiſe that relating to the Borough of *Radnor*, we ſhall find, that both tended to render theſe Boroughs miniſterial Boroughs; and that the Affairs were carried on at the public Expence, I think, is evident from the Proofs that appear in the Report. Therefore, there is already a manifeſt Proof, that *Paxton* and ſome other Confederates have

pyed in corrupting Elections
publick Money; and from his
Sollicitor to the Treaſury,
the large Sums he had from
Treaſury, and from the moſt
ordinary and illegal Favours he
ived from that Board, I think
far beyond Suſpicion, it is to
evident, that in theſe ſecret,
upt and dangerous Practices he
employed by him who had the
f Direction of that Board.

orruption, my Lords, with re-
to Elections, is a Crime of the
dangerous Nature to our Con-
tion. Even in private Men it is
gerous and inſufferable; but in
iſters and thoſe employed by
Government it is treaſonable.
ilſt it remains among private
n, it is inſufferable, becauſe it
pagates a corrupt, venal, and
rcenary Spirit among the Peo-
; but if the Member or Repre-
tative does not ſell the Vote he
s, it can be of no immediate
nger to our Conſtitution, becauſe
Houſe of Commons may be inde-
ndent and incorrupt, tho' moſt of
Members have been choſen by
rruption; but no Miniſter, nor
y of his Tools, will attempt to
rrupt our Elections, unleſs it be
th a View to render the other
ouſe ſubſervient to him, which
ts an End to our Conſtitution, or
leaſt ſuſpends it during the Con-
nuance of that Parliament; there-
re ſuch a Practice in them ought
ways to be look'd on as High
reaſon againſt our Conſtitution;
d to employ the publick Money
r this Purpoſe, is adding a Breach
Truſt, and a Profuſion of the
blick Treaſure, to the Crime of
igh Treaſon, which is ſurely a
oſt heinous Complication of Guilt.

In this Age, my Lords, conſider-
g the general Corruption that pre-
ils, and the vaſt Sums of Money
at paſs yearly thro' the Fingers of
ur Miniſters, we ought to be more
jealous of, and more watchful a-
gainſt the Commiſſion of this Crime,
than we had ever Occaſion to be in
any former. It is a Crime which,
we are ſure, the Crown never will
nor can inquire into: Even when a
new Set of Miniſters ſucceeds, we
generally find, they are for conceal-
ing or patching up the Crimes as
well as the Faults of the former.
The detecting and puniſhing of an
old Miniſter is always look'd on as
a moſt dangerous Precedent by a
new one, therefore he generally en-
deavours to prevent, or to render in-
effectual, any Inquiry into the Con-
duct of the former, unleſs when he
finds it neceſſary to encourage it,
in order to gain a little Popularity,
or to ſecure ſome new Friends to
himſelf. For this Reaſon, my Lords,
the Nation can expect no Security
againſt this miniſterial Sort of Trea-
ſon, but from its Parliament alone.
It is by the Watchfulneſs of our two
Houſes of Parliament, and by that
alone, our Conſtitution can be guard-
ed againſt this its worſt and moſt
dangerous Enemy; and therefore,
when the leaſt Suſpicion ariſes of
ſuch treaſonable Practices having
been carried on, both Houſes ought
to concur in all neceſſary or proper
Meaſures for coming at a full Diſ-
covery, and for convincing all fu-
ture Miniſters, that it will be im-
poſſible for them to renew ſuch Prac-
tices without being immediately diſ-
covered, and condignly puniſhed for
their Crimes.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, there ap-
peared to be no Ground for ſuſpect-
ing this Miniſter's having been guilty
of any treaſonable Practices againſt
our Conſtitution, ſurely it will be
admitted, that from the Report I
have mentioned there appears to
be, not only a juſt Suſpicion, but a
full Proof of his having been guilty
of a moſt ſcandalous Neglect and
Profuſion of the publick Money com-
mitted to his Charge. His iſſuing
in

in eleven Years Time above 96,000*l.* to a Sollicitor of the Treaſury, a Fellow of ſuch a mean Original, a Fellow who has no viſible Eſtate, was, I think, a moſt monſtrous Profuſion of the publick Treaſure; and his iſſuing ſuch a monſtrous Sum to ſuch a Fellow, without deſiring him to paſs ſo much as one Account in eleven Years Time, or ordering Proceſs to iſſue againſt him, was a moſt ſcandalous Neglect. But upon this Head too, the Miniſter's Crimes do not conſiſt in Crimes of Omiſſion only: By the Rules of the Exchequer every Accomptant muſt paſs his Account every half Year, or otherwiſe Proceſs is of Courſe to be iſſued againſt him; therefore, in this Caſe we muſt ſuppoſe the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be active: We muſt ſuppoſe, that he gave Orders not to iſſue any Proceſs againſt this his dirty Agent, which muſt be allowed to be a Crime of Commiſſion, and a Precedent of a moſt dangerous Nature. But this is not the only Crime of ſuch a Nature he has been guilty of: There is another, and a more heinous one, fully proved againſt him, which is, his iſſuing a Warrant from the Treaſury, to anthoriſe the paſſing and allowing of *Paxton*'s Account, tho' the proper Officer had made moſt material Objections againſt it. This, my Lords, was ſo bare-faced a Crime, and committed at ſuch a Time, the 9th of *February* laſt, and in ſuch a Manner, that it confirms, I think, the old Saying, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, hos dementat.*

My Lords, when I conſider theſe Circumſtances, I am really ſurpriſed at the noble Lord's ſaying, that we ought in Charity to preſume this Miniſter innocent: He may as well tell me, that when I ſee a Fellow breaking into my Houſe in the Night-time, I ought in Charity to preſume he has no criminal Intent. By the Proofs already brought, the Miniſter ſtands, in my Opinion, fully convicted of having been guilty of very high Miſdemeanors: From the Proofs already brought there appears to be ſtrong Reaſons to ſuſpect his having formed, and for ſome Years carried on a Deſign to ſubvert the Liberties, and overturn the Conſtitution of his Country. Shall I preſume ſuch a Miniſter to be innocent? Shall I upon that Preſumption refuſe taking the only effectual Method for coming at a full Diſcovery of the Truth? The noble Lord ſays, the Method propoſed is without Precedent: If it were, my Lords, I have ſhewn it to be ſo neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, that we ought to agree to it, in order that there may be a Precedent for the future. Nay, if it were propoſed to make a ſtanding Law, that all ſuch as ſhould make a Diſcovery of any treaſonable or illegal Practices in our Miniſters, againſt the Liberties and Conſtitution of their Country, ſhould be indemnified and pardoned ſo far as related to themſelves, I ſhould, I believe, agree to it with proper Reſtrictions; and even this would be nothing more than giving our Conſtitution the ſame Security againſt the treaſonable Practices of the Miniſters of the Crown, that the Crown has againſt the treaſonable Practices of other Subjects.

But I really do not well know what the noble Lord means by Precedent, when he ſays there is no Precedent for ſuch a Bill as this: If he means, that there never was a Bill paſſed in Parliament in the very ſame Words or Terms with this, I ſhall readily agree with him; but if he means, that there is no Precedent for pardoning an Accomplice, in order to make him an Evidence againſt the reſt, no Man in the Kingdom will agree with him, becauſe it is a known Practice in every Part of our Law, and we have

ve now many ſtanding Laws in ing, for regulating and eſtabliſh- this Practice. By a Law paſſed the late Queen's Reign it is en- ed, That any Burglarer or Felon o ſhall diſcover two that have mmitted Burglaries or Felonies, as they be convicted, ſhall not y have a Pardon for all Burgla- s and Felonies committed by him fore that Time, but alſo a Re- rd of 40 *l.* and the other Advan- es given to Takers or Proſecutors Felons. This, my Lords, is a nding Law for granting both a rdon and Reward, without refer- g to any particular Crime; and ambitious, wicked Miniſters are re heinous and dangerous Crimi- ls than Thieves and Houſe-break- , I cannot think, it would be a- ſs to have even a ſtanding Law, granting a Pardon to ſuch, as uld diſcover any of their treaſon- le or criminal Practices.

It would be endleſs, my Lords, mention all the ſtanding Laws we ve, for granting a Pardon and ward to Smugglers, and others ncerned in fraudulent Practices in Cuſtoms or Exciſe. In all theſe ſes, the Pardon was not granted promiſed on Account of any par- ular Crime known to have been mitted, but in general, and be- e it was known, that ſuch Crimes d been, or would be committed. to come cloſer to the Bill now fore us, has not the Parliament en upon publick Inquiries made Law relating to that particular quiry, not only for pardoning ſuch ſhould make a Diſcovery, but e- n for compelling ſome Perſons to ke a Diſcovery. Of this, the t paſſed in the Year 1694, for demnifying Sir *Thomas Cook*, is a table Inſtance: The Act for in- mnifying the Maſters of Chan- y, in the Caſe of the Earl of *acclesfield*, is another Precedent al- moſt in Point for the Bill now before us; and but lately in the Affair of the *Charitable Corporation*, a Law was made for indemnifying *Robinſon* and *Thomſon*, provided they return- ed, and ſubmitted to be exami- ned.

In all theſe Caſes, my Lords, it was certainly known, who were the Perſons proper or neceſſary for giv- ing the Parliament a full Inform- tion, with regard to the Affairs they were about inquiring into, and there- fore thoſe Perſons were particularly named in the Law; but in the pre- ſent Caſe, the Perſons neceſſary to be examined cannot be known, becauſe from the Examination of almoſt e- very one that can be examin'd, new Matter may ariſe, which will make it neceſſary to examine others that could not before have been thought of. For this Reaſon, it was abſo- lutely neceſſary to make the Bill ge- neral, and for the ſame Reaſon, the Bill does not propoſe to compel any Perſon to ſubmit to be examined, or to inflict any Penalties upon thoſe who refuſe to anſwer ſuch Queſtions as ſhall be put to them; it only in- demnifies them againſt any Forfei- tures, Penalties or Incapacities they may incur by their Diſcoveries, and this the Behaviour both of *Paxton* and *Vaughan* has already ſhewn to be abſolutely neceſſary: Therefore, this Bill is ſo far from being without Precedent, that it agrees with all the Precedents I have mentioned, except in that, which affords the ſtrongeſt Objection againſt ſuch Bills, I mean, that of compelling Men to confeſs their having been guilty of Crimes, or of infamous and diſhonourable Practices.

But, my Lords, had it even gone this Length, it would not have been without Precedent; for by a Law paſſed in the ninth Year of the late King, when this very Miniſter was got, I may ſay, to the Zenith of his

his Power, it was made lawful for the Attorney General, of his own Authority, or at the Requeſt of the *Eaſt-India* Company, to file a Bill in Equity againſt any Perſon whatſoever, requiring him to diſcover, whether he had any Stock, or was otherwiſe intereſted in any foreign *Eaſt-India* Company; and ſuch Defendant is by that Act obliged to anſwer upon Oath, though he was thereby, perhaps, obliged to confeſs his being guilty of what I do not think very honourable, which is that of promoting a foreign Trade to the Prejudice of his native Country; and tho' he was thereby likewiſe to forfeit the ſingle Value of whatever Stock or Intereſt he had in that foreign Company. This extraordinary Law was, it ſeems, thought neceſſary for the Preſervation of our *Eaſt-India* Company: Surely, my Lords, the Preſervation of our Conſtitution is of more Conſequence to us, than the Preſervation of our *Eaſt-India* Company; and therefore, if this Bill had been a compelling, as well as an indemnifying Bill, it could not have been found fault with by thoſe, who thought ſuch a Law neceſſary for the Preſervation of our *Eaſt-India* Company.

This SPEECH *to be concluded, and the* JOURNAL *continued in our next.*

His MAJESTY's *moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament,* July 15, 1742.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS Seſſion of Parliament has been drawn out into ſo unuſual a Length, and the Seaſon of the Year is ſo far advanced, that I am perſuaded you are all very deſirous of a Receſs.

I acquainted you at the Beginning of the Seſſion, with my Endeavours to bring about an Accommodation between thoſe Princes, whoſe Union was moſt neceſſary in this [critical] Conjuncture. The Treaty lately [concluded] between the Queen of Hungary [and] the King of *Pruſſia*, under my Media[tion] and ſo highly to the Honour of Great [Britain], muſt undoubtedly produce the beſt [conſequences] to the common Cauſe.

The Succeſſes which have attended the *Auſtrian* Arms in *Germany*; the Co[operation] of the King of *Sardinia*'s Forces with [those] of the Queen of *Hungary* in *Italy*; the [preſent] favourable Diſpoſition of the States Ge[neral], and of other great Powers, are, [under] God, chiefly owing to the generous [aſ]ſiſtance, afforded by this Nation, to its [anci]ent and natural Allies.

Theſe happy Events cannot fail to [give] Encouragement to our Friends, and to [eſta]bliſh the Reputation of our Strength, and [the] juſt Influence abroad.

If for the further Support and Defence [of] the Queen of *Hungary*, and to reſtore [and] ſecure the Balance of Power, ſo particularly recommended to me by my Parliament, ſhould become neceſſary for me to enter [into] new Engagements, or to enter into [further] Meaſures, I rely upon your Zeal and Perſeverance in ſo juſt a Cauſe, to enable me to make them good.

In the Midſt of theſe extenſive Tranſactions, I have been, and ſhall continue to be attentive to the Proſecution of the War againſt *Spain* with the utmoſt Vigour; which is of the greateſt Importance to the Trade and Navigation of my Subjects; the Encouragement and Protection whereof ſhall be one of my principal Cares.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The Zeal, Unanimity and Diſpatch with which you have given ſuch large Supplies for the Service of the current Year, deſerve my particular Thanks; and are freſh Proofs of your Duty to me, and of your Concern for the true Intereſt of your Country. The Succeſs with which theſe Supplies have been raiſed, muſt convince all the World of the eſtabliſhed Credit of this Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have the juſteſt Confidence in the Affections of my People, which I ſhall never fail to cultivate, by a conſtant Care of their Rights and Liberties; and by promoting their Proſperity and Happineſs. Let it be your Endeavour, in your reſpective Countries, to make theſe my good Intentions rightly underſtood; to calm and heal all Animoſities and Diviſions; to ſupport my Authority and Government; and to preſerve the Peace and good Order of the Kingdom.

the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR, Ipſwich, May 26, 1742.

AS the following Obſervations, occaſion'd by a late publick A
cture on the Make and Beauty of
Eye, may not be diſagreeable to
ur philoſophical Readers, I hope
y will find a Place in your next.

The firſt Thing the Dr. took No-
e of, was the Contraction and Di-
ation of the *Pupil*. And here he B
ſerved, that unleſs we had this
wer of contracting or dilating the
il, it would be impoſſible for us
ſee the ſame Object *diſtinctly* at
ferent Diſtances: Or, which will
me to the ſame Thing, we could
er ſee any Objects *diſtinctly*, but
one particular Diſtance. But this
n egregious Miſtake!

The Reaſon why we can ſee at
is, becauſe the Humors of the
e are ſo formed, as to refract the
ys of Light entering the Pupil of
Eye, in ſuch a Manner, as to
lect the ſeveral Pencils, which
from each Radiant, into their
pective *Foci*, at the Bottom of the
e: For in that Caſe there will be
exact Repreſentation of the Ob-
painted upon the *Retina*.

Now, the more obliquely the
ys fall upon the Eye, the more
icult will it be for that Eye, *cæ-
s paribus*, to collect thoſe Rays
o their ſeveral *Foci* upon the Bot-
of the Eye. And this would
ppen, when the Object is placed
rer the Eye, than that particular
tance at which it could ſee Ob-
s *diſtinctly*. For the nearer any
ect is to the Eye, ſo much the
e do the Rays, proceeding from
Object, diverge; and the more
diverge, the more obliquely
they fall upon the Eye. In this
e therefore Viſion muſt be *con-
d*.

On the other hand, if the Obli-
quity of any Parcel of Rays, falling upon the Eye, be diminiſhed, the more eaſily will that Eye, *cæteris paribus*, collect thoſe Rays into their ſeveral *Foci* upon the *Retina*. And this would happen, when the Object A is placed farther from the Eye than that particular Diſtance at which it could ſee Objects *diſtinctly*. For the farther any Object is placed from the Eye, ſo much the leſs do Rays, proceeding from that Object, diverge; and the leſs they diverge, B the leſs obliquely do they fall upon the Eye. In this Caſe therefore Viſion muſt be alſo *confuſed*.

Farther, the more convex any refracting *Medium* is, the more eaſily will that *Medium* collect Rays into their reſpective *Foci*, and *vice verſâ*. C If therefore the Convexity of the Humors encreaſes and diminiſhes with the Obliquity of the Rays, then will ſuch an Eye ſee Objects *diſtinctly* at all Diſtances, ſo long as the Convexity of the Humors can be alter'd; becauſe then the Obli- D quity of Rays, falling upon the Eye, will be, *cæteris paribus*, always the ſame. But how can the *Dilatation* or *Contraction* of the *Pupil* at all alter the *Obliquity* of any Parcel of Rays? and if not, how is that Power the Means of *diſtinct* E Viſion? Had the Dr. ever heard that Philoſophers diſtinguiſh between *bright* and *obſcure*, *diſtinct* and *confuſed* Viſion, he might eaſily have avoided this Miſtake.

I grant indeed that, when the Object is placed very near the Eye, F the *Contraction* of the *Pupil* does help us in order to ſee *diſtinctly*, becauſe it ſhuts out the more diverging Rays; but had we no other Help, this would be of little or no Service to us.

Let us therefore examine, why G we have this Power of contracting or dilating the Pupil. And the Uſe of it is, that we may ſee Objects at different Diſtances ſufficiently *bright*.

For ſince the more Rays fall upon any given Space, the more ſtrongly will that Space be illuminated, and *vice verſâ*; and ſince the Spiſſitude of Rays flowing from any Point, as from a Center, decreaſes in a reciprocal duplicate Proportion of their Diſtance from that Point, it follows that, was the Area of the Pupil always to remain the ſame, the *Brightneſs* of Objects would diminiſh in a reciprocal duplicate Proportion of their Diſtance from the Eye. But Providence has wiſely provided againſt this Inconvenience: For, the *Iris* is compoſed of certain Muſcles, ſome of which are circular, and have the Center of the Pupil for their common Center. Theſe are croſſed by other Muſcles, with which they are connected; and theſe point towards the Center of the Pupil as the Radii of a Circle towards its Center. By Means of theſe Muſcles the *Pupil* is capable of *Contraction* or *Dilatation*. Now Circles are to one another in a duplicate Ratio of their Diameters; tho' therefore the Denſity of the Rays decreaſes in a reciprocal duplicate Proportion of their Diſtance; yet, becauſe the Area of the Pupil encreaſes in a duplicate Proportion of the ſame Diſtance, the *Brightneſs* of an Object will always be the ſame, ſo long as the *Iris* can be *dilated:* For the *Brightneſs* of an Object will always be determined by compounding theſe Ratio's; but the reciprocal duplicate Proportion of the one, and the direct duplicate Proportion of the other, deſtroy each other; therefore, the *Brightneſs* of an Object will, at different Diſtances, be the ſame. But this *Dilatation* has its Bounds; therefore, when an Object is removed farther than a certain Diſtance, its *Brightneſs* will then decreaſe in the aforeſaid reciprocal duplicate Proportion of its Diſtance from the Eye.

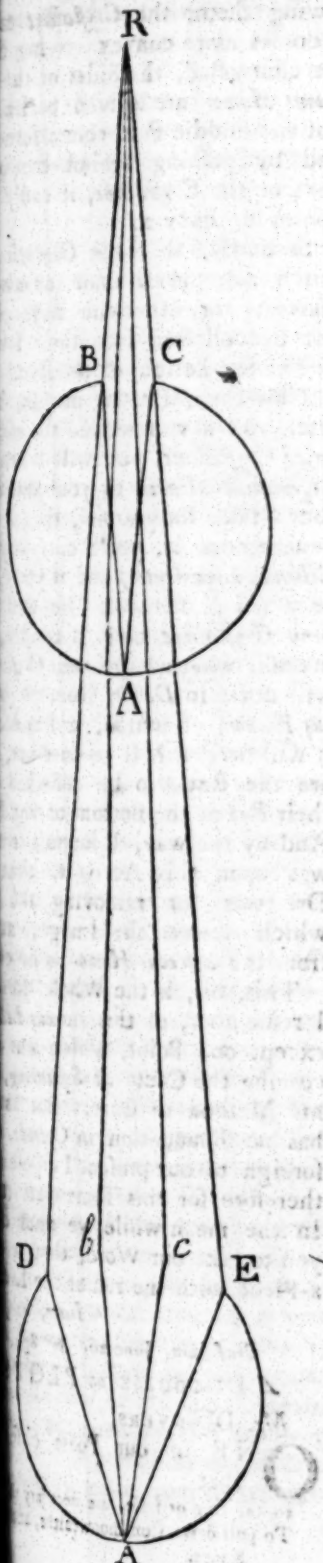
Thus in the Figure, let R be a radiant Point of any Object, and let BAC, DAE be the Eyes; let RB, RC be Rays diverging from the Point R; let BC repreſent the Pupil of the Eye BAC; and DE the Pupil of the Eye DAE. Now was the Pupil of the Eye DAE no wider than the Pupil of the Eye BAC, 'tis plain that that Eye DAE would exclude all the Rays between D and E, which the Eye BAC received; therefore there would be fewer Rays collected at the Point A, in the Eye DAE, than at the Point A, in the Eye BAC. Therefore the Eye DAE would ſee the Point R leſs *bright* than the Eye BAC would ſee it. But the Denſity, and therefore the Number of Rays contained in any given Space, decreaſes in a reciprocal duplicate Proportion of their Diſtance; and the Area of the Pupil of the Eye DAE encreaſes in a duplicate Proportion of its Diameter, and therefore of its Diſtance from the Point R; for DE: is to BC: as RD: is to RB. Therefore the ſame Number of Rays which enter the Eye BAC, enter alſo the Eye DAE; therefore both Eyes ſee the Object equally *bright*, Q. E. D.

The Dr. having taken out the *cryſtalline Humor*, took Occaſion to obſerve, That we never ſee Objects as they really are, but that they are *magnified* by the *cryſtalline Humor*.

This is another Miſtake; and he ſeems to have been led into it by placing the *cryſtalline Humor* upon a Book, and then obſerving the Letters to be *magnified*.

But the Dr. ſhould have conſidered, that now the Rays paſs through *two cryſtalline Humors*; the one without, the other within the Eye; and that the *cryſtalline Humor* without the Eye, ſupplied the Place of a *Convex Lens*; and therefore the Object was *magnified* before the Rays reached the *cryſtalline Humor within the Eye*.

He ſeems not to know, that we



judge of the *Magnitude* of Objects by the *optick Angle*; and that this Angle is formed by Lines drawn from the Extremities of an Object, and intersecting each other in the Center of the *Pupil:* Unleſs therefore thoſe Lines are by any Means bent before they reach the *Pupil*, how can an Object be *magnified?* The *Doctor*'s Obſervation therefore is only this, That when an Object is *magnified*, we never ſee it as it really is, but it appears *magnified*. A ſurprizing Obſervation this!

The Dr. goes on to prove, that not the *Retina*, but the *Choroides* is the Coat which receives the Image. And this he endeavours to prove in the following Manner.

Suppoſe, ſays he, an Object to be placed before a Looking-glaſs, there will be a Repreſentation of it behind the Glaſs: But it is not the *Glaſs* which *reflects* the Image, for that is *tranſparent*; but the *Quick-ſilver*, which is placed behind the Glaſs, *reflects* the Image.

Now, continues he, take off the *Tunica Sclerotica*, and place a Candle before the Pupil of the Eye, and you will obſerve a lively Repreſentation of it at the Bottom of the Eye. But, ſince the *Uvea* is an outward Coat, with reſpect to the *Retina*, it follows that the *Retina* is *tranſparent*. And from theſe Premiſes he concludes, that the *Retina* cannot be the Coat which receives the Image.

This is the merrieſt Argument that I have ever met with. But we muſt deſire the Dr. to remember, that we ſee the Image from a Looking-glaſs by *reflected* Light. But we ſee the Image at the Bottom of the Eye by *tranſmitted* Light. The *Uvea* therefore is *tranſparent*, as well as the *Retina*. And therefore, his Obſervation does by no Means prove that the *Retina* is not the Coat which receives the Image.

But if his Argument is a little too deep for us to find any Senſe in it (for which Reaſon we forbear to conſider it any farther) it will be ſufficient for our Purpoſe to prove, beyond Doubt, that the *Retina* is the Coat which receives the Image.

Now *Nerves* are neceſſary to Senſation; therefore all Senſation ariſes from the Impulſes which the *Nerves* receive, mediately or immediately, from external Objects. But the *Retina* is compoſed of the Extremities of the Capill ments of the *Optick Nerve*; therefore the *Retina* is the Coat which receives the Image. This too is proved experimentally, &c. See *Rohault*, Cap. 31. Sect. 4.

The Dr. next proceeds to explain a Method by which, he ſays, he cured *Cataracts*.

The *Cryſtalline*, he ſays, may undergo 35 different Changes; and before him, there was only one Species which could be cured, and that only at *one particular Time*. But he invented a Method, by which he could cure *any one* of the 35 different Species, and that at *any Time* too.

When the *Cryſtalline* is decayed, ſays he, I *remove* it to the Bottom of the Eye. But the *Cryſtalline* being thus removed, the *vitreous Humor* will naturally ſupply its Place; and ſo I have a *new Cryſtalline*.

But, good Sir, attend a little to theſe Things.

Firſt then, I muſt acquaint you, that the *Cryſtalline* is ſuſpended in the Eye by certain Muſcles, called *Ligamenta Ciliaria*. The Uſe of theſe Muſcles is, either to make the *Cryſtalline* more or leſs *convex*, or to move it *backwards* or *forwards* in the Eye, that ſo Objects may, at different Diſtances, appear diſtinct. But they ſeem to be more particularly adapted to the firſt Uſe: Becauſe the Cavities of the Eye are too well fill'd to admit of a Removal of the *Cryſtalline*; but when the *Ligamenta Ciliaria* are relaxed, the Sides of the *vitreous Humor* following them, the *Cryſtalline* eaſily becomes more convex. When they are contracted, the Sides of the *vitreous Humor* are driven backward, but the middle Part comes forward, and by puſhing againſt the back Part of the *Cryſtalline*, it eaſily becomes leſs convex.

Secondly, that the *Cryſtalline* is much more *denſe* than the *vitreous Humor*; for otherwiſe Rays could not be collected into their ſeveral *Foci* at the Bottom of the Eye.

Now then, Dr. let me aſk, how after you have removed the *old, decayed Cryſtalline*, you will faſten the *Ligamenta ciliaria* to your *new one*? (For I take for granted, that before you remove it, you'll cut away the *Ciliaria Ligamenta*) and if you can't pray now, of what Uſe will the *new Cryſtalline* be? Secondly, let me aſk, whether this *new Cryſtalline* will differ in *Denſity* from the *vitreous Humor*, of which, as I conceive it will be Part? If it does not, how are the Rays to be collected into their *Foci* at the Bottom of the Eye? And by the way, I ſuppoſe that it was upon this Account, that the Dr. was for removing the *Cryſtalline* which *receives* the Image, as it is from the *vitreous Humor* as he conceives.

This, Sir, is the Whole, ſo far as I remember, of this *famous Lecture*, except one Point, which was concerning the Cauſe of *Squinting*, and his Method of Cure. But as that has no Foundation in *Opticks*, it is foreign to our preſent Purpoſe; I therefore for this Time paſs it by. In the mean while we muſt deſire you to take our Word, that it is all a-Piece with the reſt of the Lecture.

I am, Sir, &c.

Craſſimon, June 26. N° 834.

A DISCOURSE *on* PLOTS.

Mr. D'ANVERS,

ONE of our Poets obſerves that

Plots, true or falſe, are neceſſary things,
To pull down Commonwealths, and hang Kings.

, indeed, if we make the uſual
ration in the Reading, which
beſt Criticks admit to be a good
(*viz.* for *King* read *Miniſter*)
find that theſe two Lines ſeem
ave been a Part of the political
d of all Miniſters, ever ſince
were wrote.——For my own
, as I am now an old Man, and
ſeen many Changes of Mini-
, I can't help giving my Coun-
en the ſame Advice upon the
nge of a Miniſtry, as the *Specta-*
gives the Fair Sex; *Beware of*
Month of May! ſays the grave
itor: *Beware of a* Plot! ſay I.
never ſaw the *late* (I aſk his Par-
, for I believe I ſhould rather ſay
preſent) Miniſter at a Plunge in
Politicks, without imagining him
much at a Loſs for a Plot, as
hard III. was for a Horſe, and
e often thought, that I have
rd him cry out, *A Plot, a Plot,*
Kingdom for a Plot! But to do
Juſtice, this was a Trick (per-
the only one) which he did not
upon the Nation, the laſt eight
en Years of his Reign. Towards
Beginning of it, he practiſed
Piece of State *Legerdemain* with
tty good Succeſs; for it was to
Genius, probably, that we owe
fineſt Scenes in the late B——p
R——r's Plot; though ſome
rs ago he ſeem'd to diſclaim the
rit of it, and wanted to ſhift it
to others. However, as they
ſeem to be all pretty well re-
ciled, I ſhall leave them to make
up amongſt other Things.

Whether any Plot will be exhi-
ed this Seaſon, or not, is a Doubt
h ſome of our political Connoiſ-
rs; but I would have my Reader
obſerve, that by a very moderate
mputation, there are now 30,000
ch Taylors in and about *London*;
hat, to ſpeak in the Language
a certain great Critick, *If there*
no Plot, there ought to be one;
refore I hope the Town will in-
ſiſt upon being diverted with a Plot.
However, as I hear ſome proper
Diſpoſitions are made for that Pur-
poſe, and expect every Day to ſee
it adverti ſed, I will leave that Sub-
ject, and confine myſelf to ſome Re-
flexions, into which I have been of-
ten led, upon hearing or reading of
the Difficulties which former States-
men have been under, with regard
to political Plotting.

The beſt Writers upon Govern-
ment are of Opinion, and indeed
every Man of common Senſe muſt
be convinced, that certain Periods
may happen with certain Circum-
ſtances concurring, in which a Con-
ſtitution may be *Felo de ſe*; that is,
in which the Mode of Government
intended for the Happineſs of the
People may be ſo far abuſed by
thoſe who exerciſe it, as to anſwer
no other Purpoſes but thoſe of Op-
preſſion and Corruption. This is the
Caſe, when a Miniſter buys the Ho-
nour of a Parliament, and makes it
as pliable to his Deſires, as the Peo-
ple under any arbitrary Government
are to the Will of their Prince. This
is likewiſe the Caſe, when a muliſh,
obſtinate King, and a truckling, mean
Miniſtry, after having, perhaps, *lyed*
themſelves into the good Graces of
a People, who too late find their
Miſtake, ſhall conſpire to defeat the
reaſonable Expectations of the Na-
tion, to proſtitute their Honour a-
broad, and ſubvert their Liberties
at home.——When ſuch Caſes hap-
pen, whence can the People hope
for Relief but from—themſelves?

It is generally, when ſuch a Cri-
ſis is drawing near, that Plots are
either *form'd* or *forg'd*: Both in ſuch
a Criſis are equally expedient; the
one for the Purpoſes of *Liberty*, the
other for thoſe of *Power*.

Charles I. after he had provoked
the People to an Oppoſition of his
Government, took it in his Head,
or pretended ſo, that five Members
of Parliament had entered into a

Plot

Plot againſt him. The Man was miſtaken; he had made ſuch Stretches, as brought the Nation into the State I have deſcribed above, and the Nation had put on a Reſolution to aſſert their natural Rights. *Oliver Cromwell* was eternally either diſcovering or inventing Plots. The People were in the Right to cut him off, if they could, for he was a Tyrant. And as a Tyrant, he was much in the Right under that Pretence, to cut off, baniſh, or oppreſs as many of the People as he could, ſince they preſum'd to begin to judge for themſelves. He had broke his Compact with the other great Men, by whom he was raiſed to Power; he had abuſed the People, by pretending to be a Patriot, and under that Pretence had rendered himſelf a Tyrant. He was conſcious of this; he knew that the People ſaw through all his thin Diſguiſes; he thought that they had Spirit enough to reſent his Conduct; which ſome of them did. But *Cromwell* was a great Man; for the Succeſſes of his Arms abroad, amuſed and flattered the Genius of the *Engliſh*, and his Jealouſy of the national Honour amongſt Foreigners, in ſome Sort compenſated for the Severity of his Meaſures. Therefore, the People could never be brought to enter into any general Conſpiracy, to aſſert the Conſtitution, notwithſtanding their almoſt unanimous Inclination to revert to their ancient Forms of Government.

The Reign of *Charles* II. was a Reign of Plots; his Miniſtry plotted themſelves into Power, nay into Credit, with the Parliament. The Parliament plotted themſelves out of Credit with his Majeſty; the Court plotted themſelves out of the Affections of the Nation; and, in the End, his Majeſty plotted the Nation out of her Liberties. In thoſe Times, it was next to Treaſon, to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of a Plot; and I think, I remember more than one Inſtance, when a Joke upon *Oates*, had almoſt coſt a Man his Life, before a Court of Juſtice. But what is the Judgment, which impartial thinking Poſterity makes of all this? Why, that Papiſts as well as Proteſtants, Courtiers as well as Patriots, and Tories as well as Whigs, were indiſcriminately ſacrificed according to the wicked Views of the ſeveral Parties; and that the Subject of Plotting, engag'd the Converſation and Thoughts of the Nation ſo much, that they had no Leiſure to reflect upon what they ought to have done: That is, enter'd into a Confederacy, to aſſert their ſinking Conſtitution, and the Liberties of their Country, which were undermined by a treacherous deluſive Court and Miniſtry.

Some of K. *William*'s Miniſters ſeem'd to have had an excellent Hand at Plotting, and this Dexterity appears to have ſtood them in great Stead, when they were too hard puſh'd by the Parliament.—Q. *Anne*'s Miniſtry too began to dabble a little that Way, but the perpetual Succeſſes of that Reign render'd Plotting quite unneceſſary.

Upon the Whole, I am convinced that the Nation has been ſometimes provoked into a Spirit of aſſerting their Liberty and Independency; and on the other hand, that many Plots have been *Tales of a Tub*, intended to amuſe the People, and to draw their Attention off from the Conduct of the Miniſtry; leſt the Tide of popular Commotion ſhould beat too high, againſt their wicked and deceitful Government.

It is the peculiar Glory of his preſent Majeſty's Reign, that it is yet unſtain'd with Blood upon any political Account, and the Miniſter that ſhall either forge a Plot, or

er one neceſſary, will be inge-
s enough to invent one Species
Oppreſſion, to which the Nation
been long a Stranger, and to
one Crime to the many of his
ediate Predeceſſors. In the mean
e, I am far from ſaying that
e may not be Madmen in the
ld, and ſuch I think all, who,
pported and unaſſiſted by the
ared and general Senſe of the
le, ſhall give any Government
leaſt Reaſon, by ſpeaking, wri-
, or acting, for proceeding with
rity againſt their Perſons; but
Men, I imagine, more fit for
m than a Gaol.

Common Senſe, July 3. N° 281.

IMPORTANCE *of employing fit*
en in publick Stations, particularly
Foreign Courts; and CROM-
ELL's *Policy in this Reſpect, com-*
'd with that of a late M——r.

Y Lord *Clarendon*, ſpeaking
of the Government of *Oliver*
well, takes frequent Occaſion
ention the great Reſpect that
paid him in Foreign Countries;
h he attributes to his making
ce of Perſons of the greateſt A-
es to do the publick Buſineſs in
gn Courts.

her Writers, as well as his
ſhip, have taken Notice, that
ared no Pains to find out Men
rts, and when they were found,
ncouragement was wanting to
ge them in his Service; by
h Means all Employments both
d and at home were fill'd with
ns, who ſeem'd as if Nature
made them on Purpoſe for that
Thing.

rdinal *de Retz*, in his Memoirs,
ing of an Agent from *Oliver*,
came to *Paris* in the Time of
roubles betwixt the Court and
arliament, and brought him a
from *Oliver*, ſays, he never
with a Man of more Know-
ledge or better Underſtanding in his
Life.

Your forward bold Fellows that break in upon great Men; ſuch as dance Attendance at Levees, and by elbowing modeſt Men aſide come to the Ear of the Man in Power; ſuch as by cringing to a Valet, or perhaps the Porter, get themſelves introduced up the Back Stairs; ſuch as procure Recommendations by a Bribe to the Miſtreſs or the Pimp; ſuch as make all Companies ſick with the nauſeous Repetitions of the Praiſes of the Man in Power: Perſons of theſe ſeveral Denominations could get nothing from him. His excellent Judgment taught him, that true Merit is always modeſt and retired, and therefore he ſought it out, he invited it from its Retirements, and produced it upon the Stage; and to this he ow'd all his Succeſs, and the Reputation he acquired in the World.

Our Corruptor General took a quite different Method; the Ignorant, the Bold, and the Corrupt preſented themſelves to him, and were well received; no Encouragement was wanting to engage them in his Service. As Merit is modeſt and retired, he left it in its Modeſty and Retirement; he defired no Communication with it. He had a Rule of his own by which he judg'd Men qualified for publick Buſineſs, he did not care how great a Fool the Man was, provided he was a Knave.

I believe we may trace many of this Man's Friends from waiting behind a Chair with a Plate in their Hands, to their being put behind a Deſk in an Office; from thence by Degrees they riſe up to Commiſſioners, and then his Honour would have them in Parliament; and thus you have had ſeveral Men return'd for what have been called Treaſury B——hs, where their Names were never heard of before.

The

The mean Habits of ſuch a Man as this make him a ſpecial Tool of Power ill exerciſed; the firſt Part of his Life he has been uſed to hold out his Hand to receive Half a Crown from the Gentleman who dines with his Maſter; next he exercifes his Talents in ſcrewing Shillings and Half Crowns out of the People that have Buſineſs at the Office, under the Name of a Perquiſite; but when he comes to be a Commiſſioner, his Honour gives him now and then a Share in a Jobb, with a Promiſe to protect him in Caſe it breaks out: Hence his Tools extol him not a little for being good to his Friends; and to do him Juſtice, he never fail'd making Uſe of all his Power to protect a R—gue.

What a hopeful Condition muſt that Nation be in, where the Purſe of the People is to be open'd at the Pleaſure of ſuch Men as this? What hopeful Guardians and Truſtees of Liberty and Property! I believe, if the moſt corrupt Miniſter that ever breath'd the vital Air, was to keep his Power till he ſhould be condemn'd by ſuch as theſe, he might grow gray in Villainy.

Amongſt the many flagrant Inſtances of the Corruption of the late Adm———n, (if I may be allowed to call that an Adm———n, which conſiſted only of one Man) that of ſending the meaneſt Perſons, both in Rank and Abilities, to do the Nation's Buſineſs in Foreign Courts, hath had fatal Effects. It hath been ſaid by a good Author, that if a Man of Quality was only to ſend a Compliment to another, he would certainly chuſe out the genteeleſt and moſt civiliz'd Servant in his Family for that Purpoſe. If he was to ſend one to treat about Buſineſs, he would make Choice of the Servant of the beſt Senſe. In the firſt his Credit, in the laſt his Intereſt is concerned. Betwixt one Nation and another, Intereſt and Credit are both co- ed, therefore there requires a more Nicety than in a private T action.

Q. *Elizabeth* carried this M ſo far, that ſhe had a Regard only to the Abilities, but ev the Figure and Perſon of the Where ſhe could not find a P of Quality ſufficiently knowing Buſineſs, ſhe frequently ſent Inferior to negotiate privately w out appearing in any Charac and when the Buſineſs was near cluded, ſome Man of Quality generous Spirit was ſent to m Figure, and to have the Credi putting the finiſhing Hand to it.

When a Miniſter hath made ſelf agreeable at a Foreign C he hath by that Means been able do infinite Service to his Coun I don't know but it may be in fairs of State, as it is in Affair Love; when the Lady likes Man, we ſee ſhe never thinks Propoſals unreaſonable.

It is certain, a wiſe Adm— will always conſider the Genius Diſpoſition of a People and Court: In the Choice of the P to be ſent to do Buſineſs at Court, if poſſible, a Man ſhould found out who hath a Turn to the Humours, or at leaſt, one could conform himſelf to the poſitions and Manners of the P where he is to negotiate.

The *French* are a Nation that a great Streſs upon Externals; them a genteel Addreſs and P neſs of Manners are ſuch Effen that you'll find it difficult to ſuade a *Frenchman*, that a Man wants them can have any Abil or good Qualities whatſoever. *Spain* there is ſuch a Veneration Anceſtry and Birth, that a known to be of the Dregs of People can never expect to be receiv'd. If we were to ſen Miniſter to the firſt of theſe C

ould be ſome Perſon of the beſt ding and moſt agreeable in his ners; if to the laſt, he ought arry with him the Recommen- on of being deſcended from a t Houſe.

o nicely did our late Corruptor ider the publick Intereſt in this nt, that if he had ſearch'd the ole Kingdom, he could hardly e found out two other Subjects compleatly defective in thoſe alifications neceſſary to enable m to do their Buſineſs, as thoſe t were employed in thoſe Courts. ave heard it ſaid, that the Con- pt the proud *Spaniards* had con- v'd for the Perſon of a M——r, om they had ſeen a little before, their own Country, in the Con- ion of a Servant in a Merchant's unting-Houſe, was a principal uſe of the Slights that were put on all his Propoſals, and conſe- ently of the cruel Treatment his untrymen met with during a long urſe of Years without the leaſt dreſs.

The low Manners and abſurd Be- viour of the other were ſo long Jeſt of another Country, that on ſeeing how like a Pantaloon acted his Part, who could help menting what an excellent Plow- n the Commonwealth had loſt, en that Creature was made an mb——r? A *Frenchman* of Qua- ſaid to an *Engliſh* Gentleman th whom he was free, *If your ——r had been a Man of Senſe would have kept this Fool at home; would not have made his Family ri- culous by expoſing him thus to the orld.* If making his Family ri- culous had been all the Conſe- ence, the Story would not have en worth mentioning, the whole ation was made ridiculous by it; certainly Foreigners muſt think at a Man ſent in ſo high a Cha- ter, and to tranſact Buſineſs of eat Importance, muſt be a Man of Conſequence in his own Country; and let the World judge what Idea they could entertain of that People, amongſt which ſuch an Animal could be a Man of Conſequence.

On the other Side, I am ready to own, that a Fool has no Right to ſpoil the publick Buſineſs, becauſe Nature hath given him an agree- able Outſide, or that by Education he hath acquired genteel Habits, or that he can count a long Roll of Gentlemen amongſt his Anceſtors. If Abilities ſhould not be prefer'd to Birth, the Publick would be mi- ſerably ſerv'd; but ſure it muſt be very ſtrange, that a Man who had engroſs'd the Diſpoſal of all the Preferments in the *B*——— Domi- nions, to whom it never was im- puted as one of his Faults, that he was partial in Favour of Birth, who choſe rather to pick up his Friends from all the Dunghills in the King- dom, ſhould not in the Space of 20 Years have prefer'd any one Man of Honour or Abilities; not any one Man, I ſay, who could be an Ornament to him in his Proſperity, or a Defence to him in his Adver- ſity.

Craftſman, July 3. N° 835.

Of the late M——r, *and what has happen'd ſince his Reſignation.*

SIR,

UPON his preſent Majeſty's Ac- ceſſion, among the Number of good Things which were expected to be the immediate Fruit of that happy Event, a total Change of the Adminiſtration was look'd upon as unavoidable. It was even given out that the preſent L—d *W*—— was in Poſſeſſion of the Secret; and that his Honour, as a certain P—r of Yeſterday has ſince been ſtiled, had actually made his Court to him, as Lord of the Aſcendant, and pre- fer'd

fer'd his Petition, humbly beſeeching, *To be let down ſoftly.*

Now, whether this Incident is true or not, we all know that the *N——k Jockey*, by the Help of a *Smithfield* Trick or two, not only kept his Saddle, but threw his Rivals into the Dirt, and made them glad to be taken in as his *Helpers*, almoſt from that Day to this.

There is, however, ſomething ſo like the Language of the Heart in that Expreſſion, *To be let down ſoftly*, that I am more than half inclined to think it was the Dictate of Nature, and not one of the Lies of the Day.

It has, moreover, I am afraid, ſome Authority from Hiſtory, as well as Conjecture; I mean, that many Precedents are to be found, or underſtood, of Bargains or Compromiſes of the like Claſs. Almoſt all Miniſters have been hunted, but few have been run down; when ſtripp'd of their Power, one would think they had been purged of their Guilt; the Chace is given over; the Cry ceaſes; and he that but now was treated as if a thouſand Lives would ſcarce pay the Forfeit of his Crimes, is ſuffer'd to go off in Peace with the only one he had to loſe.

Hence, therefore, we muſt neceſſarily conclude, either that many an innocent Man has been driven to Extremities, thro' Ambition, Envy, Avarice, Party-Spleen, or perſonal Enmity; or elſe that, like the Beaver in the Fable, the Stateſman, in his Extremity, parts with the precious Appendages he is poſſeſs'd of, as a Ranſom for a worthleſs Being, which the Purſuer then no longer thinks worth following.

No Man was ever more violently attack'd, or more virulently abuſed than *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*; and that, at a Criſis when it was almoſt dangerous to urge any Thing in his Behalf; every Journal, every Pamphlet, every Speech, almoſt, was calculated to make him a public Victim; his moſt inveterate Enemies were ſelected to be his Proſecutors, and a whole Volume of Particulars was collected, by Way of Materials, for an Impeachment; and yet all this mighty Pile of Scaffolding fell to the Ground, before one Stone of the Building could be laid.——The Maſter-Architect ſoon diſcover'd his Foundation was not good, and had, therefore, the Addreſs to be paid as largely for the Model, as if he had finiſh'd the Edifice.

Juſtice, for its own, or the Nation's Sake, was, moreover, the leading of his Thoughts. He had already received a large Dividend of Power, and was not without Hope of engroſſing the reſt. Rigid Precedents with regard to the Abuſe of it might, in the End, be foreſaw, be urged againſt himſelf, and thereby cut off all Apology for his Conduct, all Pretenſion to Mercy.

The Fiſh was catch'd. The Net was uſeleſs.

Let this ſerve to account for all the boaſted Lenity and Forbearance of his long, but ignominious Adminiſtration; for his oppoſing every Step that ever was taken, either within Doors or without, to puniſh the Frauds and Corruptions of thoſe who, under his Umbrage, had plunder'd the Publick; for his having the Confidence to riſe up in their Defence; and doing his utmoſt to *let them down as ſoftly as poſſible.*

Knowing himſelf to be rotten to the Core, to be the Fountain-Head of that *Stygian* Filth which has deluged the whole Land, he would not, for his own Sake, ſuffer Juſtice to uſe either her Balance or Sword. Of this, various Examples might be produced; but many of them are ſo recent, that I need only appeal to the Memory of my Readers.

His Day of Wrath, Tribulation,

Anguiſh, at laſt, overtook him. ſaw him cover'd with Shame Confuſion; Deſpair was in his e, and Horror in his Heart. He d himſelf beſet with the Snares Death; the Pangs of Hell had dy taken hold of him. He 'd round, and, with good Rea- thought there was none to de- r. The whole Nation beheld trembling on a Precipice of beheld his Footing melt from eath him, and expected every ment to ſee him daſh'd to Pieces his own corrupt Weight.

Notwithſtanding all which, in- d of the Ruin which ſeem'd ſo roidable, we ſaw him *let down* ly, as if at his own Requeſt; ſaw him at Liberty, at Eaſe, ying the Fruits of his Iniqui- ; and, as if in Poſſeſſion of the ine of *Archimedes*, drawing the rld after him, tho' ſeeming to his Leave of it.

uch was the Fidelity of the De- he had ſold himſelf to; and re an Example was he to be of oſt uninterrupted Felicity!

ut not to ſatisfy ourſelves with dering at what is extraordinary, n it may be rather expected us to throw ſome Light on t ſeems myſterious, let no one gine he owed his Eſcape either nocence or his Services ——— is Country.——As to his Servi- how does it appear, that his ntry is in the leaſt in Debt to upon any ſuch Account? Ser- s no Doubt he has performed, thoſe very extraordinary too; who ever poſſeſs'd the Confi- e of his *****, without his ction, upon any other Tenure? for Acknowledgments, let him them at *Madrid*, *Paris*, *Copen- r*, *Liſbon*, and all the little, cenary Courts of ****; more cially *one*, which it is needleſs pecify; for whoſe Sake alone, no Way related to *Great Bri-*

tain, or capable to afford her any Aſſiſtance, either by Arms or Commerce, he has plunged us into Expences almoſt beyond Eſtimation, expoſed us to Diſgraces, as it is feared, indelible, and thrown an additional Weight into the Scale of our Arch Enemy, tho' before believed to be more than half Maſter of the Fate of *Europe*.

The very Services then, which muſt be ſuppoſed his only Security, are to us the moſt ſenſible Injuries; and it is by his Crimes only, that he obtains an Indemnity for his Crimes.

Alas! that the nobleſt, moſt active and moſt upright of our Friends ſhould regard this very Circumſtance in ſo alarming a Light, as to ſee or fancy they ſaw Reaſon to ſlacken their Hands, to give over the Purſuit, and to *let* him *down ſoftly*, whom they had, for ſo many Years together, with ſo laudable a Spirit, endeavour'd to bring to condign Puniſhment.

No Doubt, they were induced to this Conduct by an Apprehenſion, that Juſtice, once put into Action, would, in very deed, be no Reſpecter of Perſons; that conſequently ſhe would ſtretch forth her Hand too far, and create more Evils than ſhe cured.

No Doubt, they did not forego all thoſe Advantages, which the People had with ſo much Difficulty, Reſolution and Perſeverance obtained, without inſiſting on the beſt Equivalent, which, all Circumſtances conſidered, ſeem'd to them likely to be procured.

No Doubt, they were in Heart convinced, that the mere diſplacing of our Enemy was one material Step to the reſtoring our Tranquillity; that the opening a Way thereby for Power to change Hands, was another happy Expedient to quiet the Rage of Parties; and that the reſtoring Union to the R—— F——,

was a Point of the laſt Conſequence to the F——y itſelf, in whoſe Happineſs we are all ſo deeply concerned.

And no Doubt, they had good Reaſon to believe, that we ſhould find our Account in the Alterations A propoſed, with reſpect to the Conduct of the War, and the Maxims to be obſerved for the future in our foreign Affairs.

But however effectually juſtify'd theſe great Men may hold themſelves, from the Premiſſes, or how- B ever upright the Intentions of thoſe other Gentlemen were, who were led into the ſame Meaſures by the Authority of ſo noble an Example, neither one nor the other can claim a Right or Power to diſpoſe of the People as a mere Herd, who had C nothing to do but follow their Bell-Weathers.

As one of that Herd, therefore, free, tho' obſcure, with ſome Capacity to think, tho' with little Power to act, I preſume to come forward, and inquire at leaſt, Whether the D ſtrict adhering to the ancient Law-Maxim, *That the King can do no Wrong*, and the laying the whole Load, where it ought to reſt, on the evil Counſellor, is not ſufficient to obtain Juſtice in its full Latitude, for the People on one Hand, with- E out ruſhing upon the Miſchiefs ſo fearfully apprehended on the other?

Whether this Aſſurance, properly made, might not have induced the Perſons concerned to allow Juſtice its free Courſe, and atoned for all paſt Miſcarriages, by indulging the F Publick with one noble Precedent, that Law and Government were not ſupported and eſtabliſhed in vain?

Whether, to a People ſenſible of their Rights, and exaſperated with their Wrongs, the giving Cauſe to believe that what they claim'd as G their Due, both by Nature and the grand Charter of Government, is like to be refuſed; or is litigated to the utmoſt by thoſe, who ought to pay it on Demand; or is to be left politically ſuſpended, in Hopes it may be forgot; or depends on the Courteſy of any Perſon whatever, will not probably be attended with as pernicious Conſequence, even as the rigid Exaction of it, ſo much dreaded by thoſe, who have given into ſo many ſtrange Expedients, in order to ſcreen what cannot be excuſed?

And laſtly, whether, if we are frighten'd, or perſuaded from contending for what theſe our Mediators repreſent as *too much*, we ſhall not be effectually defeated of *all*?

For with regard to the Equivalent above hinted at, I look upon it as relating principally to the R— F———, and the Candidates for Power; and what the People are very remotely concern'd in. Where as, it was avowedly in Pity of the People's Sufferings, and for the Redreſs of their Grievances, that the Oppoſition was firſt declared; and that the Leaders of that Oppoſition ſhould carry their own Points, and yet the People remain in *Statu quo*, will render all Pretenſions to Patriotiſm ridiculous to the End of Time.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

OLD-STERLING.

Common Senſe, July 10. N° 282.

Of the late Adm———n, &c.

THE moſt eſſential Part of Oeconomy in the Management of a private Fortune is to keep a regular Account of your Receipts and Diſburſements. How many Men of plentiful Eſtates have been ruined without any Extravagance in their Manner of living, merely for Want of keeping a ſtrict Check over their Stewards and Receivers? The ſame Negligence will reduce a Common-wealth to Bankruptcy, that ruins private Men. If human Nature be

liable to Corruption, what ſtrong-
Temptation can there be to ren-
it corrupt, than to be ſecure
m the Fear of Puniſhment, from
ſcovery, and from being brought
Shame?

It hath been the Cuſtom hereto- A
e in this Nation once in 2 or 3
ars to appoint Commiſſioners to
mine and ſtate the publick Ac-
unts. Our Parliaments thought
y did not diſcharge their Truſt
the People, unleſs they ſatisfied
m, that the Money which had B
n raiſed upon them, had been
neſtly and ſtrictly applied to the
es for which it was given, that is,
the neceſſary Services of the
mmonwealth; but as if it had
n neither the ſame Country, nor
ſame Conſtitution, there hath C
n no ſuch Thing during a late
miniſtration of 20 Years.

Is it, that no extraordinary Sums
e been raiſed upon the Country
hin that Time? Is it, that no
re than the common and ordi-
y Supplies uſual in Times of D
ace having been granted, and no
ficiencies having been pretended,
h a Commiſſion was not neceſ-
y? Or is it, that the M———'s
aracter for Virtue, Honour and
tegrity was ſo well eſtabliſhed,
t the Nation was ſatisfied with- E
Account, that their Money was
employed either to enrich him
his Slaves, or to undermine the
nſtitution?

Which of all theſe hath been the
aſon? It cannot be the firſt; for
h immenſe Sums never were rai- F
in Times of Peace, ſeldom in
mes of War; and we are very
, the publick Debts have not
n leſſened by them.

As to Deficiencies (not to men-
n little Things) let us not forget
Debt of two Millions upon the G
vy trump'd up ſome Years ago,
o' as much as had been aſked
the Uſe of the Navy had been
annually granted; and nobody dreamt of ſuch a Debt, till Money was aſk'd for Payment of it.

As to the Hon. Gentleman's Character, I think it was ſo well eſtabliſhed before he acquired all that Power, that I will aſk, whether there was a Man in the Kingdom, that would have truſted him with the laying out of 100 *l.* without ſome better Security than his Honour?

To what can it be owing, that no Accounts have been demanded in 20 Years? How came ſuch an implicit Faith to be repoſed in a Man labouring under the moſt abandoned Character? If we inquire the Cauſes of this, it will lead us into a Hiſtory we have not Room for at preſent. *Defendit Numerus* may be a ſhort Reaſon for every ſcandalous Meaſure, but it is a very bad one. If the Nation finds itſelf aggriev'd, and complains, and is ſure to be anſwer'd with a Sneer and a Laugh; if every Complaint ends in an inſolent Triumph on the Side of the Oppreſſors, it is a melancholy Situation.

Every body knows how it went on, as long as this Man's Power laſted; ſince he has been obliged to quit his Seat, no Promiſes, no Bribes, no Menaces, no Tricks have been omitted to defeat all Inquiry. If he be innocent,—to ſay more, if he is not the worſt Man that any Nation was ever curs'd with, what muſt they be, who for 20 Years have been repreſenting him as ſuch? If he be guilty, if he is the Author of all the Corruption within, and the Diſhonours that have fallen upon the Natian abroad, how can they anſwer in this World or the next, that are labouring to ſcreen him?

Beſides an immenſe Civil Liſt and about two Millions a Year for the Payment of the Intereſt of publick Debts, about three Millions and a half a Year more hath been drawn out of the Pockets of the People,

one

one Year with another, for the current Service of the Year during this bleſſed Adm———on. If the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation had been better maintain'd, than while a regular Account was given, no Doubt his eminent Services would be quoted upon us to balance his R———s; but his Adm———on is a Proof, that a large Revenue, when it paſſes thro' weak and corrupt Hands, is a Prejudice to a Nation: If, during this Man's exorbitant Power, a Million and a half yearly of that Money had been kept in the People's Pockets to follow their Trade, no Inconveniency could have happened by it: On the contrary, how many ſilly Expeditions, how many ridiculous T——s, how many infamous Jobbs would have been unheard of? To find out the Art of making the moſt formidable Navy the World ever ſaw, an uſeleſs Burden to the Nation, is an Invention altogether new; and if Armies were raiſed and ſome Part ſent abroad, how ingenious muſt it be to make them of no Uſe, but to furniſh an Occaſion to rob the poor Soldier as well as the Nation.—— Such are the glorious Triumphs of one Adm———on!

The Nation is ſtill calling for Juſtice againſt its Robber and Oppreſſor. Some of his Crimes are ſelf-evident: You may as well aſk a Proof that the Sun ſhines while you are ſcorched with its Heat, as require Evidence of thoſe Crimes, which all the World hath ſeen. Others not of ſo publick a Nature are diſcovered, notwithſtanding the Pains and the Power made uſe of to ſuppreſs all Evidence. What Kind of Defence does his honourable Tools make uſe of to clear him of the laſt? Why they modeſtly tell us, to embezzle the publick Money is no more than what any Miniſter would do. Let us carry the Thing a little farther; a Man robs the publick Treaſure, and employs [illegible] Money to deſtroy the Conſtitution, which is only Robbery and Murder. Theſe may be *Peccadillo's* in the Catalogue of his Crimes in the moſt deſt Opinion of his Tools; but believe in Reaſon and in Equity, any one Act of this Nature ſhould be proved, there is no Occaſion for going farther. When an infamous Felon is indicted of ſeveral Crimes, if the Murder be firſt proved, it is unneceſſary to trouble the Court with trying the petty Larcenies after; the Convict may be delivered into the Hands of his Honour, the laſt Executioner of the Law, without any more Ceremony.

Craftſman, July 10. N° 836.

A Series of our Management with regard to foreign Affairs.

SIR,

FOreigners, who make no Diſtinction between the Actions of our Miniſters, and the Sentiments of thoſe they govern, for the general, believe us to be as fickle and inconſtant as our Weather; and this Opinion of theirs, we have ſcarce any Right to complain of when we reflect on the Whims and Vagaries of our Councils, which in different Reigns, have led us into Meaſures directly oppoſite to, and utterly irreconcileable with each other; to treat Foes as Friends, and Friends as Foes, to build up, pull down, and rebuild again, without aſſigning one tolerable Reaſon for doing either.

To this it was owing that Sir *William Temple*, tho' ſo able and upright a Miniſter, met with ſuch Difficulties in negotiating the Triple *League*; and that *De Wit* though himſelf authorized to ſay, in one of their Conferences upon that Occaſion, "That the Unſteadineſs of Councils in *England* ſeem'd a ſtrange

ng to its Conſtitution; that he
ld not judge from what Grounds,
from the Time of Queen *Eli-*
th, there had been a perpetual
ſtuation in the Conduct of *Eng-*
with whom it was not poſſible
ke Meaſures for two Years to-
er."

nd to this, without Queſtion, it
wing, that the excellent Lord
has met with the like Difficul-
at the preſent Criſis; eſpeci-
ſince to him might be repeat-
with equal Propriety, what was
wiſe urged to Sir *William*, by
Penſionary before named; *I know*
the preſent Miniſtry, and can ſay
ng to them; but I knew the laſt
ell.

o do and *undo*, ſeems to have
the Sum total of our foreign
icks. Thus, in the Reign of
late Queen, we labour'd, firſt,
umble the Houſe of *Bourbon*;
hen, thinking we had ſucceed-
but too fatally, we changed
, and ſet ourſelves, almoſt as
ly, to do as much for that of
ia.

1716, we alter'd our Politicks
, and, to throw more Weight
the Emperor's Scale, found
and Means to give him the
Iſland of *Sicily*, in Exchange
rdinia. Beſides which, in 1718,
hought it worth our while to
into a War with *Spain*, and
y lay the Foundation of all
iſchiefs we have ſuffer'd from
Quarter ſince, that the Gran-
of his Imperial Majeſty might
no Diminution.

withſtanding which, in 1725,
yſtem of *Europe*, we were
, had taken ſo new, and
e a Turn, by the Treaty of
, (which, for a while, drew
inveterate Enemies, the Em-
and the King of *Spain*, into
others Arms) that, to hinder
from being ſwallow'd up, the
nder from being ſet upon the
Throne of *Great Britain*, and *Don Carlos* becoming the ſovereign Lord of *Europe*, a counter Alliance was held neceſſary between the Courts of *London* and *Paris*; and, accordingly, ſuch an Alliance was com-
A pleated at *Hanover*, the ſame Year.

By which Step, and the ſeaſonable Comments which were then made upon it, the Publick began to ſuſpect that our Court-Creed had been again reverſed, with reſpect to the Emperor, ſince the Year
B 1718; and that, inſtead of ſetting ourſelves in Oppoſition to the ſtill-growing Power and Influence of *France*, we ſeem'd to aim only at an inglorious Security for ourſelves. ——I beg Pardon, I ſhould have ſaid, our Miniſters. For, as to the
C Nation, it never yet lay under a Neceſſity to truckle to *France* for its Preſervation; and never had leſs to apprehend from it, than when the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* had enter'd into the very Alliance, which gave us ſo much unneceſſary and
D inexcuſable Terror.

The monopolizing Ambition of *France* was, from henceforward, however, no longer the Bugbear of the Times; but, on the contrary, the Omnipotence, *like* to revert to *Don Carlos*, was not only ſet forth
E in the moſt frightful Colours, but we ſtruck the firſt Blow; ſent out one Squadron to block up their Galleons, and another to inſult the *Spaniſh* Coaſts; but only to terrify, not to hurt; tho' it was not their Faults, that they did not make themſelves
F Maſters of *Gibraltar*, by Way of Revenge.

But tho' we had been led into this impolitick Quarrel by *France*, our faſt Friend and Ally, we had, nevertheleſs, the Complaiſance to accept of her Mediation, in order
G to the making it up; the Conſequence of which was, the Treaty of *Seville*; by which we ſtipulated for the eventual Poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany*,

cany, *Parma* and *Placentia*, in Favour of that very *Don Carlos*, who was but juſt before impoſed upon us as the *Raw-Head* and *Bloody-Bones* of the whole Continent.

This incenſed the Emperor alike againſt *Spain* and us; and, in order to pacify both him and the Nation, we ruſh'd Hand over Head into the Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction; and ſo became, in Turn, the Drudges both of Friend and Enemy, without the Shadow of an Advantage to ourſelves.

Ambition had now Leiſure to look round, as we were told, when the Neceſſity was urged of keeping up a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace; and the Reſult was, that in 1733, *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, in Conjunction, thought fit to fall upon the Emperor, with an avow'd Deſign of driving him out of *Italy*, and dividing the Spoil among themſelves.

But, notwithſtanding the Obligation of Treaties, notwithſtanding the Violence hereby done to the Balance of Power, and the Intereſt we had in its Preſervation, we either ſtood ſtupidly at Gaze, or waſted our Time in unavailing Negotiations, or contented ourſelves with uttering unregarded Menaces, till the Opportunity was loſt; till *Don Carlos* was put in Poſſeſſion of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and *France* had, by a Ceſſion in Form, annex'd the noble Sovereignty of *Lorain* to her Empire.

It was held a ſufficient Equivalent to us for ſuffering theſe mighty Alterations to be made in *Europe*, to the Prejudice of our Friends, and to the aggrandizing our Enemies, that we were permitted to *hold our own*, and that our M——r had Leiſure to fleece with one Hand, and bribe with the other, undiſturb'd by this domineering Neighbour, and unterrify'd with her ſtanding Scare-crow, the Pretender.

But ſurely this muſt appear to be no ſuch mighty Grace, when it is conſider'd that the abandoned M———r, who had purchaſed it with ſuch almoſt unlimited Conceſſions, was effecting, by Corruption, whatever *France* could hope to do by any Revolution whatever; that, in Truth, we paid for our own Ruin; and as *Italy* was laid waſte by a foreign Enemy, we were permitted to undo ourſelves.

On this horrid Project, certain Perſons were ſo deeply intent, that no Clamours, no Warnings, no Dangers, could divert them from it. The old Cardinal muſt then have ill deſerved the Character of a Politician, if he had not made uſe of this golden Opportunity; accordingly, we find him repairing to *Dunkirk* on one Hand, and demanding Liberty to recruit his *Iriſh* Regiments on the other; and the latter had actually been granted, as the other was connived at, if the Enemies of our great Man had not ſaved him, almoſt whether he would or not, from the Guilt of ſo enormous and prepoſterous a Meaſure. (See our *Mag.* for *April* laſt, p. 17[illegible]

Having thus touch'd upon the Variations in our political Weather-Glaſs, as far as they were owing to our Councils, we are now to take Notice of one which was wholly owing to the People, the War with *Spain*; but all *Europe* was ſoon [illegible] to underſtand, that the Miniſtry row'd one Way, and the Nation the other. Hence follow'd ſuch a Chaos of Events, as are neither reconcileable to War nor Peace. No Rupture declared in Form, Embargoes, Impreſſes, Augmentations, every other Article of Oſtenſible and Expence; with ſcarce a Proof that any one vigorous Step was made, or intended to be made; ſo that in Fact we only made Work on ourſelves, and were, even by the Meaſure of our own, made the Inſtruments of our own Deſtruction.

From hence we might turn our
es to the Calamities let looſe upon
rmany, ſince the Deceaſe of the
mperor, in order to ſeal the Fate
the Houſe of *Auſtria*; we might
imadvert on the Brow of Defi-
ce, which a certain E——— aſ-
med on this Occaſion, till per-
ded into better Temper by Meſ-
urs *de B*——, and *de M*———*s*.
t theſe are Incidents which be-
g rather to *****, than *Eng-*
d; and therefore to be only men-
n'd, in order to be paſs'd over.
But ſurely ******* had no
ncern in the O—rs ſent to the
—*ſh* Fleet; in Virtue of which,
muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed, that
e *Spaniſh* Squadron was ſuffer'd to
s unmoleſted thro' the Straits of
braltar, in Sight of an Admiral,
o had been ſtation'd there for
ars, in Expectation of ſome ſuch
portunity, of ſtriking a deciſive
w. Here, therefore, miniſterial
rice appears with a Vengeance;
to what, beſide, can we aſcribe
dd a Strain of Mercy, ſhewn to
Enemy, we had declared War
n, only to puniſh? Or how elſe can
account for our pocketing the
ront, offer'd to the Flag of *Eng-*
d by the *French* on the ſame Oc-
on; who, when a Feint was
le of purſuing the ſaid Enemy,
k them under the Protection of
Moſt Chriſtian King, on the
n Sea, and bid us attack them if
dared?

Having thus aſſumed a Superio-
over *Great Britain* by Sea, and,
he ſame Time, given an Empe-
o *Germany*, it is no great Won-
that, dazzled with the Splendor
uch glittering Circumſtances, a
ern Author has concluded his *
k with the following Portrait of
wer, that affected to be no leſs
King of Kings, and Lord of
ts.

"Indeed, ſo aſtoniſhingly great is that aſpiring Power become, that not one of her Neighbours, ſingly, is able to *ſtay her Hand*; or dares to ſay to her, *What doſt thou?* Nay, there is ſcarce one, which ſhe has not found Means to ſubdue to her Will, or at leaſt to diſable from doing her any conſiderable Miſchief. Thus, in Exchange perhaps for all the Commerce of the *Weſt-Indies*, has ſhe rendered herſelf ſo neceſſary to *Spain*, that her Will at *Madrid* appears to be a Law; and no Meaſure is taken, either with regard to War or Peace, without her Approbation. *Holland* ſhe holds, as it were, in a continual Blockade, and terrifies almoſt out of all Capacity of Self-Defence. By her Aſcendancy in *Germany*, ſhe has not only ruined the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and disjointed the Proteſtant Intereſt, but makes ***** a Hoſtage for the good Behaviour of ******, which laſt, by repeated, annual, uſeleſs, expenſive Preparations, ſhe has already thrown into a Conſumption, which it is poſſible may be her Bane. By making a proper Uſe of *Sardinia*, ſhe is ſovereign Miſtreſs of *Italy*; and by the Means of *Sweden* and *Turkey*, ſhe extends her Influence even as far as *Peterſburgh*. —So broad at Bottom has ſhe ſpread the *Pyramid* of her Power, ſo deep has ſhe ſunk the Foundation, ſo high has ſhe raiſed the Point, from whence, enthroned like the Mother of the Gods, ſhe demands and receives the Homage of her Fellow-Princes at her Footſtool, and iſſues out the Commands, which are to be liſtened to and obeyed like thoſe of Fate."

But, after having thus, for ſo many Years, contributed to, or connived at the growing Greatneſs of this too formidable Neighbour, our Councils ſeem at laſt to have taken

* *See a late Pamphlet, call'd* The affecting Caſe of the Queen of *Hungary*.

a contrary Turn; and, we are, once more, to unravel all again.

In order to which, we have not only granted an Aid to the Queen of *Hungary* in ready Money, but have call'd off one of her moſt potent Enemies, and, thereby, given a Shock to the whole Confederacy. We have, likewiſe, addreſs'd ourſelves in ſo expreſſive and feeling a Manner to the King of *Sardinia*, that he has conſented to draw his Sword in Behalf of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and bids fair to be a principal Inſtrument in driving the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*. We have, moreover, unty'd the Hands of our own Admiral in the *Mediterranean*; in Conſequence of which, *Toulon* is, in a Manner, block'd up; and both *French* and *Spaniards* in Conjunction dare not look us in the Face; which laſt have there found their *Ne plus ultra*, in ſpite of the boaſting Motto on their Coin, or the Speech of their *Amazonian* Queen to the *Sardinian* Ambaſſador, when he had his Audience of Leave, *Tell your Maſter, my Son ſhall be King of* Italy, *whether he will or not*. Nay, we have even gone farther ſtill; got the better of our childiſh Fears of Sedition and Diſaffection at home, and ſent forth our Troops, to retrieve, we hope, our antient Glory; nor do we deſpair of ſeeing another grand Confederacy ſoon eſtabliſh'd, with the King of *Great Britain* at their Head, which ſhall not fear to ſay to the proudeſt Monarch in *Europe*, *Hitherto ſhalt thou go, and no farther*.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

Common Senſe, July 17. N° 283.

Reflexions on TACITUS's *Account of his Hiſtory.*

TACITUS advertiſes his Readers not to expect the ſame Pleaſure in peruſing his Hiſtory, which they meet with in the Works of thoſe that have writ before him; for (ſays he) other Hiſtories are fill'd with memorable and great Events, with ſurprifing Revolutions, with the Bravery and Conduct of Captains in War, their Generoſity towards their Enemies, the wiſe Inſtitutions of Legiſlators, the memorable Sayings of wiſe Men, with innumerable Inſtances of a generous publick Spirit, ſhewing the Love of Country;—but that in his Hiſtory they will read of nothing but the baſe Proſtitution of Patricians, of the Perfection of Virtue, and Encouragement of all Kinds of Villany, of the Ruin of private Families by Spies and Informers, of the corrupt and arbitrary Execution of Laws; of the ſame Injuſtice, the ſame Servility, and the ſame Oppreſſions over and over again.

What would *Tacitus* have ſaid, had he given a Hiſtory of a 20 Years Adminiſtration in another Country, and in a later Age? Would he not have introduced it by telling his Readers, they muſt expect to meet with nothing but what will move their Indignation, that they will ſee an Account of a Nation that was once brave and free, that ſuffer'd a more ſcandalous Degree of Servitude than *Rome* in the Days of a *Sejanus*; that there was nothing wicked or baſe, that could poſſibly enter into the Exerciſe of Government, but what was both practiſed and defended there; that all Intereſts, foreign and domeſtick, were ſacrificed to the eſtabliſhing an unnatural Power in one low, baſe Man; that the Laws were now muzzled, and now let looſe, as it beſt ſerv'd to defend the Man's Tools, or deſtroy his Enemies; that more Families were ruin'd by Projects to enrich this Fellow and his Slaves, than could have been undone by a Civil War or an Invaſion of *Barbarians*?

An Author could not have ſaid leſs in a Preface to ſuch a Hiſtory; but if he ſhould come to give an Account of a Turn in the Man's Fortune, if he ſhould deſcribe his Fall, and tell us that it was owing inſtead to the Honeſty of the middling People, who obtain'd a Victory over Corruption itſelf; that when the Nation with one Voice call'd loud for Juſtice, they were baffled and found that a Set of Miſcreants united themſelves in his Defence, that all the Quirks and Chicanes uſually practiſed by inferior Felons were made uſe of for his Service; that the Nation's Honour, the People's Quiet, were

ged to give way, that the moſt corrupt
the World ever ſaw might enjoy the
its of all his Villanies: When he came,
, to expatiate upon all this, where would
have found Words to have expreſſed the
gnation of his Soul, and to have given
Readers a juſt Abhorrence for ſuch
es?

Where Men have been Sharers in the
lt, it is no Wonder at all they ſhould op-
the Puniſhment; they may have good
ſon to apprehend it will come home to
mſelves: But if thoſe that have not been
rners in the Iniquity, who had neither
ligation, nor Affection, nor Attachment
the Perſon of the Delinquent, ſhould,
n they have it in their Power to ſatisfy
tice, go into a contrary Scheme, the
orld will be apt to think, that altho' they
not love the Criminal, they did not hate
Crime.——The Conſtruction which it is
tural for the World to put upon ſuch a Be-
viour is, that they don't think it politick
make Precedents for puniſhing ſuch Crimes
ich they intend to commit themſelves.'

§. *The fatal Conſequences of* LUXURY.

'THERE is no greater Calamity can befal
any People or State, than when Luxury
troduc'd amongſt them, eſpecially where
comes general, and is carried on to ſo
at a Length, that every Individual is un-
r ſome Neceſſity of living beyond his For-
e, or incurring the Cenſure of being ava-
ious. A Man once engaged in this extra-
ant Courſe of living ſeldom is able to ex-
cate himſelf in Time, but is hurried on
the Brink of Ruin, reduces a helpleſs Fa-
ly to Want and Miſery, and muſt at
gth ſink under a Weight of Misfortunes;
thro' Neceſſity be drove to attempt what
y ſacrifice his Honour, Country, and Con-
ence, and every other Conſideration to a
ſent Relief, which may, which muſt at
end in his total Deſtruction. However
iable Virtue and Integrity may appear in
r Eyes, human Nature will find it diffi-
lt to withſtand the threatning Miſery of
mediate Want; a Priſon ſtaring a Man in
e Face, continual Dunns at his Door, or
ant of his accuſtom'd Pleaſures will drive
m to Extremities, which nothing but Ne-
ſſity could occaſion; he is no more Maſter
himſelf, but like a drowning Man catches
every Thing, even his deareſt Friend, tho'
ſhould periſh with him.

To what Extremities will not this melan-
oly Situation lead a Man? To Poverty,
ame, Villany, Dependency, and Diſgrace,
d at length to ſell one's Country to ſupport
idle Extravagancy. Let a Man's Eſtate
what it will, if he lives beyond it, this
ill be the Caſe ſooner or later; and if ever
the Legiſlative Power ſhould fall into ſuch neceſſitous Hands, the very Thing which ſhould make us happy, the Abundance of publick Treaſure, may, if artfully manag'd by a deſigning Adminiſtration, prove the intire Deſtruction of this Conſtitution.

No Miniſter who aims at abſolute Power, can attain it by more effectual Methods than, A firſt, by introducing Luxury, which muſt be attended by Poverty and Want, and to make Amends for the bitter Wound by healing them with a Place or Penſion; deadly is the Draught, but ſweet is the Poiſon. Pope *Sixtus* V. finding the *Romans* not quite ſo ſubmiſſive to his Will as he wiſh'd for, erected a publick Fund at *Rome* and allowed an extraordinary Intereſt; the People, not aware B of his deep laid Scheme, were tempted with the Bait and threw in their whole Stock, by which Means *Sixtus* got Poſſeſſion of all the Treaſure in his Dominions, and conſequently of the Power; for it is a known Maxim, that where the Riches are, there the Power will be alſo; therefore a Man who throws away all his Fortune, and becomes C entirely dependent on a Place or Penſion, is ſurely in the poor *Roman*'s Caſe, and only a Tenant at Will; and I believe every ſenſible Man will ſay, that the Man who would exchange a freehold Eſtate to ſuch a Tenancy muſt be entirely deprived of common Senſe; and yet how frequently do we ſee Examples of this Nature? Men of good Eſtates laviſhly ſquandering them away, and leaving D themſelves nothing but the Comfort of a Place or Penſion.

Craftſman, July 17. Nº 837.

The Oppoſition to the late M———r proved at laſt to have been well grounded, with an Abſtract of a certain R———T.

SIR,

WHILE it was yet a Controverſy, whether the People had the beſt Grounds for their Accuſation, or their Adverſary for his Defence; both he and his harden'd Coadjutors above, and his dirty Band of Mercenaries below, not only ſtood upon his Innocence, and affirm'd his whole Adminiſtration to be without Spot or Blemiſh; but recriminated in their Turn; inſiſted upon it, that the Injury was of his Side; that he was blaſted by a Faction; that he was loaded with Calumnies; and that he was perſecuted only becauſe he was ſo great.

Nor did they ſtop here; for they had the Modeſty not only to wipe off the Filth ſaid G to be thrown upon him by his Enemies, but to ſet him forth as another *Godolphin*, *Burleigh*, *Cicero*; as the Saviour and Preſerver of the Commonwealth; as a Prodigy of Abi-

lity and Integrity; as worthy of Inſcriptions, Statues, Columns, Arches, and every other Symbol of publick Honour and Gratitude; as the Hero of the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and the very guardian Genius of *Great Britain*.

Nay, they went farther ſtill; they took the Advantage of the Ambiguity of the Law, to chaſtiſe, and, as far as it lay in their Power, to undo thoſe who ſtood forth in Behalf of the People, who repreſented their Grievances in the Light they deſerved, who urged them home to the very Head of their diabolical Author, and paved the Way for his Diſgrace.

During this Criſis, likewiſe, nothing was more common within Doors, than when any Inſinuation was dropp'd of Mal-Adminiſtration, of Miſtakes in our Policy abroad, of Corruption or Profuſion in the Management of our Revenues at home, for either he himſelf, or ſome of his Satellites, to ſtand up in a Flame of Zeal and Reſentment, and defy, defy, defy Gentlemen to make good any Article to his Prejudice; and withal, to reprimand them for preſuming to glance at what they knew they could not prove.

The like Defiances were moreover echo'd without Doors; and ſcarce a ſingle Item was ever advanced, or hinted to the Publick, but 'Squire *Freeman*, or ſome one of his Underſtrappers, with *P—x—n*, like the Devil at his Elbow, loudly clamour'd to have it demonſtrated; that his M———y's Att——y G———l might have an Opportunity to put in what they called a proper Reply.

The happy Day, however, came at laſt, when thoſe Defiances, ſo often and ſo vainly repeated, might be with Prudence and Safety both accepted and anſwer'd.——But where, alas! were our luſty Challengers now? In the Liſts, and ready to throw down the Gauntlet, as before? No ſuch Thing. The laſt Day, with all its Terrors, could hardly have diſmayed them more. Their very Faces, embronz'd as they were, became an Index to their Guilt; and thoſe very Men, who had called God and the World to witneſs, that they were innocent, and that they deſired nothing more ardently, than to be put to any Trial whatever, did not bluſh to have Recourſe to every Subterfuge, however notoriouſly mean, baſe, and ſcandalous, to evade the ſearching Eye of Juſtice, tho' ſecure, fatally ſecure, from her avenging Hand.

But notwithſtanding Protections, Evaſions, Negatives, and every other Screen of every other Kind, enough appears to juſtify the Complaints of the People, the Writings of their Advocates, and the Oppoſition of their Repreſentatives.

He was accuſed of keeping up to his original Plan of the *F*—— and *B*—— *C*——*t*, and making a Jobb of every Service, that could, by any Device, be tortured into any Thing of that Nature.

We have now Demonſtration, that he enter'd into a Contract with certain ***** I will not call them C——l——ls, becauſe ſuch are ſaid to prey only upon their Foes, to pay thoſe gallant Men, who, as it is moſt pathetically ſet forth *chearfully undertook a Service, where the Enemy was the leaſt Danger they were expoſed to*, after the Rate of 100 *l.* *Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l.* Sterling; or, to ſpeak more intelligibly to your Readers in general, with 62 Moidores, which is but 83 *l.* 14 *s.* Sterling; by which Means, the poor Soldiers loſt one Day's Subſiſtance Money in ſeven, in a Country where Proviſions bear ſuch a Price, that the People of *Jamaica* had voluntarily made an Addition to the Pay of the Independent Companies before ſtationed among them, of 20 *s.* *per* Week to every Officer, and 5 *s.* to every Soldier; tho' every Species of Eatables was then 50 *l.* *per Cent.* cheaper than they are now.

In Aggravation of all which, we moreover find, that an Advance of no leſs than 69,000 *l.* publick Money, was made to theſe bleſſed C——rs, who are likewiſe M——n, to enable them for the Undertaking; that certain Shares of the Profits of the ſaid iniquitous Contract were afterwards dealt out to another worthy M——r, and to a Relation of a Fourth; and that in the whole Proceeding, neither the Intereſt of the Soldier, or the Publick, ſeems to have been ever the Object of ———'s Attention.

He was likewiſe accuſed of ſapping our Conſtitution at its very Foundation, by making Uſe of the Wealth, Power, and Places in the Gift of the Crown, to influence Elections; and thereby introduce a criminal Dependency into that Houſe, where it becomes, and ought to be declared the worſt of Treaſons.

And it is now apparent, that 1000 *l.* was actually advanced by Mr. S——r *P—x—n*, to one Mr. *B*——, a Candidate, on the M———l Intereſt for *Wendover*, in 1735, without Bond, Note, or Receipt, on the ſole Merit of his having been ill uſed at his former Election.

That ſeveral thouſand Pounds had been delivered by Mr. *Lawton*, one of his known Agents, to carry on Proſecutions, in order to new-model the Borough of *Orford*, which was underſtood by Mr. *Banks*, Partner with *P—x—n*, to be publick Money.

That the Bailiff and two Aldermen of *Radnor* had been ouſted from their Offices, and a new Charter obtain'd; all, as it muſt be underſtood, at the publick Charge; ſince all was defray'd by the ſaid known Undertaker, *P—x—n*.

That ſeveral Proſecutions likewiſe at the publick

blick Charge, were ſet on Foot with a View
fluence the late Election at *Colcheſter*, to
the Borough, get out the Mayor, and get
Returning-Officer.

And that at *Weymouth*, Letters under our
verſary's own Hand, offering to make
d whatever his Agent ſhould promiſe in
ay of Places and Preferments, in Ex-
ge for Votes and Intereſt, were actually
duced; but not having the deſired Effect,
Example was made of the Officer, who
uſed to comply with the Terms propoſed,
turning him out of his Place; which he
held ever ſince the Year 1729, and had
en in the Service ever ſince the Year
12.

From all which remarkable Particulars,
following obvious and intereſting Deduc-
ns are made.

"To ſuch notorious Attacks as theſe, upon
Freedom of Elections, your C——
chend, are owing the great, and, poſſi-
, unwarrantable Expences, that particular
bers may have been drove to engage in;
e Expences the Laws allow, by regula-
the Manner of them, and thoſe who
ge in illicit Expences, are ſubject to
y penal Laws; but there are none par-
larly adapted to the Caſe of a Miniſter,
clandeſtinely employs the Money of the
blick, and the whole Power and profitable
ployments, that attend the collecting any
ſing of it, againſt the People; and by
Profuſion and criminal Diſtribution of
es, in ſome Meaſure, juſtifies the Ex-
e that particular Perſons are obliged to
; by making it neceſſary to the Preſer-
n of all that is valuable to a free Na-
. For in that Caſe the Conteſt is plain
viſible; it is, whether the Commons
retain the third State in their own
ds, whilſt this whole Diſpute is carry'd
the Expence of the People, and on the
of the Miniſter, out of the Money
ted, to ſupport and ſecure the conſtitu-
l Independency of the three Branches of
Legiſlature. This Method of Corruption
ſure, and therefore your C——— ap-
ends as criminal a Way of ſubverting
Conſtitution as by an arm'd Force; it is
me productive of a total Deſtruction of
very Being of this Government, and is
gh and unnatural, that nothing but the
ers of Parliament can reach it; and as
never meet with parliamentary Ani-
verſion but when it is *unſucceſsful*, it muſt
for its Security in the Extent and Effi-
of the Miſchief it produces; and there-
your C—— apprehend it is the more
ſary for your Conſideration, while its
of Succeſs yet leaves an Opportunity to
ve and maintain your *Independency* for
ture."

tly, he has been accuſed of being pro-
fuſe of the publick Money, beyond Example; and, of this, we are furniſh'd with ſuch glaring Proofs, as cannot be aggravated on one hand, nor palliated on the other.

For Example; we have the Particulars of Diſburſements amounting to 50,077*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* (of which no leſs than 10,097*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid within *four Years only*, to the celebrated *Francis Walſingham*, Eſq;) being the ten Years ſtanding Charge of *Gazetteers*; and, a Lump of 127,532*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* more, under the Head of *Bounties*, to the ſaid ingenious, and no leſs ſerviceable Perſons.

We find one Item of 30,119*l.* 4*s.* to a noble Earl, for which no Service at all is ſpecify'd; tho' it is underſtood to ſignify a Complication.

We find another to a noble Duke, of 7000*l.* which, thro' their Exceſs of Candour and Charity, your Readers may account for as they pleaſe.

We find a Third of 1500*l.* iſſued to the High Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*, notwithſtanding he was then in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for having acted at the general Election in an illegal and arbitrary Manner, in Prejudice of the Rights and Liberties of the Electors of the ſaid City, and in manifeſt Violation of the Freedom of Elections.

We find, moreover, that, two Days before *he* reſign'd, *viz. February* 9th, 17,461*l.* was paid into his Hands, by Virtue of three Warrants ſign'd but the ſame Day; which were pawn'd with the Bank Officer, in order to raiſe that Sum, before they had paſs'd thro' the uſual Forms of the Exchequer; and till Money came into that Office, on Account of the Civil Liſt, to redeem them.

And, laſtly, we find, that, whereas the whole Amount of Expences, incurr'd under the Head of *Secret Service*, &c. from the Year 1707, to the Year 1717, was no more than the Sum of 279,444*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* ½, the ten Years in Queſtion under his Adminiſtration, under the ſaid Head, was ſwell'd to 1,447,736*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* (See the following *State.*)

From the Premiſſes, therefore, it appears, that, as far as the Inquiry has extended, with whatever Difficulties and Diſcouragements embarraſs'd, very ſufficient Evidence has aroſe, that the People had abundant Reaſon to complain of a Perſon, who had made ſo free with his Truſt on one hand, and the Conſtitution on the other.

And, from the ſaid Premiſſes, if among ſuch a Variety of dark Doings, no other ſhould emerge to Day-Light, it likewiſe appears the People have a Right to call upon their Repreſentatives, to purſue the great Work of Juſtice; that it may no longer be the Reproach of our Laws, That they reſemble Cobwebs, in which little Flies are entangled, but thro' which the great eſcape.

I am, Sir, yours, &c. TALUS.

A real State of the Accompt of the ſeveral Sums iſſued at the Exchequer, *&c. during the laſt Years, in which* Robert *Earl of* Orford *was* Firſt Commiſſioner *of the* Treaſury, Chancellor *and* Under-Treaſurer *of the* Exchequer, *out of the Money granted by Parliament for the* Support *of the* Civil Government, *&c. under the* Title *of* SECRET-SERVICE; *or other Heads of the ſame Import; that is to ſay,* excluſive *of the* Sums paid *to the* Privy-Purſe, *and of* all Bounties, Penſions, *and* Annuities, *paid by Virtue of his* MAJESTY's Eſtabliſhment, *or* Sign-Manuals, *during that Interval; and, in ſhort,* excluſive *of every* known *and* annual Expence *of* Government, *amounting to the Sum of* 1,447,736 l. 6 s. 3 d. *By Way of* Compariſon, *with the* Total *of the* Expences *incurred under the* ſame Head, *from the Year* 1707 *to the Year* 1717. *As follows:*

MONEY received at the Exchequer by the following Perſons, in Purſuance of Orders (ſigned by the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury) made out in their own Names, and the Names of others (ſome of which were unknown to the ſaid Perſons) who having no Intereſt in the ſaid Orders, paid the Money directly to Mr. *Tilſon*, Mr. *Scrope*, or Mr. *Fane*, from whom they received the ſaid Orders, and they again to Sir *Robert Walpole*, viz.

	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
John Shepherd, a Deputy-Meſſenger to the Treaſury, for Orders in his own Name	78633	14	2			
——— for Orders in Mr. *Scrope*'s Name	815819	5	2			
——— for Orders in the Names of Perſons moſtly unknown to the ſaid *Shepherd*	119211	8	4			
John Richards, late a Meſſenger to the Treaſury, *Shepherd*'s Predeceſſor	45546	18	6			
Mr. *Fane*, for Orders in Mr. *Scrope*'s and *Shepherd*'s Name; dated the 8th and 9th of *February* laſt, which Orders Mr. *Fane* pawned with the Bank-Officer, at the Exchequer; there not being Money in the Hands of the Tellers, ſufficient to anſwer the ſaid Orders; which Money Mr. *Fane* carried to the ſaid Sir *Robert Walpole*, the ſaid 9th of *February*, amounting to the Sum of	17461					
				1076673	6	
By *Shepherd* and other Perſons, which there is likewiſe great Reaſon to believe was paid to the ſaid Sir *Robert Walpole*	53619	19				
The Sums iſſued to Mr. *Lowther*, one of the Meſſengers to the Treaſury, which have been diſpoſed of by him, under the Directions of Minutes of the Treaſury, *viz.* To Authors and Printers of News-Papers; ſuch as *Free Britons*, *Daily Courants*, *Perſuaſives to Candour and Impartiality*, *Corn Cutters Journals*, *Gazetteers*, and other *Political Papers* delivered at the General Poſt-Office, amounting to 50,077 l. 15 s. and for Bounties, *&c.* 127,532 l. 16 s. 6 d. In both	177610	11				
The two Secretaries of State for ſecret Service, at 3000 l. *per Annum*, each, for 10 Years is	60000					
The Secretary of the Poſt-Office for Decypherers, *&c.*	45675					
Mr. *Middleton*, Banker, in the *Strand*, for Orders made out in his Name, but on L—d *I*——*y*'s Account	27769	4				
John Shepherd for an Order in his Name, which he paid into the ſaid *Middleton*'s on L—d *I*——*y*'s Account	2350			30119	4	
John Shepherd, for an Order in his Name, which he paid to Sir *Charles Wager*, the 2d of *January* laſt, for *John Lever*, High-Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*, as a Reward to a moſt unjuſt returning Officer, cenſured by, and actually under the Puniſhment of Parliament, as a Violator of the Liberties of his Country.	1500					
Peter Lebeup to pay Bills of Exchange drawn upon him	2539					
				1447736		

Whereas the Sums iſſued under the like Heads, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1707, to the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1717; in which Interval of Ten Years, *all* the *Circumſtances occurred* which can be *urged* in *Juſtification* of the *aforeſaid Account*; (ſuch as a general War, the Negotiations for a general Peace, two total Changes of the Adminiſtration, violent Party-Struggles, a Royal Demiſe, the happy Acceſſion of the preſent Royal Family, many popular Commotions, and a Rebellion,) amounted to *no more* than the Sum of 279,444 l. 11 s. 7 d. ½.

that it appears there has been iſſued for SECRET SERVICE, *&c.* during the *laſt Ten* s, in which the ſaid *Robert*, Earl of *Orford*, was Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, *more* than in the *Ten Years* to the 1ſt Auguſt, 1717, notwithſtanding all the aforeſaid Conſiderations, the Sum of 1,168,292*l.* 7*d.* ½.

uch an enormous Sum, ſo much exceeding the former Allowances of this Kind, obliged Gentlemen properly appointed to make the ſtricteſt Enquiry imaginable in relation to the ons to whom this Money was iſſued; and as well from the Examination of the ſaid Per- as from the Particulars aforeſaid, they found the ſtrongeſt Reaſons to conclude, that Part of it, amounting to the Sum of 1,076,672*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* was paid into the Hands of ſaid Sir *Robert Walpole*, or to his Order; and that with ſuch Circumſtances as greatly ag- ate the Suſpicions which had univerſally prevailed of a Miſapplication of the Civil-Liſt enues, to the Deſtruction of the Conſtitution, inſtead of maintaining the Honour and nity of the Crown.

The LORDS PROTEST *in relation to the Iſland of* Minorca.

Die Jovis, 28 Januarii, 1741.

"HE *Order of the Day being read, reſuming the adjourn'd Debate, which aroſe Yeſter- upon a Motion then made in the Words fol- ing*, viz.

"As it appears to this Houſe, by the Liſt the Officers belonging to the Eſtabliſhment *Minorca*, That out of nineteen Officers, one Adjutant, one of the Joint-Secre- s, the Provoſt Marſhal, and one Sur- 's Mate, and the Signal Man, are at- ing their Duty in the Iſland, it is the nion of this Houſe, that the permitting many Officers to be abſent in Time of found Peace, would be a great Neglect of publick Service, tending to the Deſtruc- of military Diſcipline; but that the ſuf- ing them to be abſent in Time of War, at nacture, when the Iſland of *Minorca* has threaten'd with an Invaſion from the niards, renders the Poſſeſſion of that im- tant Place precarious, and is highly inju- s to the Honour and Intereſt of theſe gdoms."

And alſo,

"A Motion for the Attendance of Major eral *Anſtruther*, who attending according- was called in, and having been ſworn, Liſt of the Officers belonging to the E- iſhment of *Minorca*, laid before this ſe the 20th Inſtant, diſtinguiſhing which them are upon the Place, and which of are abſent, was ſhewn to him, and he directed to give an Account of the Per- abſent, the Nature of their Offices and loyments, and the Reaſons of their be- ſo abſent; and having given an Account roof, was examined further in general as the State and Condition of the ſaid Iſland, Number and Condition of the Forces , the Manner and Method of Recruit- and other Matters.

And then he was directed to withdraw, and ſaid foregoing Motion made Yeſterday being in- ed on,

After Debate, the Queſtion was put there- , and it was reſolved in the Negative,

Contents 57, Not Contents 69.

Diſſentient

1. Becauſe we conceive, That as the Fact ſtated in the former Part of the Queſtion appear'd plainly from the Paper laid before this Houſe by the proper Officer, and neither was nor could be controverted by any one Lord, the Cenſure contain'd in the latter Part of the Queſtion was not only juſt, but as gentle as ſo evident a Neglect of ſo im- portant a Place, at ſo critical a Time, could poſſibly allow. The principal, if not the only Argument made uſe of by thoſe Lords, who oppoſed the Motion, was, That the Cenſure was general, and pointed at no par- ticular Perſons, which we rather apprehend to be a Proof of the Juſtice and Moderation of that Cenſure, as it could then only light upon the Guilty whoever they were; and we are inclined to believe, that had the Cen- ſure been applied to any particular Perſons, the contrary Argument would have been ur- ged, and the Injuſtice of a particular Cen- ſure without Proofs, ſounded high, though poſſibly, at the ſame Time, the neceſſary Means of getting at thoſe Proofs might have been rendred difficult: That out of nineteen Officers paid upon the Eſtabliſhment of *Mi- norca*, fourteen were abſent, among whom were the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the Governor of Fort *St. Philip*, was a Fact diſputed by none, tho' the ſlighteſt Cenſure of it was oppos'd by the Majority of the Houſe. We therefore hope, that Poſterity, to whom we thus appeal, will not only ap- prove of our Conduct in this Motion, but will likewiſe, from the ill Succeſs of it, find Reaſons to excuſe our not attempting many others of the like Nature.

2. Becauſe, when we conſider the tender Apprehenſions of the Adminiſtration for the Iſland of *Minorca*, in the Year 1740, when, upon Information received, that a few Troops were marching to the Coaſts of *Catalonia*, and a few Tartanes aſſembled in the Port of *Barcelona*, Orders (poſſibly obſcure from that Precipitation which the Emergency requir'd) were ſent to our Admirals in the *Mediterra-*

mean, to provide immediately for the Defence of that Iſland, *even by going there with their whole Force, if neceſſary:* By the Execution or Miſtake of which Orders, the *Spaniſh* Squadron was ſuffered to ſail from *Cadiz* to the *Weſt-Indies*, to the imminent Danger of our Fleets and Poſſeſſions there: We cannot well account for that profound Security in which the Adminiſtration ſeem'd to be the laſt Year, with regard to that valuable Poſſeſſion, when an Embarkation of fourteen or fifteen thouſand Men, and above two hundred Tranſport-ſhips was publickly preparing at *Barcelona*, and conſequently within four and twenty Hours Sail of *Minorca*, which Embarkation ſoon after went undiſturb'd to *Italy:* But we fear this inconſiſtent Conduct may give too much Credit to Inſinuations lately ſcatter'd in the Publick, that the *Britiſh* Miniſters were as ſecure that *Minorca* would not be attack'd by the *Spaniards*, as the *Spaniſh* Miniſters were that their Embarkation would ſail to *Italy* undiſturb'd by our Squadrons in the *Mediterranean*.

3. Becauſe it appears, That about the ſame Time that Major General *Anſtruther* left that Iſland, by Leave from the Secretary at War, which was on the 15th of *February* laſt, Admiral *Haddock* informs the Secretary of State, in a Letter of the 10th of the ſame Month, that by the lateſt Letters from Mr. Conſul *Birtles*, he mentions, "*That a* Spaniſh *Embarkation is actually intended, and tho' the firſt Deſign was on a ſudden dropp'd, the laſt Intelligence declares the ſame to be renew'd again*;" which Information, we conceive, was ſufficient to have excited greater Apprehenſions for the Danger of that Iſland, than ſeem to have been entertained, ſince no one Step appears to have been taken thereupon for its Defence, or any Leave of Abſence recall'd; but the whole Government was ſuffer'd to devolve to a Lieutenant Colonel of one of the Regiments there.

4. Becauſe it appear'd by the Examination of Major General *Anſtruther* at the Bar, that when he left *Minorca*, about the 15th of *February* laſt, above ſeven hundred Men were wanting to complete the Regiments there, and near the ſame Proportion of Officers abſent: That the private Soldiers were ſo uneaſy at having been there ſo long, that many deſtroy'd themſelves from Deſpair, and many maim'd themſelves to get diſcharg'd*. That ſhould the Iſland be attack'd, the Inhabitants would, in his Opinion, certainly join the *Spaniards:* That in his Opinion too, that Iſland was always in Danger when our Enemies were ſuperior in the *Mediterranean*, which has been for ſome Time, and is ſtill the Caſe. All which Circumſtances concur to prove the Danger, the Neglect, and the Juſtice of cenſuring ſuch a Neglect at ſuch a Time.

5. Becauſe it was ſaid in the Debate by thoſe whoſe high Stations beſt enable them to know, *That a general Relaxation of Government, and Abuſes of this Nature, were the Vices of the preſent Age.* A melancholy Truth! which we conceive is ſo far from being an Argument for Impunity, that it evinces the Neceſſity, at leaſt, of cenſuring ſuch as we can attain to the Knowledge and Proofs of. And indeed, we have but too much Reaſon to believe, that the ſeveral Abuſes committed in the ſeveral Branches of the Government, unpuniſh'd at leaſt, if not conniv'd at, have already produc'd Effects too ſenſibly felt by this Nation; which Abuſes, from the Nature of Things, neceſſarily multiply themſelves, and if not ſpeedily check'd, muſt ſoon forge a Chain of reciprocal and criminal Dependency, too ſtrong for even the Authority of this Houſe to break, too heavy for the Conſtitution to bear.

6. Becauſe the Motion for an Addreſs, offered in lieu of this Queſtion, in which the ſame Fact is ſtated in its full Extent, but without the leaſt Cenſure annexed to it, is in our Opinions, not only unprecedented, but inconſiſtent with the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe, as it may ſeem calculated to ſcreen the Guilt it avows; and as it may be thought to intimate future Impunity for public Crimes, if balanced by private Miniſterial Merit. Artifice may elude Inquiries, prevent Detection; Lenity may cenſure Crime, yet ſpare the Criminal: but Mankind, we fear, may be at a Loſs to account from what Motives ſo criminal a Neglect, fully ſtated, proved and admitted, could eſcape without Cenſure; or may aſcribe it to ſuch, as would affect the Reputation, and conſequently leſſen the Authority of this Houſe.

Sandwich	*Abingdon*	*Hoverſham*
Dunk. Halifax	*Cobham*	*Berkley of Stratton*
Greenwich	*Ward*	*Weſtmorland*
Carliſle	*Bridgewater*	*Thanet*
Shafteſbury	*St. John*	*Bathurſt*
Northampton	*Oxford*	*Ric. Lincoln*
Manſel	*Exeter*	*Clinton*
Cheſterfield	*Foley*	*Hertford*
Leigh	*Denbigh*	*Gower*
Aylesbury	*Litchfield*	*Aylesford*
Falmouth	*Beaufort*	*Cliſton*
Craven	*Ric. Lic. & Co.*	*Macclesfield*
Talbot	*Suffolk*	*Bedford*

The LORDS PROTEST *on the Bill, entitled* An Act for Indemnifying ſuch Perſons ſhall, upon Examination, make Diſcoveries, *&c.*

Die Martis, 25 Maii, 1742.

HODIE 2da vice lecta eſt Billa, cuicti *An Act for Indemnifying ſuch Perſons as ſhall, upon Examination, make Diſcoveries touching*

* *Some Regiments had been there* 25 *or* 26 *Years, and others* 15 *or* 16. *And many Soldiers thro' Deſpair had ſhot off their Hands, others their Feet, and others ſhot themſelves thro' the Head.*

…ching the *Diſpoſition of publick Money*, or …cerning the *Diſpoſition of Offices*, or *any Pay*…*ents or Agreements in reſpect thereof*, or con…ning *other Matters relating to the Conduct of* …obert *Earl of* Orford.

Then it was propoſed to commit the Bill; …d after long Debate thereupon,

The Queſtion was put, Whether the ſaid …ill ſhall be committed?

It was reſolved in the Negative.

Contents	47	57	Not Cont.	92	109
Proxies	10		Proxies	17	

Diſſentient' *Macclesfield.*

1. Becauſe the rejecting of this Bill, …ounded, as we conceive, upon Reaſon and …uſtice, warranted by Precedents, authoriſed …y Neceſſity, and called for by the general …oice of the Nation, may appear a manifeſt …bſtruction to publick Juſtice, in the pre…ent great and important Caſe, and a moſt …ertain Defeat of it for the future, in all …aſes of the like Nature.

2. Becauſe it is an uncontroverted Maxim …f the Law of *England*, That the Publick …as a Right to every Man's Evidence; and …et, by the ſame Law, no Man is obliged to …ccuſe himſelf: And, as the Accomplices of …uilt are frequently the only Witneſſes of it, …e conceive, that both Prudence and Juſtice …oint out this Method of Impunity to *ſome*, as …bſolutely neceſſary towards diſcovering the …uilt of *others*, and thereby diſſolving thoſe …onfederacies, which, form'd by *common Guilt*, …an only ſubſiſt whilſt they are cemented by …*common Danger*. From theſe undeniable Prin…ciples, we apprehend, this Bill ought to have …aſſed, in order to preſerve the Rights of the …ublick, and the Rights of Individuals.

3. Becauſe this Bill is juſtified by many …ills of a much ſtronger Nature, in Caſes of …uch leſs Conſequence to the Publick; ſuch …, the Caſes of Sir *Thomas Cooke*, the Maſ…ers in Chancery, Sir *Robert Sutton*, *Thomp*…*on*, and others; in ſome of which, the Per…ons indemnified, in order to give their Evi…ence, were, at the ſame Time, compelled, …nder ſevere Penalties, to give it. And, as …here is a Power, not only of *indemnifying*, …ut *rewarding*, neceſſarily lodged in the Crown, …n order to bring Criminals to Juſtice, by E…idence known to, and within the Reach of …he Laws; ſo we apprehend, that, in an In…uiry after Crimes, that may affect the Be…ng of the Whole, the People have a Right …o the Exertion of that Power with which …he Legiſlature is undoubtedly veſted, to come …t ſuch Evidence as may make that Inquiry …ffectual to their future Security.

4. Becauſe the Legiſlature has exerciſed …is Power, in many Inſtances relating to …articular Branches of the Revenue, in order …o prevent Frauds; the Perſons concerned in …uch Frauds are not only indemnified, but …ewarded alſo: And, for the private Utility of one Company, the Legiſlature, by the 9th of *George* I. after forbidding any Perſon to be concerned in promoting an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, gives to our *Eaſt-India* Company a Power to proſecute, by Bill in Chancery, or Court of Exchequer, any Perſon whom they ſhall ſuſpect, obliging ſuch Perſon to make Diſcovery upon Oath, tho' ſuch Diſcovery ſubjects him to a Forfeiture. As alſo, for the better Diſcovery of Felonies, the Legiſlature has thought fit, by an Act, the 5th of *Anne*, to pardon any Perſon, not only of the Felony diſcovered, but of all other Felonies he has ever been guilty of, upon his making a Diſcovery of two Perſons who ſhall thereupon be convicted of any Burglary or Felony, and that Diſcoverer is alſo intitled to a Reward.

5. Becauſe the rejecting this Bill may prove a dangerous Precedent, of fatal Conſequence to this Conſtitution; ſince, whenever this Nation ſhall be *viſited* by a *wicked Miniſter*, thoſe who ſhall have ſerved him in defrauding and oppreſſing the Publick, and in corrupting Individuals, will be furniſhed with an Excuſe for refuſing their Evidence; their Danger will produce his Security, and he may enjoy, with Safety, the Plunder of his Country. Nay, we even apprehend, that the rejecting of this Bill may be miſunderſtood by thoſe who can make any Diſcovery, as if this Houſe deſigned to diſcourage any Evidence whatſoever, that could affect the Perſon whoſe Conduct the Secret Committee was appointed by the Houſe of Commons to enquire into. A Miniſter may be removed from his *Place*, and not from his *Power*; he may be removed from *both*, and not from the *Favour of his Prince*: Nay, he may be deprived of *all three*, and yet his Succeſſor may think his Intereſt and future Safety, and his Prince may imagine his Authority concern'd in protecting him from either Puniſhment or Inquiry. In any of which Caſes, all written Evidence, all Office Proofs, will be ſecreted, or refuſed; and if verbal Evidence be render'd impracticable too (which the rejecting of this Bill will furniſh a Precedent for) we conceive we might as well have paſſed *An Act of Indemnity to all future Miniſters*.

6. Becauſe we can by no Means agree to the Argument principally urged againſt this Bill, that there were not Proofs of Guilt againſt this Perſon ſufficient to juſtify the paſſing of it; whereas, in our humble Opinions, the Voice of the Nation, the Senſe of the other Houſe, and the lamentable Situation of this Kingdom, both at home and abroad, create Suſpicions which not only juſtify, but call aloud for Inquiry; which Inquiry muſt neceſſarily prove ineffectual, unleſs the proper Methods are taken to ſupport it, of which we apprehend this Bill to be one,

one, and a Proceeding ſo juſt, that no *innocent Man* would deſire to *avoid* it, and no *guilty one* ought to *eſcape* it. Moreover, the Reaſons aſſigned by the Perſons whoſe Behaviour gave Riſe to this Bill, for refuſing their Evidence, is a ſufficient Implication that it would affect the Earl of *Orford*, ſince they admit it would affect themſelves.

7. Becauſe we conceive, that the rejecting this Bill may create great Diſaffection in the Nation, to the Diminution of the Credit, and conſequently of the Authority of this Houſe, when the People find themſelves diſappointed in their juſt Expectations of having a ſtrict Inquiry made into the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*, which they have ſo long called for in vain, and hoped they had at laſt obtained; groaning under the undiminiſh'd Load of national Debts and Taxes, notwithſtanding a long Peace; trembling under the Terrors of multiply'd penal Laws; deploring their ſacrificed Honour, and their neglected Intereſts; the Balance of *Europe* overturned abroad, and the Conſtitution endangered at home; they call for Inquiry they ſeek for Juſtice; they hope for Re dreſs: The other Houſe has taken the pro per Steps to anſwer theſe Expectations; th Inquiry begun there could only have be rendered effectual in one material Point b this Bill; which being rejected by this Houſe from whence they expect Juſtice and Redreſ we fear their blaſted Hopes, which, for Time, may ſeem to ſink into a ſlaviſh De ſpondency, may at laſt break out into Diſtr ders, more eaſy, poſſibly, to foreſee, than remedy. (See the Debate, p. 318.)

Denbigh	*Berkſhire*	*Cobham*
Cheſterfield	*Gower*	*Carliſle*
Oxf. & Mort.	*Northampton*	*Ayleſb. & Elg*
Bathurſt	*Boyle*	*Sandwich*
Ward	*Coventry*	*Litchfield*
Thanet	*Rockingham*	*Beaufort*
Foley	*Argyll & Green.*	*Shaftſbury*
Craven	*R. Lincoln*	*Leigh*
Aylesford	*Dunk. Halifax*	*St. John*
Weſtmoreland	*Falmouth*	*Haverſham*
Abingdon	*Bedford*	

POETICAL ESSAYS, 1742.

The YOUNG MORALIST.

WHERE thro' the meads fair *Iſis* cuts her way,
Young *Damon*, ſunk in thought, extended lay:
In vain the pleaſurable waters roll,
Potent to raiſe each tranſport in the ſoul!
Thoughts in his breaſt, and black reflexions throng,
While the pure ſtreams neglected paſs along.

1.

Sighing he cry'd, can this be life?
This troubleſome, precarious ſtate,
Dependent on the will of fate,
Pregnant with injuries and ſtrife,
What ſtill we love, what ſtill we hate,
Can this, my ſoul! can this be life?

2.

Go to the ſweetly-flowing bowl.
There riot for a while, my ſoul!
Then ſink, and own thyſelf miſtaken quite:
When ſad reflexion ſhall deſtroy,
Each gay idea in the midſt of joy,
And ſhade the lively ſcene with melancholy night.

3.

Go to the fair! perhaps ſhe may
Charm half a night, or half a day.
Enjoy the charmer that thy heart enſlaves,
Then aſk thy appetite if ſtill it craves.
Ah no! how tranſient is the keen delight!
Yet if freſh vigour prompt thee to the fight,
Does not th' officious judge within
Rebuke thee, and imbitter all the ſin?
Alas! thou know'ſt not what it is to live,
There's ſomewhat wanting ſtill beyond her pow'r to give.

4.

There is, but ah! what is it, canſt th
gueſs?
'Tis not the glaring of th' embroider'd dre
'Tis not the ſtar, which only can
Add luſtre to the coat, and not the man:
'Tis not poſſeſſion, or extent of pow'r,
Can purchaſe one ſubſtantial hour.
Sure one may deck his outward part,
And yet moſt pitifully ſigh at heart.

5.

Come, virtue! I conjure thee, come
way,
Peace of my night! and ſunſhine of my d
Through thee contentment gilds our cl
ſcenes,
Pleas'd with her little but ſufficient means
Health, pleaſure, wealth, content, attend
call, [all in
Thou teacheſt them to pleaſe, for thou

6.

Guided by thee, methinks I cou'd,
Lodge in the cynic's world of wood,
Contented as in ——— * hall;
I'd lie ſo low I could not fall.
A little will content the wiſe,
This world is but a tub of larger ſize,
Where all mankind promiſcuous lie,
And roll about, and ſtink, and die,
Kings, beggars, miniſters, and I.

7.

Beſide theſe waters let me lie,
That prompt to ſlumbers, as they creep;
And let me judge what 'tis to die,
By what it is to ſleep.

* *Seat of the E—l of Or—d.*

8.

He ſaid, and overcharg'd with thought,
(ſo fix'd a ſtamp had theſe reflexions wrought)
ſunk, and ſlept beſide the ſtream,
ad happy be the young man's dream!
hen lo! a maid with ſilent pace,
mes by, and gently pats his face;
ſtarts, and raviſh'd with her charms,
rgot what he had ſaid, and ſnatch'd her to his arms.

The MORAL.

1.

OW inconſiſtent are mankind,
Their beſt reſolves how weak?
oſe fetters that moſt ſtrongly bind,
They find out ways to break.

2.

r each new object that entices,
The youth unſettled burns;
d now the virtues, now the vices
ſert their pow'r by turns.

3.

rality now wins the heart,
ut doubtful is her ſtay;
bids the ſlighted jade depart,
And *Polly* comes in play.

Sic cecinit Shonne *ap* Shenkin.

A muſical Encomium on GREENWICH.

Dulcique animos novitate tenebo. HOR.

HAIL, *Greenwich!* crown'd with royal tow'rs,
beſt harbour to th' advent'ring ſwain;
w cool thy ſhades! how gay thy bow'rs!
Where ſacred *peace* and *pleaſure* reign.
t earthly paradiſe can we,
ghtful ſpot! compare to thee?
en in thy ſtately *park* we rove,
amour'd with the lovely view,
hill to hill, from grove to grove,
The boundleſs proſpect we purſue:
re fertile *fancy* wantons free,
diff'rent all, yet all agree.
ne bliſsful ſeat! whoſe ſcenes can vie
With all of art, and nature join'd;
moving pictures charm the eye,
thy ſpeaking beauties charm the mind;
roving from that charm, to this,
re all diſſolv'd in ſcenes of bliſs.

To Mr. GARRICK.

Then the phœnix of the age!
The prop and glory of the ſtage;
Proteus, that with ſo much eaſe
ft what character you pleaſe!
were *Democritus* alive,
thy tragick ſtrain would grieve;
ſius himſelf would ſmile
ear thee in the comick ſtile.
e didſt thou learn this wondrous art
nd the way to every heart?
At once to riſe, at once break forth
In all this ſudden blaze of worth!
How does my pitying boſom glow
To ſee thy *Lear*'s majeſtick woe!
Yet, wond'rous change! in the ſame night,
How does thy *Lying Sharp* delight!
When in thy *Richard* I behold
The tyrant ſubtle, ſtern and bold,
My ſoul with various paſſions toſs'd,
Is in the quick tranſitions loſt.
When next I ſee thy well-feign'd woe,
I pity thee altho' my foe;
With *lady Anne* I ſtraight relent,
And am rejoic'd that you repent.
But when the tyrant you reſume,
And fix the hapleſs infants doom,
I ſcarce can think you play a part,
But wiſh to ſtab thee to the heart.
How could thy gentle nature bear
T'aſſume the murd'ring villain's air?
Search all the characters, you'll find
Not one leſs ſuited to thy mind;
'Tis here thy genius is admir'd,
'Tis here thou ſeem'ſt almoſt inſpir'd;
Each other part thou acteſt well;
But 'tis in this thou doſt excel.

SIR,

Reading Mr. *Cook*'s *Battle of Poets*, I met with theſe Lines:

Firſt on the plain a haughty chieftain came,
Of rumour born, the ſhort-liv'd child of fame,
In glaring arms array'd, and Pope *his name.*

In which the mean and envious Prejudice againſt ſo great a poetical Character as Mr. *Pope*'s, mov'd me ſo much, as almoſt inſtantaneouſly to produce the following.

WHEN venal ſcribblers dare attack a name,
That foremoſt ſtands in the firſt rank of fame;
A name that ſhines with ſuch collected rays,
Drawn from true merit, not low party praiſe;
What gen'rous boſom beats not with diſdain?
What Muſe but flows in a ſatirick vein,
Where indignation will inſpire the ſtrain?
When long oblivion o'er thy works has roll'd,
Nor e'en *Moorfields* the mouldring leaves behold;
When, *Cook!* thy ſhort-liv'd name, in endleſs night
Sleeps, undiſturb'd with the leaſt glimpſe of light;
Pope ſhall continue his triumphant way,
And ſoar, and ſhine with ſtill encreaſing day.
See, borne aloft on all the wings of fame,
How high his flight! how wide diffus'd his name!
See, either pole with admiration burn!
See, mighty *Nile* reſtrain his flowing urn!
While, pleas'd he liſtens to the tuneful ſtrains,
And ſighs, oh *Windſor!* for thy verdant plains*.
Lo! ev'ry nation, ev'ry tongue ſhall raiſe,
Their loudeſt ſhouts, in concert, to his praiſe;

* *Mr.* Pope's Windſor Foreſt.

Their mingled *Io's* all around ſhall fly,
And hail his progreſs thro' the wond'ring ſky;
Till in majeſtick pomp the bard arrives,
At the bright dome that in deſcription lives†;
Lives in his lines, where he himſelf ſhall grace,
Cloſe by his *Homer*, the next worthieſt place.
Where long as nervous *Engliſh* ſhall prevail,
Nor ſounding *Greek* its copious channels fail;
Where e'en till language ſelf ſhall die away,
Homer and *Pope* ſhall equal honours ſway.

To a learned young LADY, *who deſired the Author to write ſomething extempore.*

——*Quodcunque meæ poterunt audere Camœnæ,*
Seu tibi par poterunt, ſeu quod ſpes abnuit ultra;
Sive minus, certeque canent minus; omne vovemus
Hoc tibi; ne tanto careat mihi nomine charta.
Tibull. ad Meſſ.

The POET BEWITCH'D: *Or, The* MUSE *ſet at Liberty.*

1.

——— *Mens ſine pondere ludit.* Petr.
——— *Tenet inſanabile multos*
Scribendi cacoethes.——— Juv. 7 S. 51.

'SDEATH! what ſhall I write? I hate politick-ſpinning, [women:
'Tis ſo tedious, and dull, 'tis but fit for old
Create a briſk ſubject, 'tis *Bella* inſpires,
'Slife! I'm brimful of fancy, and lofty deſires.

2.

——— *Cui mens divinior, atque os*
Magna ſonaturum. Hor. 1 S. 4. 43.

By *Belia* inſpir'd, I can ſtrut, rant and roar;
And call great *Apollo*—a ſon of a whore:
Swear the *Muſes* are ſluts, moſt deceitfully dull; [a fool.
Fierce *Mars*—a mere aſs; and ſage *Pallas*—

3.

——— *Poetica ſurgit*
Tempeſtas ——— Juv. 12 S. 23.

Call *Jupiter*—bully, and *Juno*—a jade;
And *Venus*—the queen of the ſtrumpeting trade:
Intriguing young *Cupid*—a lecherous imp;
And *Mercury* poſt for a porterly pimp.

4.

Gratis anhelans, multa agendo——
Phæd. 2, 5, 3.

Write *Hercules* down for a cowardly ſlave;
And *Vulcan*—a pickpocket rogue, and a knave:
Mark *Bacchus* a ſlitcher, afraid to get drunk;
And brand chaſt *Diana* for *Drury-Lane* punk.

5.

——— *Vocat in certamina divos.*

Furies! vengeance! and thunder! what's their titles to me!—
All puffs and impoſtors, as falſe as can be:
Fall down and adore—none more haughty than they,
I'll ſtrike at dominion, and *Jove* ſhall obey.

6.

Jura neget ſibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis.
Hor. Ar. Poet. 122.

I'll draw up a ſcheme to my humour's conditions; [petitions
I'll be bow'd to, and worſhip'd, and mor'd by
My will is my law.—*Jove*, relinquiſh your throne— [march about.
I'll command, ſign, and ſeal, and reign ma-

7.

Per ambages & miniſteria deorum
Præcipitandus eſt liber ſpiritus. Pet.

Hyp! you Sir, *Apollo*—get me pen, ink, and paper:
And pert miſtreſs *Clio*—go light me a taper:
You *Mercury!*—fetch me ſome w— another, [mother.
But raſcal! take care, lay not hold of your

8.

——— *Quin illis Jupiter ambas*
Iratus buccas inflet. Hor. 1 S. 1, 20.

Booby *Jove!* ſtir the fire, hold—let it alone; [gone:
Take my ſnuff-box and fill it, *hic preſto*—be
Madam ſtiff-necked *Juno!* my attirement looſe: [my ſhoes.
And you fellow, *Hercules!* wipe the dirt off

9.

Dulce eſt deſipere in loco. Hor. 4 O. 12, 28.

You ſquinting cur, *Cupid!* prepare for dance: [and lance
Cloudy *Pallas!* be gay—quit your buckler
Sing a ſong, dame *Diana!* to the triumphs of *Bella*;
Accompany her, *Mars!* on the *Violincla.*

10.

Bombalio, clangor, ſtridor, taratantara, murmur
Farn. Rhet.

Thus I rule, and direct, and correct as pleaſe;
Am *Jove* in the ſenate, and *Neptune* on ſeas
My regalia from *Bella*—to her I reſign 'em;
—Were the *Graces* united, my *Bella'd* outſhine 'em.
A Bella principio laudate ad finem.
Z.

ÆNIGMA.

WHen *Phœbus* burns with ſcorching rays
Diſtilling pearly dew;
When tender boughs their bloſſoms ſhoot,
And roſes bloom anew;
When ſhowers warm, and welcome rains
Refreſh the thirſty earth,
On ſweeteſt fruits and faireſt flowers,
I take my loathſome birth.
As does the ivy round the oak,
I creep with ſolemn pace;
As does the ivy to the oak,
I ſtick with cloſe embrace. Wi

† *Mr.* Pope's Temple of Fame.

With cloſe embrace I ſip and taſte
The ſweets of ev'ry flower;
Yet while I ſip and taſte thoſe ſweets,
With poiſon I devour.

With curious coat of ſpotted hue,
Me bounteous nature cloath'd;
By ſome preſerv'd, by more deſtroy'd,
Alike by all I'm loath'd.

By ruſticks from my food I'm torn,
And trodden under foot;
The virtuoſo with nice care
Preſerves my ſpotted coat.

To bodies pin'd with ſlow diſeaſe
Fresh vigour I reduce;
Though nature form'd me cold and moiſt,
With nauſeous ſlimy juice.

A PARAPHRASE *on the* 137*th* PSALM.

WHILE near great *Babel*'s murmuring ſtreams we ſate,
And mourn'd in ſilent grief our hapleſs fate;
A briny torrent trickled from our eyes,
And ev'ry anxious boſom heav'd with ſighs.
The dreadful thought, that we muſt view no more
Our much lov'd *Sion*, and our native ſhore;
That dreadful thought on every mind impreſt,
With woe redoubled tortur'd every breaſt.
Rack'd with deſpair, with bitter anguiſh ſtung,
High on the trees our uſeleſs harps we hung:
No more cou'd muſick's charms ſoft peace inſpire,
Mute was each voice, and ſilent every lyre.
When lo! our haughty victors round us throng;
And with inſulting cries, demand a ſong.
Sing, ſing, they cry, in ſmooth harmonious lays,
To *Sion*'s ſprightly ſongs your voices raiſe.
Oppreſt with cares, alas! how can we ſing?
Can chearful notes, from melancholy ſpring?
Or how can we, 'midſt theſe unhallow'd plains, [ſtrains?
Attempt to ſing thoſe bleſt, thoſe awful
Ere, *Judah*, I forget thy ſacred land,
Or holy temple built by God's command,
Let my right hand forget with artful play
To tune the lyre to each melodious lay:
Let my quick tongue its wonted utt'rance loſe,
And every note, and vocal ſound refuſe.
No, from my mind, no honours, nor diſgrace,
The dear remembrance ever ſhall efface:
Deep on my ſoul thy image is impreſt,
Nor ever ſhall forſake my faithful breaſt.
Thou, *Sion*, thou ſhalt be my only theme,
By day my conſtant thought, by night my dream:
Ne'er ſhall my reſtleſs boſom know delight,
Till thy dear vales are preſent to my ſight.
Remember, gracious Lord, that dreadful day,
When *Judah* fell to hoſtile arms a prey;
How *Edom*'s ſons in furious tranſports cry'd,
Down with theſe lofty walls on every ſide:
Let ſword and fire, wide-waſting ſpread around,
And hurl theſe turrets flaming to the ground.
O *Babel*, thou whoſe ſumptuous ſtructures riſe,
And with aſpiring heads ſalute the ſkies:
Thou queen of nations, to whoſe powerful ſway,
Unnumber'd realms ſubmiſſive homage pay:
The day ſhall come, when all thy pride ſhall die,
And low in duſt thy lofty turrets lie:
No might can ſave thee, nor no arm defend;
Thy pow'r ſhall fall, and all thy glory end.
Bleſt ſhall that mortal be, whoſe conqu'ring hand
Shall pour deſtruction on thy hateful land;
And on thy ſons, our proud inhuman foes,
Return our ſorrows, and repay our woes:
Whoſe vengeful arm nor age, nor ſex ſhall ſpare,
But tender infants from their mothers tear;
Pierce their ſoft boſoms, daſh 'em on the ground;
And ſlaughter, flames, and ruin ſpread around.

A Deſcription of a Serene Night *at* SEA.

THE mouth of *Ganges*, and *Bengalian* bay,
Now loſt, now *Cormandella* paſs'd away;
We by * *Ceylona* ſteer:——The vaniſh'd ſun,
O'er eaſtern realms, his radiant courſe had run:
Now ſober *night*, adorn'd with ſilver rays,
Her ſolemn glories gracefully diſplays:
Here nature's deep reſearchers might deſcry
Remoteſt worlds thro' *Galileo*'s eye.
All heav'n is clear, like minds ſecure from blame,
No ſpot appears in the cœrulian frame.
The bending moon divided ſeems to be,
At once in heav'n and in the trembling ſea:
Th' expanded ſea appears a nether ſky,
And with the ſtars the glitt'ring fiſhes vie.
The dolphin ſeems as lightning, ſwift and bright, [light.
And draws, like ſhooting ſtars, a train of
Soft gales from ſpicy ſhores their odours bring,
And ſweep the liquid plain with downy wing,
Chearing the ſcent; and the nocturnal ſcene,
To the charm'd ſight, is awful and ſerene:
A pleaſing melancholy now preſides,
And, like a wand'ring ghoſt, the ſtealing veſſel glides.

THE

* Ceylona *is ſituated near* Cape Comarene, *at the Entrance of the Bay of* Bengal: *It is the moſt noted Iſland for ſweet Spices in the* Eaſt-Indies; *the Fragrancy of which may be found many Leagues at Sea, when the Wind blows from the Shore.*

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

WHEN *George Heathcote*, Esq; was chosen Lord Mayor for the remaining Part of the Year, in the Room of Sir *Robert Godscball*, deceased, (see p. 308.) he addressed himself to the Liverymen to the following Purpose, That he was, with them, truly sensible of the great Loss the City sustain'd by the Death of his worthy Predecessor: That he lay under great Obligations to his Fellow-Citizens, for their past as well as present Favour, in conferring that high Honour upon him; and, in Discharge of that great Trust, should endeavour to merit the Continuance of their Esteem, by acquitting himself with Reputation, in preserving the Peace and Welfare of this great Metropolis; whose Rights and Liberties, with Extension of Trade and Commence, were always his Study, and from which no Honours could ever alienate his Heart.

The same Day, *viz. Monday, June* 28, his Lordship was presented to the Lord Chancellor, and afterwards sworn in at *Guildhall*: And the next Day, his Lordship, in the City Barge, attended by that of the Salters Company, went to *Westminster*, and was sworn in before the Barons of the Exchequer.

We had the following Character in the Papers, of Sir *Robert Godscball*, the late Lord Mayor. At all Times his Integrity remain'd unshaken, his Heart Proof against any Corruption, and his Abilities exceeded by nothing but his Integrity and Courage. His Conduct so endear'd him to his Fellow-Citizens, that in regard to his great Qualifications, they elected him one of their Representatives in Parliament; and for a further Approbation of his Merit, and a Demonstration of their own Gratitude, they, by their united, by their often repeated Voices, conferr'd upon him the highest Honour they could give, the chief Magistracy of this City; which Trusts he discharg'd with the greatest Uprightness; and shew'd his distinguishing Judgment, by preferring Honesty before Profit, by rightly discerning Truth from Falshood. In short, his true Characteristicks were those of a most tender and affectionate Husband, a kind and generous Master, a sincere Friend, and a true Lover of his Country.

On *June* 30, at Night, an Express arriv'd at *Kensington*, with an Account, that the Prince, Son of Prince *Frederick* of *Hesse*, and Grandson to his Majesty, died a few Days since, aged 6 Months.

The same Day the Committee of Secrecy for inquiring into the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*, delivered their second Report; and tho' the H— of C——ns ordered it not to be printed, yet Means were found to print it, and it passed several Editions soon after. (See p. 348, 349, 350.)

SATURDAY, *July* 3.

By Letters brought by the *Chester*, Capt. *Long*, dated *March* 31, at *Porto Bello*, there was Advice, That Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, with the Squadron of his Majesty's Ships under his Command, and Major-General *Wentworth* with the Land Forces, the former from the Cruise off *Cartagena*, and the latter directly from *Jamaica*, arriv'd in that Harbour the 28th of the same Month; and a general Council of War having been held on the said 31st of *March*, it was unanimously agreed That as the Troops had been three Weeks in the Passage from *Jamaica*, instead of eight Days, which is the usual Time, by reason of contrary Winds, so that the rainy Season was then beginning; and as several of the Transports had been separated from the Convoy at Sea, and not yet arrived, and particularly the greatest Part of the Negroes, it would be therefore impracticable to undertake at present the Expedition, which had been projected, and it was accordingly resolved to return forthwith to *Jamaica*.

By the same Letters it was written, that they had Advice from *Panama*, that Commodore *Anson* had gain'd his Passage round *Cape Horn*, and that he had got to the Island of *St. Juan Fernandez*, where he remain'd four or five Months, to recruit his Men, and refit his Ships; and that he had since plunder'd *Payta*, and taken four or five Sail of Ships between *Lima* and *Panama*, by which he had got considerable Treasure; and that he went from thence to the Island of *Plata* to careen.

THURSDAY, 8.

At a General Court of the *Bank of England* it was agreed (in order to raise Money for the Payment of 1,600,000*l.* to be advanced by them to the Publick) to increase their present Capital, by taking in a Subscription for 840,004*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* Stock, at 140*l. per Cent.* to be paid at six monthly Payments; the four first of 25*l.* each, the two last of 20*l.* each. The first Payment to be made on the 20th of this Month. The Subscribers to be entitled to the Dividend which will become due at *Michaelmas*.

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Subſcription for 840,004*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* at *l. per Cent.* will raiſe 1,176,005*l.* 19*s.*

SATURDAY, 10.

Letters from Vice-Admiral *Matthews*, *June* 14, in *Villa Franca* Harbour, and ght by Capt. *Callis*, Commander of the Fireſhip, there was Advice, That Capt. ris, upon his Cruiſe between *Cape Rous Villa Franca*, having had Notice of five iſh Gallies being ſail'd from *St. Marga-* to *St. Tropez*, he immediately follow'd thither with his Majeſty's Ships under Command, in order to detain them there, he ſhould receive Orders from the Admi- concerning them. But that the ſaid *Spa-* Gallies having began to fire upon the 's Ships, and thereby broken the Rules ch are uſually obſerv'd in a Neutral Port, . *Norris* immediately gave Orders to the Fireſhip to ſet Fire to them, which be- accordingly executed by the ſaid Capt. ; they were all immediately deſtroy'd.

MONDAY, 12.

The following Malefactors, condemn'd the laſt Seſſions at the *Old Bailey*, viz. *John* for Sheep-ſtealing, *Robert Rhodes* forging a Seaman's Will, *John Branham* and *Thomas Millar*, for Mur- were executed at *Tyburn*. The reſt were ve'd. (See p. 255, 307.)

The ſame Day, 150,000*l.* Sterling, in fo- Gold, was deliver'd out of the *Bank*, ſent abroad, for the Service of her *rian* Majeſty.

TUESDAY, 13.

A Court of Huſtings was held at *Guildhall* the Election of a Repreſentative in Par- for the City of *London*, in the Room Sir *Robert Godſchall*, Knt. deceas'd; when *Calvert*, Eſq; Alderman of *Portſoken* , was choſen without Oppoſition. Af- the Election, he addreſs'd himſelf to the men, thank'd them for the Honour had conferr'd upon him, and aſſur'd , that he would be particularly careful the Rights and Privileges of his Fellow- in general, and ever ready to pro- the Intereſt and Commerce of this great City in particular.

THURSDAY, 15.

the Seſſions at the *Old Baily* came on trial of Mr. *Anneſley* and *Jo. Reading*, for murder of *Tho. Eggleſtone* at *Staines*. As Court had appointed this Day for this , there was a very numerous Aſſem- and ſome of the firſt Rank. The Coun- for the Proſecution were, Mr. Serjeant , Mr. Serjeant *Wynne*, Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Johnſon*. Of Council with the Defendants (upon a Point of Law) were Mr. *Hume*, Mr. Serjeant *Heywood*, Mr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Bircb*, and Mr. *Smith*. The Trial laſted ſeven Hours, when the Jury found it *Chance Medley*, it appearing to them, that the Piece went off accidentally in the Scuffle.

The ſame Day his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the following Bills, *viz.* An Act for laying a Duty on foreign Cambricks, and allowing a Bounty on *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Linen exported.—An Act relating to the Importation of Rum from the *Britiſh* Sugar Plantations.—An Act to prevent the counterfeiting the current Coin of this Kingdom.—An Act to prevent Woollen Cloth being ſtolen from the Rack, or Tenters.—An Act for the more effectual preventing the ſtealing Sheep, and other Cattle.—An Act for farther regulating the Plantation Trade, and for Merchants importing Prize-Goods from *America*.—An Act for the Encouragement of making Sail-Cloth in *Great Britain*.—An Act for preventing the keeping large Quantities of Gunpowder in or near the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*.—An Act to prevent the Marriage of Lunaticks.—The *Weſtminſter* Bridge Act.—An Act for the Puniſhment of Perſons deſtroying Turnpikes, Locks, or other Works erected by Authority of Parliament.—And to four private Bills.

After which, his Majeſty made a moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes, (which ſee, p. 328.) and prorogu'd the Parliament to *Sept.* 16. next.

The ſame Day *Joſeph Bell*, Eſq; Comptroller of the Poſt-Office, was releas'd out of the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms; and *Nicholas Paxton*, Eſq; from his Confinement in *Newgate*.

At Night there was a general privy Search for diſorderly Perſons in the Pariſhes of St. *Paul Covent-Garden*, and St. *Martin in the Fields*, which was attended with ſuch cruel Circumſtances as muſt ſhock every one: For the next Day *William Bird*, Keeper of St. *Martin*'s Round-Houſe, was committed to the *Gatehouſe* by Col. *De Veil* and Juſtice *Bromfield*, being charg'd, on the Oaths of three Perſons, for unlawfully and violently forcing down a great Number of Women into the Hole of the ſaid Round-houſe, beating and bruiſing ſome, and craming them in ſo cloſe a Manner, that they could not breathe; and, without any Regard to their Outeries of Murder, feloniouſly ſtifling four of them to Death. It was ſaid that ſeveral were taken up in the Streets who were going quietly about their lawful Buſineſs, and that one of the unhappy Women who were ſuffocated, had not been in *London* above an Hour, having come up from *Graveſend* in the Tilt-Boat, in order to ſee her Siſter who liv'd in

Covent-

Covent-Garden, and had never been in *London* before, and was taken up in the Street as ſhe was walking quietly along.

FRIDAY, 16.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Orford* waited on his Majeſty at *Kenſington*.

SATURDAY, 17.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, which tho' it laſted 4 Days, yet it proved a Maiden one, none being capitally convicted.

TUESDAY, 20.

William Bird, before-mention'd, was committed to *Newgate* for the tragical Affair at the Round-houſe. One of the Women ſuffocated or ſqueez'd to Death was big with Child, and was taken up in the Street, returning home after an hard Day's Work at a Perſon of Quality's Houſe.

THURSDAY, 29.

Stamp Brookſbank, Eſq; having refus'd to ſerve the Office of Sheriff, as being a Diſſenter, *Robert Evans*, Eſq; was choſen on the 8th; and he declining, and paying his Fine, *John Ceggs*, Eſq; was choſen on the 20th; and he likewiſe declining, *Henry Neale*, Eſq; Citizen and Cooper, was on this Day elected. (See p. 308.)

A great many of our Ships were about this Time taken by the *Spaniſh* Privateers, both in *Europe* and *America*; particularly 5 off the Capes of *Virginia*, and 6 near *Cromer*, as we had Advice from *Yarmouth*.

There was a Report that Admiral *Matthews* had taken 22 *Spaniſh* Tranſports, with 6000 Men on board.

From the *Hague*, we had the Subſtance of a Memorial, preſented the 12th Inſtant by the Lord *Stair* and Mr. *Trevor*, wherein, after mentioning the Affair of *Dunkirk*, and inſiſting that the States ſhould name Commiſſaries, to inſpect, in Conjunction with thoſe of *Great Britain*, the Works there, they tell their High Mightineſſes, that in the mean Time they may deliberate on the Nature of the Peace they would have, and whether it would not be better to make a ſolid and laſting Peace for all *Europe*, than a proviſional one, which, in all Probability, would be no better obſerved, than the ſeveral Treaties made with *France* for ſome Time paſt have been. That the King their Maſter has already taken his Reſolution; he deſires Peace, but a ſolid and laſting one: His Majeſty is perſuaded, that if their High Mightineſſes act in concert with him, the Court of *Verſailles* will not fail to liſten to the Propoſals, which the Maritime Powers may jointly make for ſuch a Peace; but if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, the King is perſuaded, that the Forces of the Maritime Powers, joined to thoſe of the other allied Powers, will infinitely ſurpaſs the Force of *France*, eſpecially if we conſider the preſent Conjuncture; wherein a War cannot fail of being extremely detrimental to that Crown.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

CAPT. *Robert Clark*, of Col. Cotte... Reg. of Marines, to Miſs *Anne* M... of *Ratcliff*.—The eldeſt Son of the Lord ... *ton*, to the Lady *Barbara Talbot*, Daugh... to the Earl of *Shrewſbury*.—John *Fleetwood*, Eſq; of *Bance-hall*, near Tar... in *Cheſhire*, to Miſs *Leigh*, Daughter of ... *guſtine Leigh*, Eſq;—*Peter Stanley*, of L... *Melford* in *Suffolk*, Eſq; to a Daughter ... —— *Moore*, Eſq; of the ſame Place.—R... Mr. *Briſtow*, to Miſs *Tims*, Daughter ... *Wm. Tims*, Eſq; Clerk of St. *Bartholo...* Hoſpital.—Sir *Lifter Holte*, Bart. Member ... Parl. for *Litchfield*, to Miſs *Harpur*, Siſter ... Sir *Henry Harpur*, of *Twyford* in *Derby...* Bart.—*Thomas Nugent*, Eſq; of the ... *Temple*, to Miſs *Hale* of *Queen-Square*, ——— *Hanby*, Eſq; of *Ipſwich* in *Suffolk*, ... Miſs *Roberts* of *Bartlet's* Buildings.—R... *Browne*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Young*.—The Lady ... the Hon. *Nicholas Herbert*, Eſq; Brother ... the Earl of *Pembroke*, deliver'd of a Daugh... ter.—The Lady of *John Brydon*, Eſq; ... *Bere-Court* near *Reading*, of a Son and H... —The Lady of the Hon. *John Fitzmaur...* (Brother to the Earl of *Kerry*) of a Son.

DEATHS.

RICHARD *Gines*, an eminent Banker ... Goldſmith in *Lombard-ſtreet*.—*John Go...* *frey* of the *Middle-Temple*, Eſq;—Mr. *Nat... Bailey*, Author of the Etymological En... Dictionary, and Editor of ſeveral ot... Claſſicks for the Uſe of Schools.—Ri... Hon. the Lord *Griffin*, at his Seat in *Le... terſhire*.—Rev. Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, youn... Son of Sir *Henry Vincent*, Bart. at *Baliol C...* lege in *Oxford*.—Mr. *Edmonds*, a Gentle... of a large Eſtate at *Clapham* in *Surry*.—... *Stevens*, the City Marſhal; which Place ... purchaſed ſome Time ago for 1500*l*. ... Place is in the Diſpoſal of the Right H... the Lord Mayor.—*Robert Daughty*, Eſq; ... 88 Years ſpent in the Purſuit of Nature, ... Study of Philoſophy, and the innocent ... muſement of a rural Life.—The Right H... *Robert* Lord *Petre*, Baron of *Writtle* in *E...* a *Roman* Catholick Peer of a very great ... ſtate, whoſe Death is much lamented by ... ſon of his extenſive Charity. He is ſuc... ed by his only Son *Robert*, now Lord P... little more than half a Year old.—Cont... *Stevens*, one of the Sons of the late Mr. ... jeant *Stevens*.—Right Hon. Lady *Hanora L...* Siſter to the late Earl of *Clanricard*, ... Aunt to the preſent Earl, in her Way ... the South of *France*.—*Edward Thompſon*, ... Member of Parliament for the City of ... —*William Manley*, Eſq; Secretary to ... Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.—*Ri... Bradſhaw*, Eſq; Member for *Brewer...* *Yorkſhire* in ſeveral Parliaments.—Mr. ... *Oldmixon*, Author of the Hiſtory of *En...* during the Reigns of the *Stuarts*, and ...

...ral other historico-political Treatises. (See ...e Catalogue, N° 10.)—Mr. *Wm. Myers*, one ...the Common-Council Men for *Cheap Ward*. ...Rev. Dr. *Paris*, Rector of *Silchester* in ...*pshire*, and Chaplain to one of the Regi... of Guards.—Rev. Dr. *Rich. Bentley*, Ma... of *Trinity* College in *Camb.*—Sir *Chriſto...er Powell*, Bart. one of the Knights of the ...ire in the laſt Parliament for the County ...*Kent.*—*James Leiceſter*, Eſq; near *Buxton* ...*Derbyſhire.*—Mr. *Plaiſtow*, of *Clifford's* ..., Prothonotary of the *Marſhalſea* Court. ...*Thomas Ward*, Eſq; at *Barford*, near *War...ick*, Lord of that Manor, and an eminent ...tiquary.—*John Nichols*, Eſq; of *Weſt...ley* in *Surry*, aged about 80, Son of the ...te Sir *John Nichols*, Knt. Secretary of State ... K. *Charles* II.—Capt. *Jones*, an experi...'d Officer, well known in the Army.—...*William Somerville*, Eſq; Author of that ce...rated Poem, *The Chace*, at his Seat at ...*ſhow* in *Warwickſhire.*—Rev. Dr. *Boſlock*, ...*Prestbury* in *Cheſhire*, in the 91ſt Year of ... Age.—*Francis Wilks*, Eſq; ſome Time ...ent for the Colony of *Maſſachuſet's Bay* in ...*New England.*—*Peter Voyer de Richauſſe*, Eſq; ...ed 87) Equerry to his Majeſty, which ...e he enjoy'd under K. *William* III. and ...all the Reigns ſince.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

...IGHT Rev. Dr. *Nicholas Claggett*, Lord ... Biſhop of St. *David's*, tranſlated to the ...e of *Exeter*, void by the Death of Dr. *Ste...n Weſton.*—Mr. *Thomas Whingates*, B. A. ...ſented to the Rectory of *Charleton* in *Devon.* ...Mr. *William Davers*, to the Rectory of ...*ſwick*, alias St. *George*, in *Denbighſhire.*—...*James Birt*, to the Rectory of *Sbire*, a... *Sbire Newton*, in *Monmouthſhire.*—*John* ...*ter*, B. D. preſented by his Father the Lord ...*chbiſhop of Canterbury*, to the Living of ...*d*, near *Romney.*—*Matthew Poſſletbwait*, ...D. by his Brother-in-Law the Biſhop of ...*ich*, to the Archdeaconry of *Norwich.* ...*Robert Talbot*, M. A. had a Diſpenſation to ...d the Rectory of *Stone* in *Kent*, together ...h the Rectory of *Stifford* in *Eſſex.*—*Ju... Bate*, M. A. to hold the Rectory of *Sut...* in *Suſſex*, together with the Rectory of ...*ham* in the ſame County.—Mr. *William* ...*ter* preſented to the Vicarage of *Kenning...gh* in *Yorkſhire.*—*William Elliot*, M. A. ...a Diſpenſation to hold the Rectory of ...*ſold* in *Surry*, together with that of ...*ſdon* in the ſame County.—*Ezekiel* ..., M. A. to hold the Vicarage of *Harold*, ...*ther* with that of *Polluxhill*, both in *Bed...ſhire.*—Dr. *Edward Willes* made Biſhop of ...*David's*, in the Room of Biſhop *Claggett*, ...*ated* to the See of *Exeter.*—Dr. *Cobden* ...e Archdeacon of *London*, in the Room ...Dr. *Tyrwhit*, deceas'd.—*Reynell Cotton*, ...A. preſented to the Rectory of St. *Law...*, in *Wincheſter.*

1742

PROMOTIONS, *Civil* and *Military.*

ERASMUS *James Phillips*, Eſq; made Commiſſary of the Stores and Proviſions at *Annapolis Royal.*—*John Leman*, Eſq; the ſame, at *Canſo* in *America.*—*Thomas Robinſon*, Eſq; Plenipotentiary to the Queen of *Hungary*, made a Knight of the Bath.—*Thomas Laſcelles*, Eſq; made Chief Engineer of *Great Britain*, in the Room of Major Gen. *Armſtrong*, deceas'd.—Dr. *Meſſenger Monſey* made Phyſician to *Chelſea* Hoſpital.—Lord *Harry Powlett*, Lieut. of the *Tower*, in the Room of *Hatton Compton*, Eſq; deceas'd.—*John Richardſon*, Eſq; Brigadier in the third Troop of Horſe Guards.—*Ja. Abercrombie*, Eſq; Major of Gen. *St. Clair's* Regiment of Foot.—Right Hon. *Richard* Lord Viſc. *Cobham* appointed Field Marſhal of all his Majeſty's Forces, and Captain and Colonel of the firſt Troop of Horſe Grenadier Guards.—*John* Lord *Gower*, made Lord Privy Seal, in the Room of Lord *Harvey*, who reſign'd; alſo Lord Lieut. and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the County of *Stafford.*—Right Hon. *William Pulteney*, Eſq; created a Baron, Viſcount and Earl of *Great Britain*, by the Name, Stile and Title of Baron of *Hedon*, in the County of *York*, Viſcount *Pulteney*, of *Wrington*, in the County of *Somerſet*, and Earl of *Bath*, in the ſaid County.—*Allen* Lord *Bathurſt* made Capt. of the Band of Penſioners, in the Room of the Duke of *Bolton.*—Hon. *William Finch*, Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, in the Room of Lord *Sydney Beauclerk.*—Hon. *Edward Finch*, Eſq; one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to his Majeſty.—His Grace *Charles* Duke of *Bolton* made Governor and Captain of the *Iſle of Wight*, Governor, Conſtable and Door-keeper of *Cariſbrook* Caſtle, &c. alſo Lord Lieut. and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of *Southampton*, and Warden and Keeper of the *New Foreſt* in the ſaid County, and of the Duckoy there, &c. in the Room of Lord *Lymington.*—Right Hon. *Pattee* Viſc. *Torrington*, and *Henry Vane*, Eſq; had granted to them the Office or Offices of Vice-Treaſurer and Receiver General and Paymaſter General of all the Revenues in *Ireland*, and likewiſe the Office of Treaſurer at War there.—*Edward Hooper*, Eſq; made Paymaſter of the Penſions, in the Room of *William Stewart*, Eſq;—Sir *Charles Gilmour*, Bart. Paymaſter General of his Majeſty's Works, in the Room of Sir *Robert Brown*, Bart.—*Henry Legge*, Eſq; Surveyor General of all his Majeſty's Woods on the North and South Sides of the *Trent.*—Hon. *James Hamilton*, Eſq; Son of the Right Hon. *James* Lord Viſcount *Limerick*, had a Reverſionary Grant of the Office of Chief Remembrancer of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer in *Ireland*, now in Poſſeſſion of Lord Viſcount *Palmerſton.*—Right Hon. *John* Lord *Delawar* appointed

Maſter-Foreſter of the Bailiwick of *Fritham* in the *New Foreſt* in *Hampſhire*. — *Daniel Boone*, Eſq; Commiſſary General of the Muſters, and Chief Muſter-Maſter of all the Forces in *Great Britain*, in the Room of *George Huxley*, Eſq;—*Francis Eyles*, Eſq; Superintendant of his Majeſty's Founderies, in the Room of *James Tillie*, Eſq;—*Nathaniel Gundry*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Counſel learned in the Law.—*Henry Furneſe*, Eſq; joint Secretary of the Treaſury with the Hon. *John Scrope*, Eſq; in the Room of the Hon. *Henry Legge*, Eſq;—*George Shelvocke*, Eſq; Secretary to the General Poſt-Office, in the Room of *John David Barbutt*, Eſq;—Sir *William Hewit* made Capt. of the *Sandwich* a 90 Gun Ship, under Admiral *Stewart*; Capt. *Luſhington* Capt. of the *Burford*, a 70 Gun Ship; Capt. *Bury* of the *Solebay*, and Capt. *Crookſhanks* of the *Leoſtaff*, both 20 Gun Ships. —Capt. *John St. Lo* made Capt. of the *Princeſs Amelia*, an 80 Gun Ship.—*William Wood*, Eſq; made Secretary to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, in the Room of *John Manley*, Eſq; deceas'd, a Place worth 500*l. per Annum*.—*Robert Smith*, D. D. Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, appointed by his Majeſty to be Maſter of *Trinity* College there, in the Room of Dr. *Bentley*, deceas'd. —Capt. *Perry Maine* made Commander of the *Princeſs* Prize, taken ſome Time ſince from the *Spaniards*.—Right Hon. *Henry* Earl of *Lincoln* made Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of *Cambridge*.

George Fox, Eſq; elected Member for *York*, in the Room of *Edward Thompſon*, Eſq; deceas'd.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *Pratt*, of *Northampton*, Wine-merchant. — *John Clark*, of *Thames-ſtreet*, Cheeſemonger.—*Edward Warner*, of St. *Botolph* without *Aldgate*, Grocer and Tobacconiſt.—*Wm. Allaſon*, now or late of *Scarborough*, Maſter Mariner. — *John Gibſon*, of *Weſt Ham* in *Eſſex*, Merchant and Dealer in Coals.—*John Walters* the Younger, late of *Keighley* in *Yorkſhire*, Worſted-Yarn Maker. —*Wm. Hoyes*, of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*, Tanner.—*Wm. Kell*, of *Braywick* in *Berkſhire*, Diſtiller.—*Geo. Alexander*, of the Pariſh of *Biſhopſgate*, Merchant. — *Wm. Atlee*, of St. *George*, *Hanover-ſquare*, Painter.—*John Giſſard*, of *London*, Merchant.—*Drew Shew*, of *Stamford St. Martins Baron* in *Northamptonſhire*, Linen-draper.—*James Mourgues*, late of *London*, Merchant.—*Thomas Hall*, late of St. *Mary Aldermanbury*, Packer and Preſſer. —*Rich. Catton*, of the Precinct of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, Merchant.—*Wm. Chamberlayne*, now or late of *Metfield* in *Norfolk*, Worſted Weaver.—*Benj. Sims*, of *Dean-Street*, *Fetter-Lane*, Carpenter.—*Joſeph Higginſon*, late of St. *Andrew's*, *Holborn*, Pawnbroker.—*John Jones*, of *Botolph Lane*, Orange-merchant.—*Chriſt. Parks*, of *King's Lynn* in *Norfolk*, Plumber and Glazier.—*David Deas*, of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, Taylor.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 111	*African* 10
—*Ann.* 114 7/8 a 115	*Royal Aſſ.* 84 1/4
Bank 143	*Lon. ditto* nothing
—*Circ.* 5*l* 17*s* 6*d*	3 *p. C. Ann.* 100 1/2 a 5/8
M. Bank 115 1/4	*Salt Tallies* 2*l*
India 174 1/4 a 175	*Emp. Loan* 108 1/4
—*Bonds* 4*l* 9*s* a 10*s*	*Equiv.* 111

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 1 2 1/2	*Bilboa* 38 1/4
D. Sight 34 9 1/2 a 10	*Leghorn* 49 7/8
Rotter. 35 3 2 1/2	*Genoa* 53 1/8 a 3/4
Hamb. 33 10 2 1/2	*Venice* 51 1/8
Paris 31 3/8 a 1/2	*Lisbon* 5*s* 5*d* 1/8 a 1/4
Bourdx. 31	*Porto* 5*s* 5*d* a 1/8
Cadiz 39 1/8	*Antw.* 35 5 2 a 6 2 1/2
Madrid 38 1/8	*Dublin* 10

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	23	26	*Peaſe*	20	24
Rye	18	20	*H. Peaſe*	18	21
Barley	17	19	*H. Beans*	18	22
Oats	8	12	*B. Malt*	22	23
Tares	23	24	*P. Malt*	23	24

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *June* 22. to *July* 27.

Chriſtned	Males 660	Females 572	123
Buried	Males 1088	Females 1128	221
Died under 2 Years old			76
Between 2 and 5			20
5	10		10
10	20		7
20	30		18
30	40		20
40	50		21
50	60		18
60	70		11
70	80		10
80	90		4
90 and upwards			1
			221

Hay 63 to 66*s*. a Load.

TH

THE principal Articles of the Peace concluded between the Queen of *Hungary* and King of *Pruſſia*, as mentioned in our laſt, are the following, *viz.*

V. In order to put an End to all Diſputes about Boundaries, and to deſtroy Pretenſions on both Sides, of whatever Kind they be, her Majeſty the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* yields by theſe Preliminaries, as well for her Heirs and Succeſſors as herſelf, to Perpetuity and in full Sovereignty, independant on the Crown of *Bohemia*, to the King of *Pruſſia* and his Succeſſors, as well the Low as the High *Sileſia*; except the Principality of *Teſchen* and the City of *Troppau*, and the Country lying beyond the *Opau*, and the high Mountains bounding *Upper Sileſia*; as alſo the Lordſhip of *Herrendorff*, and other Diſtricts which belong to *Moravia*, tho' included by the *Upper Sileſia*.

In like Manner her Majeſty yields for herſelf, her Heirs, &c. to his Majeſty of *Pruſſia*, the City and Caſtle of *Glatz*, and all the County of that Name, with the entire Sovereignty and Independancy of the Crown of *Bohemia*. In return, his *Pruſſian* Majeſty renounces all Pretenſions whatſoever on the Queen of *Hungary*.

VI. The King of *Pruſſia* ſhall preſerve the Catholick Religion in *ſtatu quo*, as alſo the Inhabitants of the Country in their Poſſeſſions, Liberties, Privileges, &c. without Derogation however to an entire Liberty of Conſcience for Proteſtants, and the Rights of the Sovereign.

VII. The King of *Pruſſia* charges himſelf wholly with the Repayment of what was lent by the *Engliſh* Merchants on the Security of the Revenues in *Sileſia*, by the Contract of *London*, *January* 21, 1735.

And by the XI. Article, The two high contracting Parties agree to comprehend in theſe Preliminaries of Peace, his Majeſty the King of *Great Britain* in that Quality, and alſo as Elector of *Hanover*, her Imperial Majeſty of all the *Ruſſias*, his Majeſty the King of *Denmark*, the States General of the United Provinces, the moſt Serene Houſe of *Wolfenbuttle*, and his Majeſty the King of *Poland*, as Elector of *Saxony*, provided that within 16 Days after the Signing of theſe Preſents ſhall be duly notified to him, he ſhall withdraw his Forces from the *French* Army in *Bohemia*, and out of all the Dominions of her Majeſty the Queen of *Hungary*.

The reſt are the general and uſual Articles in all Treaties of Peace.

The King of *Poland* has ſince acceded to this Treaty, and has accordingly withdrawn his Troops out of *Bohemia*. This has obliged the *French* Army, incamped under the Cannon of *Prague*, to think of nothing but getting off if poſſible; and for this Purpoſe, as ſoon as Prince *Charles*, with the *Auſtrian* Army, arrived in Sight of *Prague*, the Marſhal *Belliſle* ſent to deſire a Conference, which was granted, and at this Conference, the Marſhal propoſed to ſurrender *Prague* to the Queen of *Hungary*, provided the Gariſon, and the *French* Army under the Cannon of the Place, ſhould be allowed to retire with Arms, Baggage, and all other Marks of Honour; but Count *Konigſeg*, appointed to confer with him, anſwered, That both the Gariſon and Army muſt ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War, which was the only Terms they could expect from his Royal Miſtreſs, conſidering the Situation they were in. The *French* have ſince made ſeveral Applications to the Court of *Vienna* for obtaining better Terms, but all to no Purpoſe; ſo that they muſt fight their Way through their Enemies, who have now ſurrounded them on all Sides, or accept of the hard Terms offered; for they can expect no Relief from their Army in *Bavaria*, where a March to their Relief had been propoſed in a Council of War, but was by all preſent judged to be too dangerous an Undertaking, conſidering that Count *Khevenhuller*, with the *Auſtrian* Army under his Command, was ſo near them, and would certainly follow and attack them upon their March. In the mean Time Prince *Charles* is making every Thing ready for beſieging *Prague* in Form, and will begin it as ſoon as the heavy Artillery arrives from *Vienna*, which was every Day expected when our laſt Advices came from that Army.

The preſent bad Situation of the Affairs of *France* and her Allies, have obliged the Cardinal to have again Recourſe to Negotiation, and ſeveral Plans of Peace have been ſent from *Verſailles* to *Vienna*, but without Effect; for her *Hungarian* Majeſty declared publickly, about the 20th Inſtant, *N. S.* that ſhe would grant no Capitulation either to the Gariſon of *Prague*, or to the *French* Army under its Walls; nor would ſhe have any more Propoſitions coming from the Cardinal, preſented to her upon that Subject, or upon that of an Accommodation, having Reaſon to ſuſpect every Thing which came from that Quarter; ſo that he had nothing to do but to addreſs himſelf to her intimate Friends and faithful Allies, without whom ſhe would neither treat nor negotiate.

As the Marſhal *de Maillebois* is now retiring with his Army out of *Germany*, and as the *Spaniſh* Army in *Italy* ſeems to be ſhut up in their Camp there, the only Hopes the *French* and their Allies have, ſeems to be placed in the *Spaniſh* Army aſſembling in *Provence*, which is now ſaid to be about 30,000, and when joined by a Body of *French* Troops, is to force its Way into *Italy* by the narrow Paſſes about *Nice*; but as thoſe Paſſes are all now well fortified, and guarded by a great Number of *Piemonteſe* Troops, beſides a Body of *Engliſh* Forces from *Portmahon*, and as the *Spaniards* dare not approach near the Coaſt for Fear of the *Britiſh* Squadron, theſe Hopes ſeem to be in great Danger of being diſappointed.

HISTO-

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THE
LONDON MAGAZINE.
AUGUST, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 328.

In the Debate begun in our laſt, upon the Indemnifying Bill, L. Æmilius Paullus *went on as follows,* viz.

FROM what I have ſaid, my Lords, I hope it will appear, that the Bill now under our Conſideration is not without Precedent, and conſequently, I hope, I have removed the firſt Objection made to it by the noble Lord, if not to his Satisfaction, at leaſt to the Satisfaction of the Majority of thoſe that hear me. I hope I have ſhewn, that if it were without Precedent, we ought to paſs it, in order to make a Precedent for the future; becauſe the paſſing of ſuch a Bill as this upon ſuch Occaſions, I conceive, and I think, I have ſhewn, to be abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, againſt the ſecret Practices of Miniſters and Royal Favourites. And if the paſſing of ſuch a Bill be neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Liberties, certainly it cannot be contrary to Juſtice, the Laws of Nature, or the fundamental Maxims of our Conſtitution; which leads me to examine more particularly the other Objections made by the noble Lord to the Bill.

I ſhall grant, my Lords, that by the Laws of all Societies, the Innocent ought to be guarded as much as poſſible from the Danger of being falſely accuſed or unjuſtly condemned, and that it would be contrary to all Laws, human and divine, to ſet a Man up as a publick Butt for Informers, againſt whom there was no Proof or Preſumption of any Crime. I ſhall grant, that till a Man is accuſed of ſome particular Crime, and we have ſome Proof of that Crime, it would be unjuſt to invite all the Rogues in the Nation to accuſe him, by promiſing or by encouraging them to expect a Pardon, provided they would bring him in as an Accomplice in their Guilt. But is this the Caſe at preſent? Is not the Perſon, whoſe Conduct has given Occaſion for this Bill, accuſed by the general Voice of the Nation?

Is he not expreſsly accuſed by the Secret Committee of the other Houſe? Can it be ſaid, that there is no Proof for ſupporting that Accuſation. My Lords, the particular Crime of which he is accuſed, is that of miſapplying the publick Money wherewith he was intruſted, and employing it in Practices dangerous to the Liberties of this Nation, and deſtructive of the Independency of Parliaments. Is not this a particular Crime of a moſt heinous Nature? The Preſumption has been ſtrong againſt him for many Years, and now from the Report of the Secret Committee, we have ſuch a Proof of it, as will convince the whole Nation of his Guilt, whatever Effect it may have upon the Majority of this Houſe. Therefore, the Objection made by the noble Lord againſt our inviting Rogues or Informers to accuſe or give Evidence againſt an innocent Man, can no Way be applied to the Caſe now before us. A Miniſter ſtands accuſed of a particular Crime; it is a Crime which moſt Miniſters may with reaſon be ſuſpected of; it is a Crime of ſuch a ſecret Nature, that it can be directly proved by none, but ſuch as have been Accomplices in the Guilt; and we have already ſtrong Proofs againſt the Miniſter. In ſuch a Caſe, publick Juſtice, publick Safety, and the conſtant Practice in all Caſes of the ſame Nature require, that ſome of the Accomplices ſhould be pardoned, provided they will declare the Truth.

Suppoſe, my Lords, there were at preſent no Proof or Preſumption againſt any Miniſter; and ſuppoſe the Bill was deſigned to be a general and a ſtanding Law, for pardoning any Accomplice that ſhall hereafter inform againſt a Miniſter, who employs the publick Money in Practices dangerous to Liberty, and deſtructive of the Independency of Parliament, ſuch a Law would neither be inconſiſtent with Juſtice, the Laws of Nature, or the Maxims of our Conſtitution: It would only be giving the People the ſame Advantage againſt Miniſters, who are guilty of Treaſons againſt our Conſtitution, that Miniſters now have againſt ſuch of the People as may be guilty of Treaſons againſt the Government. When any Member of this or the other Houſe renders himſelf publickly obnoxious to a Miniſter, by oppoſing his arbitrary Schemes, or deſtructive Meaſures in Parliament, all the Rogues and Informers in the Kingdom know, that they may have an Indemnity for the Crimes they have been guilty of, provided they can bring ſuch a Man in as an Accomplice in their Guilt. For convincing them of this, there is no Occaſion for an Act of Parliament, or a Proclamation, becauſe the Crown has a Power to pardon, and Miniſters have generally the Exerciſe of that Power, and are ſeldom ſhy of exerciſing it, when it may tend towards removing an Enemy out of their Way: Nay, in ſuch a Caſe, Informers may, and do expect not only a Pardon, but a Reward; yet we find, that Innocence has hitherto been a Protection againſt this Method of obtaining a Proof, tho' it has been practiſed, and when poſſible, will always be made uſe of againſt thoſe Noblemen or Gentlemen whoſe Virtue ſets them up as the Objects of miniſterial Reſentment. I hope, my Lords, it will always be ſo; I hope Innocence will always, in this Kingdom, be a Protection againſt this Method of obtaining Evidence; but if by an unſeaſonable and ill-timed Shyneſs to make uſe of the ſame Method for obtaining Evidence againſt a ſuſpected Miniſter, we ſhould allow a Miniſter to obtain a corrupt Influence over our Elections, Innocence will then be no Protection againſt his Reſentment, ſupported by a corrupt Majority in both

both Houſes of Parliament; for when Judges are reſolved to condemn, they will be at no Pains to unravel the moſt bungling Conſpiracy that can be formed, they will give Credit to the moſt improbable Teſtimonies, that can be made uſe A of.

My Lords, the Method of obtaining Evidence againſt Criminals, or againſt Perſons ſuſpected of Crimes, by giving a Pardon to ſome of the Accomplices, upon their informing and becoming Evidence a- B gainſt the reſt, is a Method that has been made uſe of by all Miniſters, and will be made uſe of by all Miniſters, in State Crimes as well as Crimes of every other Sort, as long as the Crown has a Power to pardon in ſuch Caſes. If any future Mini- C ſter ſhould ſuſpect, or ſhould pretend to ſuſpect, that one of your Lordſhips had been forming Deſigns againſt the Government, he would have no Occaſion to apply to Parliament for any ſuch Bill as this, becauſe he might, and cetainly would, D without an Act of Parliament, make uſe of this Method: He would have no Occaſion for ſo much as a Proclamation; becauſe all Men know, that the Crown has a Power to pardon Accomplices, and will always be ready not only to pardon, but to E reward thoſe Accomplices that come in and inform againſt the reſt. Therefore, our agreeing to this Bill can be of no dangerous Conſequence to any Nobleman or Gentleman in the Kingdom, becauſe it furniſhes the Crown with no new Power, nor will it be F a Precedent for a Miniſter's making uſe of a new Method for obtaining Evidence againſt any Man in the Kingdom: But on the contrary, it will be a great Security for the Lives and Properties of all his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Subjects; becauſe it G will ſhew Miniſters, that with the ſame Meaſure they mete, it will be meted unto them again, which will of courſe prevent their making a wicked, or too arbitrary an Uſe of any of the Powers or Prerogatives of the Crown.

The noble Lord next told us, he thought this Bill quite unneceſſary; becauſe, ſaid he, it is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe, that Witneſſes may not be found, who were no Accomplices in the Crime; and becauſe the other Houſe might have paſſed ſuch a Reſolution as was paſſed in the Year 1694, which would have been an effectual Security to all thoſe that were willing to inform. With reſpect to both theſe Reaſons, my Lords, I have the Misfortune to be of a very different Opinion. The Crime is of ſuch a heinous Nature, that we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been committed with all poſſible Caution: It is impoſſible to ſuppoſe the Miniſter communicated his Deſigns or his Practices to any, but thoſe whom he was neceſſarily obliged to employ, and all ſuch muſt be look'd on as Accomplices: Nay, even their Under-Agents, I mean thoſe who were employed in diſtributing the Money amongſt corrupt Officers or Voters, and likewiſe the Officers and Voters that received it, muſt be look'd on as Accomplices, and are by Law made liable to ſeveral Penalties, Forfeitures and Diſabilities, ſo that without paſſing ſuch a Bill as this, it is almoſt impoſſible to ſuppoſe we can have any direct Proof, and ſtill more impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that we can trace the Crime to its original Source.

Then, my Lords, with regard to the Reſolution which the noble Lord ſays the other Houſe might have come to. I ſhall grant, they might have come to ſuch a Reſolution; I ſhall grant, that whilſt that Houſe of Commons ſubſiſted, it would have been dangerous to proſecute or condemn any Man under their Protection; but every one knows, that a Parliament may be diſſolved at the

Pleaſure of the Crown, and that a new Houſe of Commons may happen to be choſen, of a very different Complexion, which of Conſequence would not be very ſtrenuous in ſupporting the Protection granted by the former: For this Reaſon, we cannot ſuppoſe, that ſuch a Reſolution would have been effectual, or that any Man would have truſted to it, ſo far as to give an Evidence upon which he might afterwards be proſecuted and convicted.

But beſides, my Lords, when the noble Lord ſays, the other Houſe might have paſſed ſuch a Reſolution, he ſeems to give up all the Objections he had before made to this Bill; for, I hope, he will not ſay, that the other Houſe might or ought to have come to a Reſolution, that was inconſiſtent with Juſtice, the Laws of Nature, and the fundamental Maxims of our Conſtitution; and if ſuch a Reſolution would not have been ſo, I ſhould be glad to know, how this Bill can be ſo. The Words, Be it enacted, have indeed a greater Force than the Words, Be it reſolved; but if what is reſolved be lawful, and conſiſtent with our Conſtitution, I cannot ſee how the Words, Be it enacted, can make it unlawful or inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution.

As to the laſt Objection the noble Lord was pleaſed to make to this Bill, which was that of the Indemnity's being too extenſive, it proceeded, I believe, from his Lordſhip's not having attentively conſidered the Words of the Bill. The Words are as follow, "That for the more effectual making the Inquiry and Diſcovery aforeſaid, all and every Perſon and Perſons, (other than the ſaid *Robert* Earl of *Orford*) who having been *duly ſummoned*, ſhall—— Now, my Lords, let us conſider by whom thoſe Perſons are to be ſummoned? Why, my Lords, by the Secret Committee of the other Houſe, and conſequently none are to be indemnified, but ſuch as they ſummon. Can we ſuppoſe, that they will ſummon any Criminals before them, but ſuch as are abſolutely neceſſary for fixing the Guilt upon thoſe, that moſt deſerve to be puniſh'd? Can this be ſuppoſed by any one, who has ſuch an Opinion of the Wiſdom and Diſcretion of the Gentlemen of that Committee, as the noble Lord was pleaſed to profeſs? The Conſequence of paſſing this Bill will probably be the ſame with what it is in all Caſes of a ſimilar Nature: When a Pardon is offered, and offered in ſuch a Manner as any Informer may truſt to, the mutual Tie which depends upon the mutual Danger of the Criminals, will then be diſſolved, and the Conteſt among them will be, who ſhall give the firſt and the fulleſt Information. Numbers of them will then probably offer themſelves to the Committee:- By that Means the Committee will have a Power to chuſe whom they ſhall admit as Informers, and ſuch only they will cauſe to be ſummoned before them. Therefore, by our paſſing this Bill the Publick can be depriv'd of no Right; but if this Bill ſhould be rejected, the Publick will be convinced, that there are more high and heinous Offenders than one in this Nation, and at the ſame Time, it will have the Mortification to ſee itſelf deprived of having Juſtice done upon any one high and heinous Offender whatſoever.

I ſhall next give the Subſtance of what was ſaid upon this Subject by C. Plinius Cæcilius, *as follows, viz.*

My Lords,

IN all Caſes of a political Nature there muſt be Variety of Sentiments, becauſe neither Side of the Queſtion can be brought the Length of a Demonſtration; therefore, in ſuch Caſes, however poſitive we

be in the Opinion we have braced, however clear and con- ive we may think the Arguments its Favour, we ought to judge idly and charitably of thoſe differ from us; and as there ne- was, I believe, a Queſtion be- us of a more doubtful Nature, this we have now under our ideration, I hope no Lord will poſe, that thoſe who differ from are govern'd by any Thing, but of the Argument's appearing them in a different Light from at it does to him: This ſhall al- s be my Way of judging, and refore I am extremely cautious of ermining myſelf againſt the Opi- of thoſe, whoſe Capacity muſt acknowledged by all thoſe that e the Honour of their Acquain- ce. For this Reaſon, I have ex- ined the preſent Queſtion with poſſible Care; I have even en- voured to find Arguments for king me alter the Opinion I at formed of this Bill, and I pro- , the more I think of it, the e I conſider its Nature and its ſequences, the more I am con- ed in my Opinion, that it ought to be paſſed into a Law.

I am very ſenſible, my Lords, t moſt wicked and dangerous ctices may be carried on by Mi- ters for overturning our Conſtitu- ; and I ſhall readily admit, that h Practices ought to be ſeverely niſhed, when they can be diſco- ed and fully proved. In this I ll moſt heartily join with the no- Duke who ſpoke laſt, but I can- t join with him in calling them ſonable Practices; becauſe by expreſs Statute, not as yet re- led, it is declared, that no Act Offence ſhall be adjudged to be reaſon, Petty Treaſon, or Miſpri- of Treaſon, but ſuch as are de- ared to be ſo by the 25th of *Ed- ard* the IIId; and tho' in our le- lative Capacity we may repeal y Law, or make a new Law, yet in our judicative Capacity we ought, I think, to judge according to the Laws in being at the Time when the Crime was committed. The Practices therefore of a Miniſter againſt our Conſtitution may be call'd high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and may be puniſhed as ſuch, but they cannot properly be called Treaſons, nor ought they to be puniſh'd as ſuch, according to the Laws now in being.

But, my Lords, however heinous ſuch Practices may be; by whatever Name they ought to be called; or in whatever Manner they ought to be puniſhed, ſurely the Perſon ſuppoſed to be guilty ought to be accuſed, tried, and condemned in a legal Manner, and according to the known and eſtabliſhed Laws of his Country. The chief Difference between ſocial Liberty and Slavery, or between a limited and arbitrary Government, conſiſts in this, That in the former the Laws are known, and every Man knows, or may know, what the Crime is he commits, how he is to be puniſhed, and in what Manner he is to be tried; whereas in the latter, the Laws are unknown, as well as the Methods of Trial and Manner of Puniſhment, becauſe they all depend upon the arbitrary Will, or upon Edicts and Rules made *ex poſt facto* by the Governor or Governors. For this Reaſon, my Lords, even with regard to Proceedings or Proſecutions in Parliament, we ought to be extremely cautious of having Recourſe to Laws, Rules, or Orders made *ex poſt facto*, either for puniſhing an Offender, or for introducing any new Method of Accuſation or Trial; for every ſuch Step is an actual Exerciſe of arbitrary Power, and in that Inſtance at leaſt, is an actual Overthrow of our Conſtitution.

By the Laws of this Kingdom, our Methods of Accuſation and Trial, as well as our Manner of puniſhing, are fixt and certain. With regard

regard to the Party accuſed, he is not to be taken up or impriſoned, unleſs there be an Information upon Oath of his being guilty, or ſtrongly ſuſpected of being guilty of ſome Fact declared to be criminal by the known Laws of the Kingdom, nor is any Witneſs to be ſolemnly examined againſt him, till the Facts to which they are to be examined, be aſcertained by an Indictment or Information, nor till after he has acknowledged the Facts to be criminal, by pleading Not Guilty. The Witneſſes are then to be examined in his Preſence, and he may make his Objections againſt their being examined, or he may croſs queſtion them upon their Examination; and in order to prevent the Effects of a Conſpiracy, he may have them examined apart, if he deſires it; and farther, if any of the Witneſſes appear to be guilty of Perjury, he may have them immediately committed; or if Malice appears, he may have a Copy of his Indictment, and may by an Action recover great Damages. By theſe Methods of Accuſation and Trial, which are known, or may be known, the Innocence of Men is ſtrongly guarded; whereas, if theſe Methods were not known and eſtabliſhed, no innocent Man could for a Moment think himſelf ſafe againſt a falſe Accuſation, nor could he know how to make his Innocence appear to the Court upon his Trial.

Then, my Lords, with regard to Informers: No Man can by Law be compelled to become an Informer, nor can any Witneſs upon a Trial be compelled to anſwer a Queſtion, that may tend towards ſhewing, that he was an Accomplice in that Crime, or that he has been guilty of any other. Even tho' the King ſhould promiſe a Pardon, or ſhould actually grant a Pardon, yet the Perſon ſo pardoned cannot by Law be compelled to become an Informer, or to anſwer any Queſtion that may tend to accuſe himſelf; for though he might evade the Puniſhment by pleading the King's Pardon, yet our Law conſiders, that he could not avoid the Infamy of having been guilty of a Crime, and therefore has taken Care, that no Man ſhall be reduced to the unhappy Dilemma, of perjuring himſelf, or otherwiſe confeſſing himſelf guilty of ſome criminal and infamous Action. This ſhews the Moderation of our Law, and it is in this Moderation that the Happineſs of our Conſtitution and the Liberty of the Subject chiefly conſiſts. Tortures and forced Confeſſions or Accuſations are the Harbingers of arbitrary Power; and without Torture, Confeſſions, Informations, or Accuſations can never be forced: Any Law therefore, that either by expreſs Words, or by its Conſequences, may tend towards compelling Men to become Informers, or to anſwer upon Oath to Queſtions that tend to accuſe themſelves, muſt be inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution, and a Precedent that may contribute towards the Introduction of arbitrary Power.

Hitherto, my Lords, I have only conſidered our eſtabliſhed Method of Accuſation and Trial at common Law; but now to come cloſer to the Point, I ſhall conſider our ordinary Method of proceeding in Parliament, in Caſes of a criminal Nature. For as to Bills of Attainder ſuch as that in Sir *John Fenwick*'s Caſe, or Bills of Pains and Penalties, every one knows, that they are of an extraordinary Nature, and have never been made uſe of without great Ferment and Oppoſition. But as to the Method of Impeachment, if we examine the Impeachments that have been brought up from the other Houſe to this, we ſhall find, that they have been always founded upon written Teſtimonies or voluntary Evidence, and that the

Wit

Witneſſes were never ſolemnly exa-
ined, till the Articles of Impeach-
ent were exhibited, and the Per-
n impeached put himſelf upon his
rial before this Aſſembly, which
perfectly analogous to our Method
proceeding at Common Law. I
re be bold to ſay, that this is the
ſt Time the other Houſe ever ap-
ied to this, to aſſiſt them in find-
g Evidence againſt a Perſon they
ſpected or intended to impeach;
d the firſt Time that ever either
ouſe thought of a general Bill for
demnifying all Perſons, without
ception, that ſhould become In-
rmers againſt one particular Man.
If ever there was a Neceſſity for
ch a Bill, it was, my Lords, in
e Caſe of the Earl of *Oxford* in
e Beginning of the late Reign.
hat Miniſter had by his Meaſures
ought great Diſhonour upon this
ation, and ſuch Ruin upon the
ffairs of *Europe* as the wiſeſt Mea-
res have not ſince been able to re-
ieve. He was beſides generally
ſpected of having ingaged in, and
rried on a Deſign for bringing in
e Pretender, and defeating the
oteſtant Succeſſion. Yet no ſuch
ll as this was ever brought in a-
inſt him; nor were thoſe Wit-
ſes that could have proved trea-
able Practices againſt him ever
amined before the Secret Com-
ittee of the other Houſe; for tho'
ere were ſuch Witneſſes when the
rticles of Impeachment were drawn
againſt him, yet the other Houſe,
that Time, thought it was not
, or agreeable to our Conſtitu-
n, to examine them in a ſolemn
anner, till the Perſon accuſed was
gularly brought upon his Trial;
d altho' thoſe Witneſſes had with-
wn, or at leaſt could not be
und, when that Lord was brought
on his Trial, yet no ſuch Bill as
is was thought on, or attempted
be brought in.
This ſhews, my Lords, what was
the Opinion of the other Houſe at
that Time, and I ſhall mention an-
other Affair which the noble Duke
muſt very well remember, and
which will clearly ſhew, what was
the Opinion of this with regard to
ſuch Bills. Towards the End of the
Year 1714, Complaint was made in
this Houſe againſt a ſcandalous Li-
bel, intitled, *The publick Spirit of the
Whigs*, and the Publiſher, one *Mor-
phew*, was ordered into the Cuſtody
of the Black Rod. *Morphew* decla-
red upon his Examination, that an
unknown Porter had brought him
the Copy from the Houſe of *John
Barber*, Printer of the *Gazette*,
whereupon *Barber* was ſent for,
who, upon his Examination ſaid,
he knew nothing of it, but inſiſted
upon not anſwering any Queſtions,
the Anſwer to which might tend to
accuſe himſelf, or to corroborate
the Accuſation againſt him. As
Barber could not be ſuppoſed to be
the Author of the Pamphlet, and as
it was a moſt ſcandalous and ſedi-
tious Pamphlet, ſurely if ſuch a Bill
as this was ever neceſſary, it was
neceſſary upon that Occaſion, and
would certainly have been brought
in, if the Houſe had thought it
conſiſtent with our Conſtitution; but
they did not, it ſeems, think ſo,
and therefore, they contented them-
ſelves with addreſſing the Crown to
offer a Pardon and Reward by Pro-
clamation, for diſcovering the Au-
thor or Authors of this ſeditious
Pamphlet.

I could mention a great many
other Caſes where a Bill of this
Nature would have been of great
Service, if it had been thought con-
ſiſtent with our Conſtitution to paſs
ſuch a Bill into a Law. Nay, if
ſuch a Law as this had been thought
conſiſtent with our Conſtitution, I
am convinced, no Inquiry would
ever have been ſet on Foot in either
Houſe of Parliament, without paſſ-
ing ſuch a Law; and the very Ca-
ſes

ſes that have been mentioned are ſo far from being Precedents for what is now propoſed, that, in my Opinion, they are directly againſt it. In the Year 1694, great Miſapplications, and illegal or corrupt Diſtributions of the Money of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and of the City of *London*, had been diſcovered and fully proved; and there were great Suſpicions, and plain Proofs as to ſome, that the Money had been employed in corrupting Miniſters of State or Members of Parliament. Upon ſuch an Occaſion, ſurely it might have been ſuggeſted with more Reaſon than now, that a general Bill for indemnifying all Perſons, except Miniſters or Members, that ſhould make a Diſcovery of any of theſe Corruptions, was neceſſary and ought to be paſſed into a Law, yet neither your Lordſhips nor the Commons thought of ſuch a Bill at that Time. The Commons, indeed, came to a Reſolution, but even that Reſolution was confined to Matters tranſacted in the Houſe, relating to the *Orphans Bill*, or the *Eaſt-India* Company; and the indemnifying Bill which both Houſes afterwards agreed on, was ſo far from being general, that it was confined to Sir *Thomas Cook* alone, and did not direct him to inform againſt any particular Perſon, but in general to give an Acconnt to whom he paid and diſtributed the ſeveral Sums therein mentioned. Theſe Proceedings, and the following Proceedings againſt the Duke of *Leeds* ſhew, that both Houſes were at that Time reſolved to take all Methods our Conſtitution would admit of for obtaining a full Diſcovery; and their not having paſſed upon that Occaſion ſuch a Law as is now propoſed, is to me a convincing Proof, that they thought it inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution.

The Caſe of the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and the Caſe of the *Charitable Corporation*, tend both to prove ſame Thing; for as the Indem ing Bills paſſed upon both theſe caſions are particular, I mean the Perſons to be indemnified, as a general indemnifying Bill upon both Occaſions, have been effectual for obtaining a full Diſco of the illegal and wicked Prac then under the Conſideration liament, it is a Proof, that no Bill can be paſſed into a Law, ſiſtently with our Conſtitution. is it any Argument in favour of Bill, to ſay, that it does not any Puniſhment or Penalty thoſe, who ſhall refuſe to diſc all they know, and conſequen does not compel any one to be an Informer, or to anſwer Oath to Queſtions, which may to his own Infamy or Diſhon for after you have paſſed the the other Houſe will take Ca ſupply this Omiſſion, by commi to *Newgate* every Man that ſha fuſe to anſwer any Queſtion Committee ſhall pleaſe to pu him: They have already com ted *Paxton* to *Newgate* for this Offence, tho' he had a much ſtr er Reaſon to refuſe anſwering a trapping Queſtion, than he or other can have after this Bill is ed into a Law; and I hope, Lordſhips will not ſay, that wh Man is to inform or anſwer, the Penalty of being ſent to *gate*, and detained there till the of the Seſſion, without Pen, In Paper, or any Perſon to con with: I ſay, I hope, your Lord will not think, that a Man in Circumſtances is under no For Compulſion.

Having thus, my Lords, ſhe that theſe three Caſes are Pr dents rather againſt than in fa of what is now propoſed, I next beg leave to take Notice material Difference between the ſent Caſe and every one of the

er, which will ſhew, that the paſſ-
g of ſuch a Bill would in this Caſe
a greater Hardſhip, and more
ngerous than it could have been
any one of the former: In every
e of the former it plainly appear-
, that Crimes of a very heinous
ature had been committed, before
e Houſe thought of paſſing any
t of indemnifying Bills, and there-
e, if the Houſe had thought of
ſſing ſuch a Bill as this, it could
ly have been for diſcovering the
thors, and not the Crimes: It
s for this Purpoſe only, that any
t of indemnifying Bill was paſſed
any of the three Caſes mention-
; but the preſent Caſe is per-
ly new, and ſomething very ex-
ordinary. We have, or at leaſt
think we have diſcovered the
minal, but have not yet diſco-
ed any Crime, and therefore we
poſe to paſs a general indemni-
g Bill, in order to enable us to
cover the Crimes of this ſuppoſed
minal: Whether this be a pro-
or juſt Method of proceeding in
roteſtant, free Country, I do not
w; but I never heard, that the
quiſition proceeded in any ſuch
nner; I never heard, that they
poſed any particular Man to be a
retick, and then publiſh'd an In-
nity to all ſuch Hereticks, Infi-
, and relapſing *Jews*, as would
e in, and give Information a-
ſt him.

My Lords, I ſay, we have not
diſcovered any Crime or crimi-
Practice, either in the noble
d againſt whom this Bill is par-
larly directed, nor againſt any
Perſon whatſoever; and this, I
k, will appear to every one who
ſes with Attention, and without
judice, the Report of the Secret
mittee of the other Houſe,
ich was the only Foundation for
Bill: By that Report it appears,
Mr. *Boteler* received 500*l.* from
Paxton, at the Time he was
Candidate for the Borough of *Wendover*; but it does not appear, that it was publick Money, or that Mr. *Boteler* employed it in corrupting the Voters or the Returning Officer at *Wendover*. We know, how fond moſt Gentlemen are of making themſelves appear to be Men of Conſequence, by having a great Intereſt in Elections for Members of Parliament: This is a Vanity, which attends moſt Gentlemen in this Kingdom; and this Vanity might have induced *Paxton* to advance 500*l.* of his own Money to get his Friend choſen at *Wendover*. We know, how expenſive all Elections are, even where no Bribery is made uſe of; and therefore we may, we ought in Charity to ſuppoſe, that Mr. *Boteler* made uſe of this Money, not in bribing but in entertaining the Electors at *Wendover*: Nay, from his own Evidence it appears, that this Money, or the greateſt Part of it, had been ſpent in Entertainments before he received it; for he ſays he could not come away from *Wendover* without Money to defray his Charges.

By that Report it appears, that large Sums of Money had been laid out in Law-ſuits and Proſecutions relating to the Boroughs of *Orford* and *Radnor*; but there is not the leaſt Proof, that this Money was publick Money: It was advanced, indeed, by *Lawton* and *Paxton*, but why ſhould we ſuppoſe it was not their own Money? The ſame Vanity I have mentioned, might induce them to advance this Money, in order to obtain an Intereſt in theſe two Boroughs; and if they thought the Law-ſuits were juſt, it was no Crime in them to ſupport them at their own Expence; for their advancing the Money would not, I think, in either Caſe amount to that Crime, which the Law calls *Maintenance*; and if it did, it would be unworthy of the Parliament's No-

tice, becauſe it is of ſuch an inſignificant Nature, and ſo eaſily puniſhable at Common Law.

By the Report it likewiſe appears, my Lords, that large Sums have been iſſued to Mr. *Paxton*, as Sollicitor of the Treaſury, and that he has not yet accounted in a regular Manner for any of thoſe Sums; but the not obliging him to do ſo, cannot be called a Crime; it cannot even be called a criminal Omiſſion, for no Omiſſion is criminal, unleſs it be accompanied with ſome criminal or fraudulent Intention, which has not been in this Caſe ſo much as alledged. This therefore can be called nothing but a mere Neglect, and it is chargeable upon every one of the other Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, as well as my Lord *Orford*; conſequently this Bill ought to have been directed againſt every one of thoſe that have within theſe ten Years been Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, as well as againſt him; and indeed, if he ſhould be condemned for Neglects or Miſapplications of publick Money, I do not ſee how any of the other Commiſſioners can eſcape the ſame Fate.

I ſhall not pretend, my Lords, to juſtify that noble Lord in every Part of his Conduct, nor ſhall I pretend to ſay he has been guilty of no Neglect or criminal Practice. I ſtand up only for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, and to prevent our doing what I think contrary to the whole Tenor of our Laws, and inconſiſtent with thoſe gentle and regular Methods of Proſecution which ought to be religiouſly adhered to in every free State. If the Publick has been injured, we muſt ſee Juſtice done: We muſt endeavour to have *Juſtitiam*, but we ought to endeavour to have it *Juſte*: We muſt have *Legitimum*, but we ought to ſeek for it *Legitime*. If Practices have been carrying on which appear dangerous to the Liberties of the Nation, and deſtructive of the Independency of Parliament, we ought to take all proper and prudent Methods for diſcovering and puniſhing them; but we ought not to take ſuch Methods as appear to be more dangerous and deſtructive than the very Practices we are endeavouring to diſcover and prevent.

I know very well, my Lords, that Bill now before us is a popular Bill: I know the Majority without Doors, eſpecially of the lower Sort of People, wiſh and hope to ſee it paſſed into a Law; for the Populace never ſee far into the Conſequences of Things, and are therefore for giving Satisfaction by any Means to the preſent prevailing Humour. The Humour of the Populace may perhaps have had ſome Influence in the other Houſe, but, I hope, it will have none in this; for it is a moſt infallible Symptom of the dangerous State of Liberty, when the Nobles or chief Men of a free Country ſhew a greater Regard to Popularity than to their own Judgment. Whilſt the Patricians and Senators of *Rome* preſerved their Dignity, by ſcorning to yield to every popular Humour, the *Romans* preſerved their Liberties, they preſerved their Glory; but when the Grandees of that Commonwealth, where all Honours were conferred by the Voice of the People, began for ſelfiſh Ends to yield to every popular Humour, and to be governed by every popular Fear, and by every popular Frenzy, the People ſoon loſt their Liberties, and moſt of the Patricians or Nobles their Lives or Fortunes. This Cauſe, my Lords, will in all free States, and at all Times, produce the ſame Effect. In this Country it produced the ſame Effect but about a Century ago; if too many of this Houſe had joined in with the prevailing popular Frenzy at that Time, King *Charles* would never have been

eaded, nor *Oliver Cromwel* made rotector and deſpotick Ruler of *ngland.*

The Popularity of a Meaſure is herefore, my Lords, of itſelf no ecommendation to me, nor ſhall ever court a popular Eſteem by himing in with every Humour, very Conceit, the Populace may ke into their Head. What I think ght I ſhall approve, what I think rong I ſhall oppoſe, without conidering whether it be agreeable or iſagreeable to the People without Doors. This ſhall always be my onduct in this Aſſembly; and whilſt have the Honour to have a Share any other of his Majeſty's Counils, I ſhall adviſe him to hold the me Conduct. The Crown ought lways to aim at gaining the Affecons of the People, by wiſely and eadily purſuing the publick Good, nd not by doing what is unjuſt, or dangerous Conſequence, in order pleaſe the giddy Multitude. The eople, eſpecially thoſe of the meaner ort, may miſapprehend a publick eaſure, and may on that Account e out of Humour for a While; but hen they have Time to reflect, nd to conſider coolly their own Inereſt, they will be reconciled with hoſe that oppoſed, and will deſpiſe hoſe that flattered or gave Way to e petulant Humour they were in. he Affections of the People is cerainly what every wiſe King will deavour to preſerve; but it is that ort of Affection which ariſes from ool Reflexion and mature Delibeation, becauſe it is the only dura- Affection. This his preſent Maſty is moſt juſtly poſſeſſed of, and erefore he may, and certainly does ſpiſe any unjuſt Suſpicions that ay be entertained againſt his Conct or Intentions. If the noble ord ſo particularly pointed at by his Bill, has been guilty of any iminal Practices, his Majeſty will e ſo far from protecting him, that he will contribute all he can to have the Criminal brought to Juſtice; but from his Majeſty's known Regard to our Conſtitution, from his known Care of all his Subjects, we may preſume, that he deſires, that this ſuppoſed Criminal, as well as every other ſuppoſed Criminal, ſhould be tried in a regular Manner, and according to the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Kingdom. This is what every one of your Lordſhips ought to deſire as well as his Majeſty: This it is your Duty to take care of, as you are the ſupreme Court of Judicature in the Nation; but this, I am ſure, cannot be done, if the Bill now before us ſhould be paſſed into a Law.

L. Piſo *ſtood up next, and ſpoke to this Effect:*

My Lords,

THAT there are many Queſtions in Politicks, as well as Law and Religion, that do not admit of a Demonſtration, I ſhall readily agree; but a Queſtion's being oppoſed, and a great deal ſaid againſt it, I take to be no Proof of its not being capable of Demonſtration; for I have ſeen two learned Lawyers, when well fee'd, wrangle, for Hours together, about a Queſtion that was as clear as any Demonſtration in *Euclid.* It is not always the Doubtfulneſs of a Queſtion that makes it diſputed, but Peoples making uſe of improper Mediums for coming at the Concluſion; and when they do this, they can never come at a Demonſtration in Mathematicks, no more than in Politicks. If People ſhould talk about a Square when they ought to talk about a Circle, or about a Circle when they ought to talk about a Square, they could never come at a Demonſtration in Geometry; and yet we are not to conclude from thence, that geometrical Queſtions do not admit of a Demonſtration.

I ſhall always be as ready as the noble and learned Lord that ſpoke laſt, to judge candidly and charitably of thoſe that differ from me in Opinion; but I muſt put your Lordſhips in Mind, that in ſome Caſes the People without Doors are not very apt to do ſo. When they perceive that a Man's perſonal Intereſt lies upon the wrong Side of any Queſtion, and when they hear him miſtaking or miſ-ſtating the Queſtion, or making uſe of Arguments no Way applicable to the Caſe, in order to confound a Queſtion, which to them appears as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, they are not very apt to judge charitably. I am far from ſuppoſing, that any of your Lordſhips will ever wilfully give the World any ſuch Reaſon for ſuſpecting your Honour and Sincerity, in any Queſtion that comes before you: I mention this only to ſhew how careful we ought to be in every Debate, not to talk of a Circle when we ought to talk of a Square, or of a Square when we ought to talk of a Circle, that is to ſay, not to make uſe of Arguments that ſerve rather to confound than to clear up the Concluſion; and that the learned Lord has, I am ſure, by Miſtake, been guilty of ſomething like this, I hope to be able to ſhew to your Lordſhips.

To apply the publick Money for new modelling of Boroughs, or for corrupting the Voters at any Election, in order to fill the other Houſe with the Creatures and Tools of a Miniſter, a noble Duke was pleaſed, moſt juſtly, I think, to call a treaſonable Practice againſt our Conſtitution. The learned Lord in Anſwer to this, was pleaſed to allow it to be a moſt heinous and dangerous Practice, but ſaid it could not be called Treaſon, nor ought it to be puniſhed as ſuch, becauſe by an old Statute, it is enacted, that no Act or Offence ſhall be adjudged to be Treaſon, but ſuch as are declared to be ſo by the 25th of *Edward* the IIId. Surely the learned Lord muſt have ſeen, had he attended to it, that this Statute related to Trials at Common Law, or before the Judges in *Weſtminſter Hall*, and was made to confine and reſtrain our Judges, who have generally been a little too complaiſant to the Crown, and too ready to call Things by whatever Names the Court pleaſed to direct. But neither this Statute, nor any other, was ever meant to confine the Judgment or reſtrain the Power of the Legiſlature. On the contrary, the Judges are expreſsly ordered by the 25th of *Edward* the IIId, That when any Offence comes to be tried before them, which they deem to be Treaſon, tho' not within the Meaning of that Statute, they ſhall delay paſſing Judgment till they have the Opinion of the King in his next Parliament. Thus the Power of our Judges was by Implication as much reſtrained in this Statute, as it could be by expreſs Words in any future Statute; but ſo apt were our Judges at that Time, as they have been ever ſince, to wreſt the Law in Favour of the Crown, that it was found neceſſary, in the very next Reign but one, and immediately after a Revolution in our Government, I mean the firſt of *Henry* the IVth's Reign, to reſtrain them by expreſs Words in a Statute then paſſed; and again it was found neceſſary to reſtrain their Power as to Judgments in Treaſon, by expreſs Words in the Statute mentioned by the noble Lord, which was paſſed in the firſt Year of Queen *Mary*'s Reign. But neither of theſe Statutes was ever ſuppoſed to reſtrain the Power of Parliament, no more than it can be ſuppoſed, that all parliamentary Trials of Treaſon were, or were intended to be taken away by the 1ſt and 2d of *Philip* and *Mary*, by which it was enacted, That Trials of

f Treaſon ſhould be according to
he Courſe of the Common Law, and
ot otherwiſe.

By our Statute Law, therefore,
y Lords, the Power of Parliament,
s to Trials or Judgments of Trea-
on, is left unconfined; and now I
hall examine how far it is confined
y the Common Law, that is to ſay,
y common Reaſon. Upon this Sub-
ect the learned Lord, unhappily, as
think, miſ-ſtated the Difference
etween a limited and arbitrary
Government. In all Societies, my
Lords, the Government muſt in the
aſt Reſort be abſolute and arbitra-
y: In all Governments, even the
moſt ſlaviſh, there is a certain Set of
eſtabliſhed Laws for trying and pu-
iſhing Crimes of an ordinary Na-
ure, by which little Villains are
ade to ſubmit to the Fate appoint-
d by Law; and in all Govern-
ents, even the moſt free, there
uſt be an extraordinary and arbi-
rary Power for trying Crimes of an
xtraordinary Nature, to the end,
hat great and extraordinary Villains
ay not be allowed to plunder the
ublick with Impunity. But the
ifference is, that in ſlaviſh Govern-
ents this laſt Reſort, this extraor-
inary and abſolute Power, and the
dging in what Caſes it is to be
ade uſe of, is lodged in one or a
w Tyrants; whereas, in free Go-
ernments it is lodged in the whole
ody of the People. In our Go-
ernment, which is of a mixt Kind,
is lodged in King, Lords, and
ommons, and can never, or very
rely, be made a wrong Uſe of, as
ng as the other Houſe delivers the
entiments of the People, and not
e Sentiments of the Miniſter:
hilſt they do ſo, our Government
ll be a free Government, and
ne but the Guilty will ever ſuffer
y the Exerciſe of this extraordi-
ry and arbitrary Power. But if
e other Houſe ſhould ever by Cor-
ption be brought under a ſlaviſh
pendence upon the Crown, they
will then in no Caſe deliver the
Sentiments of the People, but the
Sentiments of the Miniſter; and
conſidering the Power the Crown
has got, I do not know how, of
ſending whom it pleaſes, and as
many as it pleaſes, into this Houſe,
we may certainly ſuppoſe, that this
Houſe will be brought to do the
ſame. Our Government will then
become an abſolute and a ſlaviſh
Government, becauſe this laſt Re-
ſort, this extraordinary and abſolute
Power, as well as the judging in
what Caſes it is to be made Uſe of,
will then be lodged ſolely in the
King, or rather in his Prime Mini-
ſter; and it will here, as in other
ſlaviſh Governments, be made Uſe
of, not for puniſhing the greateſt
Villains, but for deſtroying the beſt
Friends to their Country.

Can your Lordſhips think, can
any reaſonable Man think, that a
Society ought not to inflict a con-
dign Puniſhment upon an atrocious
Crime, becauſe they never before
thought of making a Law againſt
it? Can you think, that a Society
ought not to try and condemn an a-
trocious and notorious Criminal, be-
cauſe the Crime is of ſuch a Nature,
or becauſe the Criminal has been ſo
cunning, that he cannot be tried and
convicted according to the uſual or
regular Methods that have by Law
or Cuſtom been eſtabliſhed? In all
ſuch Caſes, the ſupreme and abſo-
lute Power of the Society is to take
Place, which by our Conſtitution is
to be exerciſed by way of Impeach-
ment, or by way of Bill of Attain-
der, or Bill of Pains and Penalties;
and in order to determine, whether
it is to be exerciſed or no, or ac-
cording to what Method it is to be
exerciſed, there muſt be a previous
Parliamentary Inquiry, in the car-
rying on of which we are reſtrained
by no Rules, but thoſe of common
Senſe and common Reaſon, and
much leſs by thoſe Rules that have
been

been prescribed for inquiring into or trying Offences at Common Law.

The learned Lord might therefore have saved himself the Trouble of explaining to us the Methods of Accusation and Trial at Common Law, because they are no Way applicable to the Case now before us; but I was surprised to hear it drop from him, that by Law no Man can be compelled to become an Informer. I shall grant, that a Man cannot be compelled by Torture to become an Informer; because the Lenity of our Law does not admit of Torture, nor is this the Question now before us; but surely he will not say, that no Man is by our Law laid under any Sort of Compulsion or Necessity to become an Informer, when it is so well known, that in all Cases of Treason or Felony, every Man that knows any Thing of the Crime is obliged to inform, under the Pain of Misprision, the Punishments of which are in both Cases very severe. And tho' a Witness cannot be obliged to answer a Question, where the Answer may tend to accuse himself; yet he is obliged to answer all other Questions, under the Pain of being committed; and the Judge or Magistrate only is to determine, what Questions may or may not affect him, and may commit him to Prison, if under Pretence of his not being obliged to accuse himself, he shall refuse to answer a Question, which the Judge or Magistrate thinks, can no Way affect him. But, my Lords, to pursue our Common Law Methods a little farther, since they have been brought into this Question; do not we know, that upon all Inquisitions the Coroner may send for and examine what Persons he pleases in the most solemn Manner, and may apprehend and commit them, if they should refuse to come upon his Warrant, or to answer such Questions, not tending to accuse themselves, as he may please to put to them? And do we know, that every Coroner, every Justice of the Peace, upon Inquisition or Inquiry into any Crime may promise a Pardon to any suspected of being an Accomplice if he will inform, and become Evidence against the rest, or against the principal Criminal? So that nothing more is desired by this Bill, than to grant such a Power to the Secret Committee of the other House, which by Common Law is enjoyed by every Coroner and every petty Justice in the Kingdom.

The noble and learned Lord came next to consider our Methods of proceeding in Parliament in criminal Cases; and here again he laid down a Position, which I was not a little surprised at: He said, that in Cases of Impeachment Witnesses were never solemnly examined, till the Articles of Impeachment were exhibited, and the Person impeached had himself upon his Trial before this Assembly. If the noble Lord, by solemnly examined, means publicly and solemnly examined, I shall agree with him; but by solemnly examined I have always understood a Witness's being examined upon Oath, and we know, that upon Inquisitions at Common Law, upon the finding of Indictments and in many other Cases at Common Law Witnesses are examined upon Oath, and in all Parliamentary Inquiries it has been the constant Practice, in the other House as well as this, to examine Witnesses in the most solemn Manner, that is to say, upon Oath before the Committee appointed to inquire; therefore it must be granted, that upon all Impeachments, I believe, without Exception, Witnesses have been solemnly examined before any Articles of Impeachment were exhibited, and before the Person suspected to be guilty could put himself upon his Trial before this Assembly. I suppose

ppoſe, my Lords, the Caſe were herwiſe; ſuppoſe no Perſon were be ſolemnly examined, till the rſon impeached ſhould be brought on his Trial before this Aſſembly; t ſuch a Bill as this would be ne- ſſary, in order to enable your rdſhips to come at the Truth; you cannot enpect, that the moſt luntary Informer or Evidence will clare the Truth before your Lord- ips, when he is thereby to render nſelf liable to Penalties, Forfei- es, or Diſabilities, which the rown neither can, nor probably ill pardon. The other Houſe, erefore, are not deſiring us to aſ- them in finding Evidence; but paſs a Bill which is abſolutely ne- ſſary for enabling us to come at Truth; and if your Lordſhips not paſs it, I am afraid, it will ſaid by People without Doors, u have no Mind to come at the ruth, leſt it ſhould militate againſt me of yourſelves.

In the Earl of *Oxford*'s Caſe, my rds, there was not the leaſt Occa- n for ſuch a Bill as this, becauſe Accomplices were not ſuppoſed be guilty of any Crime, which Crown could not pardon, be- uſe his Accomplices knew, that Crown would be ready and moſt lling to pardon any one or more them, that ſhould give Informa- n, and become Evidence againſt m; and becauſe the very Perſon oſe Conduct is now under the amination of the other Houſe, d aſſured the Commons, that they d living and legal Evidence, and h as might be given in *Weſtmin- r-Hall*, to ſupport the Charge of gh Treaſon againſt that noble rl. Theſe Witneſſes that were to ve the treaſonable Fact, were , 'tis true, examined in the moſt cret Manner, or in any Manner, re the Secret Committee; but was not becauſe it was unconſti- ional to do ſo, but, as the ſame honourable Perſon declared, becauſe it was dangerous to diſcover the Evidence, leſt it ſhould afford an Opportunity for having them ſeduced. However, the Event ſhewed, that ſuch a Committee ought to examine all the Witneſſes they may have Occaſion for upon the Trial; for, as that honourable Perſon turned Country Gentleman before the Trial came on, he either could not, or would not produce the Evidence he had given the Houſe ſuch poſitive Aſſurances of; and if that noble Earl had been impeached of high Crimes and Miſdemeanours only, without throwing High Treaſon in upon ſuch a ſlim Aſſurance, he would not perhaps have come off ſo well as he did. As the Earl of *Oxford* had for ſome Time had the chief Management of the Treaſury, he might perhaps have been accuſed of converting the publick Money towards corrupting Elections, eſpecially in the Northern Parts of the United Kingdom; and in that Caſe, ſuch a Bill as this might have been neceſſary; but thoſe who were at firſt moſt zealous in the Proſecution of that noble Lord, took Care not to make ſuch a Practice any Part of the Charge againſt him; becauſe, I believe, they had it then in their View to make Uſe of the ſame Practice, if they ſhould ever happen to come to the ſame Preferment.

As to the ſeditious Libel mentioned by the noble Lord, I am ſurpriſed he ſhould think a Bill of this Kind as neceſſary in ſuch a trifling Caſe as in the Caſe now before us. But if it had, the Houſe could not upon that Occaſion have recourſe to it; becauſe before they examined Mr. *Barber* a ſecond Time, the Crown had taken, and this Houſe conſented it ſhould take, the Cognizance of that Affair to itſelf; and after having conſented to that Method of Proſecution, the only Thing it could do was to addreſs

the Crown, to promiſe a Pardon and Reward to any one that ſhould diſcover the Author of that ſeditious Libel.

The learned Lord ſaid, he could mention a great many other Caſes where a Bill of this Nature was as neceſſary, and would have been of as great Service, as in this. I wiſh, my Lords, he had mentioned ſome more of them; for as I have not ſuch a Knowledge of the Laws, or of Caſes in Parliament, as he has, I profeſs I do not know of one; and in the only two he has mentioned, I have ſhewn, that ſuch a Bill as this neither was neceſſary, nor could be of Service. I ſhall grant, my Lords, that in the Year 1694, and likewiſe in the Caſe of the Chritable Corporation, ſuch a Bill as this would have been extremely proper. It would have been right, in my Opinion, to have paſſed a Bill in the Year 1694, for indemnifying, and even for rewarding, all thoſe who upon being ſummoned ſhould give Information and become Evidence againſt the Miniſters of State, or Members of Parliament, that had allowed themſelves to be corrupted by the City of *London*, or the *Eaſt-India* Company; and in the Caſe of the Charitable Corporation, it would have been right to have paſſed a Bill for indemnifying any two or more of the Directors and Officers of that Corporation who ſhould give Information of the fraudulent Practices of the reſt. This, I ſay, would have been right; and from its not being done, we are not to preſume, that ſuch a Bill was then thought unconſtitutional. At both Times, we know, there was a ſtrong Party, or rather Faction I ſhould ſay, for ſcreening the Guilty. This was, I believe, the true Reaſon; for thoſe who were for getting to the Bottom of thoſe corrupt or fraudulent Practices, knew they could not obtain all that was neceſſary, and therefore they were for taki as much as they could get; but t bad Succeſs of both thoſe Inquir is a Proof, that ſuch partial Inde nifications, even when the Caſe w admit of them, will never be ſuf cient for coming at high Crimina eſpecially when the Crown is ſ pected of being no Friend to t Inquiry, nor inclined to have ample Diſcovery.

Then, my Lords, with regard the Earl of *Macclesfield*, ſurely will not be ſaid, that a general B of Indemnity was neceſſary in th Caſe: The Maſters in Chance were the only Perſons that co give Information or Evidence agai him, they were the only Perſo that could be ſuppoſed to ſtand Need of an Indemnification, a with regard to them the Bill w made general. That Caſe is ther fore a Precedent directly in Poi for what is now propoſed: The B was made as general with reſpect the Perſons to be indemnified, the Nature of the Caſe could r quire; and thoſe Perſons were i demnified, in order to invite a enable them to give Evidence gainſt one particular Man.

This, my Lords, is the gr Complaint: The Bill's being dire ed againſt one particular Man ſee to be the chief Objection againſt The Caſe of the Earl of *Macclesf* as I have mentioned, is a Proof th this is no real Fault in the Bill; b if it were, the Fault is not in th of the other Houſe who are for Inquiry, but in thoſe who ſeem fraid of an impartial Inquiry i any Part of the late Conduct of c publick Affairs. There were t Motions in the other Houſe for general Inquiry; but they were bo rejected by thoſe who pretend to the Friends of the very Perſon gainſt whom this Bill ſeems to directed; by which Means th who think ſome Sort of Inquiry n ceſſa

ſſary, were reduced to the Neceſ-
y of making their Motion parti-
lar, and for a limited Time too.
hen this Motion was made, I ſhall
t ſay,

enſere omnes, et. quæ ſibi quiſque timebat,
ius in miſeri exitium converſa tulere.

t it is certain, that this Motion
as carried, and thoſe who were of
pinion that ſome dangerous Prac-
es had been carrying on, were
rtainly in the Right to attack the
hief Criminal, by himſelf alone,
nce they had from Experience ſome
round to believe, the Herd was
o numerous to be attacked in a
ody. If he be innocent, I am
re, no one other Perſon can be
uilty; and the Oppoſition made to
is Bill, both in the other Houſe
d this, may be a full Aſſurance,
hat he can be in no Danger of ſuf-
ring by any Conſpiracy or falſe
nformation.

If he be innocent, my Lords, the
ery Bill now before us provides a-
inſt his being in Danger of ſuf-
ring by any falſe Information;
nd if he be guilty, the Report
pon which it is founded muſt con-
nce us, that without ſuch a Bill
e can expect no true Information.
When I conſider this Report, I am
eally amazed to hear it ſaid, that
e have not yet diſcovered any
Crime, or that we only think we
ave diſcovered the Criminal. Is
t not evident, that *Paxton* was an
nder Agent of the Treaſury? Is it
ot evident, that *Paxton* has receiv'd
oſt exceſſive ums of Money with-
ut any Account? Is it not evident,
hat he has received moſt illegal
nd unheard-of Favours from the
rſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury?
s it not evident, that he has paid
aſt Sums of Money for corrupting
nd influencing Elections? Do not
he Perſons to whom he paid thoſe
ums declare, that they always be-
ieved it to be publick Money?
And is it not evident from his
known Circumſtances, that he could
not advance thoſe Sums out of his
own Eſtate? Do not all theſe Cir-
cumſtances amount to a Preſump-
tion almoſt next to a full Proof, that
Paxton has employed the publick
Money in corrupting Elections, and
that in this dangerous and treaſon-
able Practice he was employed by
his Patron, the firſt Commiſſioner of
the Treaſury?

My Lords, we have already diſ-
covered the Crime: We have al-
ready diſcovered the Criminal, al-
moſt as far as it is poſſible without
ſuch a Bill as this. Upon former
Occaſions, and when unhappy Men
have been proſecuted in Parliament
by the Crown, we have heard of a
Proof that might convince tho' it
could not convict: We know who
firſt made uſe of this Diſtinction:
If ſuch a Diſtinction is ever to be
admitted, ſurely it is in Favour of
a Bill for enabling us to find a con-
victing Proof, after we have found
a Proof that is almoſt convincing.
This is the Caſe at preſent: We
have diſcovered the Crime: We
have in Part diſcovered the princi-
pal Criminal: We have almoſt a
convincing Proof as to both; and
this Bill is deſired as the only Me-
thod by which the Perſon ſuſpected
may be cleared of Suſpicion, or
convicted of Guilt. Is this to be
compared to the Inquiſition, where
a Perſon is accuſed by he knows not
whom, impriſoned for he knows not
what, and never to be brought to
a legal and publick Trial?

But every Step taken by the other
Houſe in this Affair is, it ſeems, to
be found Fault with, and therefore
their ſending *Paxton* to *Newgate*
muſt likewiſe be found Fault with.
My Lords, I ſhall not ſay that a
Witneſs is obliged to anſwer any
Queſtion that may oblige him to
perjure or accuſe himſelf; but I
deny that the Queſtion which *Pax-
ton* refuſed to anſwer, was a Queſ-
tion of this Nature; for if he had
anſwered it directly in the Affirma-

tive, it would not have been an accuſing himſelf of any Crime; and therefore he was deſervedly ſent to *Newgate* for his Obſtinacy: They might have gone a little farther, without giving him any ſuch Pretence for not anſwering: They might have aſk'd him, if it was publick Money; and he might have confeſſed it was: They might have aſked him, by whoſe Orders he gave it; and he might have anſwered, by Orders from the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. But if the Committee had proceeded to aſk him, for what End it was given, he might then have made an Objection to this Queſtion, becauſe, I believe, he could not have anſwered truly, without ſhewing himſelf to have been an Accomplice in a very heinous Crime, and no Witneſs can, I think, be deſired to anſwer ſuch a Queſtion, without ſuch a Promiſe of Pardon as he may rely on. But if the Committee had been furniſhed with a Power to make ſuch a Promiſe, which is what is intended by this Bill, he might and ought to have been compelled, by ſuch Pains and Penalties as our Law admits of, to have given a proper Anſwer upon Oath; and even tho' the Committee was then furniſhed with no ſuch Power, they were not immediately to diſcharge a Man upon his refuſing to anſwer; becauſe that Refuſal rendered him ſuſpected, and therefore they ought to have committed him upon Suſpicion, which is a Sort of Commitment very uſual, even at Common Law.

With regard to *Paxton*, my Lords, the other Houſe has done nothing, but what is uſual as well as legal; and as nothing is deſired by this Bill, but what is conſiſtent with common Senſe as well as Common Law; nothing but what is conſtantly practiſed by the Crown in all criminal Caſes whatſoever; I can ſee no Reaſon for not paſſing it, but that of ſcreening the Guilty: Thi
I can never ſuſpect your Lordſhip
of, but I will not anſwer for wha
may be ſaid, as well as thought, b
People without Doors. A moſt ge
neral Suſpicion has ariſen, that th
publick Money, and all the Pen
and Offices in the Kingdom, hav
of late been converted towards gain
ing a corrupt Influence both at E
lections and in Parliament; and
proper Methods are not taken fo
making a ſtrict Inquiry into thi
Practice, and for inflicting ſuch
Puniſhment upon the Guilty, as ma
be a Terror to all future Miniſter
this general Suſpicion will be ſo ab
ſolutely confirmed, that no Man o
nice Honour will chuſe to be
Member of the other Houſe, or t
ſit and vote in this; becauſe he can
not in Conſcience oppoſe the Mea
ſures of the Court, if he think
them right, and will be look'd on
as the infamous Tool and Penſioner
of a Miniſter, if he votes for them

I ſhall readily admit, my Lord
that no Man ought to do or approv
of, what he is fully convinced
wrong, for the Sake of Popularity
but as the People are very ſeldom
in the Wrong, or at leaſt do not o
ten perſiſt long in a wrong Opinion
and as Popularity and the Eſteem o
one's Country is certainly a very de
ſirable Thing, a Man ſhould exa
mine thoroughly and be very full
convinced, before he takes upon him
to diſſent from a great Majority
his Countrymen; and this he ough
to be the more cautious of, whe
his Diſſent may be thought to pro
ceed from ſome ſelfiſh View.
was very far, my Lords, from bein
an Affectation of Popularity, tha
made the Patricians of *Rome* lo
their Influence among the People
It was their Avarice, Vanity, an
Luxury, and their betraying a fel
iſh, mean Spirit in every Part
their Conduct, that made them lo
their Influence; and at the ſam
Tim

Time, by their Example they propagated the ſame Vices among the Vulgar. It was this that deſtroyed the *Roman* Commonwealth; and it was but a juſt Retribution of Providence, that thoſe who had been the firſt and chief Cauſes of the Ruin of their Country, ſhould be the firſt and the greateſt Sufferers by its Fall. The ſame Thing may be juſtly ſaid of our Anceſtors in King *Charles* the firſt's Reign. The Majority of this Houſe had ſhewn too much Complaiſance to the Crown in many Queſtions, that were not only unpopular, but apparently wrong: By this Means it loſt its Authority, and with that its Power to give a Check to that Frenzy, which afterwards began to prevail among the People, and which took its firſt Riſe from the ill-timed Complaiſance of the Majority of this Houſe to the Crown. We know to whom that Majority was chiefly owing: The Reverend Bench were then moſt unaccountably all of the ſame Opinion upon every Occaſion, and that Opinion was always upon the Crown Side of the Queſtion. From hence this Aſſembly became contemptible among the People, and by the ſame Sort of Retribution, the Storm fell firſt upon that Bench, which had firſt laid a Foundation for this Contempt.

Whilſt I ſit in this Aſſembly, I ſhall always adviſe my Sovereign to give great Heed to any Opinion that prevails generally among the People: I ſhall never adviſe him to purſue any Meaſure that is contrary to the Sentiments of the Majority of his Subjects. If I were, my Lords, in any other of his Majeſty's Councils, I ſhould do the ſame. Even if I thought the People in the wrong, I ſhould be for giving Way to their Humour, as far as was conſiſtent with their Safety. In a free Country this is abſolutely neceſſary: A free People muſt be treated like a fine Woman: If ſhe now and then has a little Humour, you muſt not flatly contradict her: You muſt give Way, or at leaſt ſeem to give Way to her Humour, till by good Treatment and a delicate Oppoſition, you find an Opportunity to give a Turn to her Humour. This is the only Way by which you can clap the Padlock upon her Mind, and this, in my Opinion, is the only Padlock in which there is any Security. A free People muſt be treated in the ſame Manner; for if you do not clap the Padlock upon their Mind, you muſt govern them by Force, which puts an End to their Freedom, and, in my Opinion, to your Security.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, if there were no other Argument in Favour of this Bill, I ſhould be for paſſing it into a Law, becauſe it is generally approved of, and generally expected without Doors; and as I can ſee no Force in any of the Arguments that have been made uſe of for ſhewing it to be inconſiſtent with, or of dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution, I ſhall moſt heartily give it my Concurrence.

[*This* DEBATE *and* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

Craſtſman, July 31. N° 839.

The POWER *of Beauty, and the Influence the Fair Sex might have in reforming the* MANNERS *of the World.*

Old as I am, for ladies love unfit,
The power of beauty I remember yet.
DRYDEN.

POWER may be divided into ſeveral Claſſes, *viz.* 1. That of the State. 2. The Power of Wealth. 3. The Power of Knowledge. And, 4. That of Beauty. To which I would

would add, that of Virtue, if it was poſſible to prove it had any Power at all.——The Power of Beauty, and the Uſe that may be made of it, ſhall be the Subject of this Day's Exerciſe.

Sacrifice to the Graces! ſaid the polite Philoſopher to the *Barbarian* of old. *Be well with the Ladies!* would he have ſaid to the *Yahoos* * of the preſent Times; not the Ladies of *Covent Garden* and its Adjacencies, (thoſe may, very properly, be called the *Anti-Graces*, and their Temples already overflow with their frontleſs, incorrigible Votaries;) but to thoſe, if ſuch there are, who are not aſhamed of being innocent, and yet who have not forgot to bluſh; who have been as careful to adorn their Minds as their Bodies; who form a Reputation in their Youth, to give a Dignity to their Age, and who value Virtue even more than Fame.

I do not know a Piece of Poetry that I would ſooner put into the Hands of the Young of both Sexes, than the beautiful Fable, from the Introduction to which I have taken my Motto; ſince it ſo finely exemplifies the Power of Beauty on one Hand, and the Advantages to be deriv'd from it on the other. Beauty firſt gives Senſibility to the human Savage; Senſibility produces Admiration; Admiration, Love; and Love, whatever is brave, noble, generous and polite.

But if this Beauty on the Lady's Side had not been guarded by a Senſe of Honour and Delicacy of Taſte; had *Iphigenia* been captivated at the firſt Offer with the Wealth and Quality of her booriſh Suiter, her Empire would have laſted no longer than his Appetite; and *Cymon* the Huſband would have ſoon become a worſe Brute than *Cymon* the Lover.

Experience ſhews us, that the Bulk of Mankind are, at one Time or other of their Lives, in Love; and during that Period, ſcarce any Man has a Will or Sentiment of his own; his Body and Soul are at the Devotion of his Miſtreſs; and many Times carries his Ductility both to a ridiculous and criminal Length.

During this Interval, we are, literally, under Petticoat Government; and it is in a great Degree the Fault of our Fair Sovereigns, if they do not ſubdue in us every perverſe Bias from Nature, every ſordid Habit, and every ridiculous Affectation; nay, if they do not mend both our Heads and Hearts, if they do not inſpire us with a Love of Knowledge, and render us Bigots both to Honour and Virtue.

The Story of *Cymon* and *Iphigenia* is a Fable; what I ſhall now touch upon is a Truth.

The Brother of a certain Sovereign Prince now living, preſuming on the Privileges of his Birth, deſtroy'd Men for his Sport, and broke thro' all Ties, civil and ſacred, to gratify his Luſt. One Night, heated with Wine, he ſet Fire to a Nunnery; and among the Religious who fled naked from the Fury of the Flames, ſeized upon one, whoſe Beauties ſtruck him with Admiration. Vain were Cries, Prayers, Tears, Swoonings; away he hurry'd her, ſecure of Poſſeſſion, and thoughtleſs of every Thing beſide; but was amazed to find himſelf repulſed with Scorn and Indignation, reproach'd with being a Scandal, not only to his Birth, but to Mankind, and defy'd to pierce the Boſom of her he never ſhould enjoy.

A Haughtineſs and Reſolution ſo unexpected, from one ſo totally, as he thought, in his Power, wholly diſconcerted him. He urg'd, threaten'd, ſooth'd, and offer'd all that Princes could beſtow, or Subjects covet, to no Manner of Purpoſe. The

* See the Travels of that renown'd Lover of Truth, Capt. *Lemuel Gulliver*.

naked, helpleſs Nun was ſupe-
to all; and this Tyrant, who
till now commanded all Things,
forced to become a kneeling
r himſelf; nor, tho' he perſe-
d in his Sollicitations from Day
ay, Month to Month, and Sea-
to Seaſon, could gain a Glimpſe
Hope; till he ceaſed to be a Sa-
, and ſubmitted to be humani-
by the Laws of Juſtice, Reaſon,
Civility; without which, ſaid
gallant Nun, I make no Diffe-
e between a Monarch and a
.—And to this remarkable In-
at *Europe* owes one of the moſt
mpliſh'd of her Princes.

ad a certain great Man, who is
n to have piqued himſelf more
is Reputation among the Ladies,
the Excellency or Succeſs of
olliticks, fallen into the Hands
ch a Heroine as this, I am tho-
ly perſuaded, his Adminiſtra-
would have been the Honour
Happineſs, inſtead of the Grie-
e and Reproach of the Nation.
her he would have learnt, that
lth was a Purſuit fit only for a
ins or a *Hopkins*; that in Sen-
y every Hog would be his Ri-
that in Oſtentation every di-
tive Lordling might equal, if
ſurpaſs him; that in his Maſter's
ur every Court Earwig might
, in Reality, the Advantage of
; and that even in Power, his
reſt Enemy might rival him.
t on the other hand, a diſinte-
d Miniſter was a *Phœnix*, the
one of his Kind; that the
g moſt deſirable in Greatneſs,
to have a more enlarged Capa-
of doing Good; that the Con-
ſneſs of having lived and la-
d only for the joint Service of
e and People, was the nobleſt
penſation of all the Toil which
ded it; and that a good Name
ſuperior to all Titles.

Whereas by falling into the Hands
e —— But—Peace to her
s!—

If then it be true, that Men for the general become wiſe Men or Fools, brave or effeminate, Independents or Proſtitutes, as the Ladies they converſe with would have them to be; how ſevere a Satire is A a Fop or a Rattle, a Clown or a Mercenary, on the particular Fair One he is known to be devoted to? And how can we help concluding, that the whole Toy-ſhop, Exchange or Market of her Heart is diſplay'd in the Image before us?

Or, if ſuch Things exiſt among B us, as have not put on the Livery of any particular Lady, and who notwithſtanding give themſelves the Airs of thoſe, who hawk about for a Service; how meanly and unworthily muſt they think of the Sex, if C they think at all, in preſuming that Trifles, Follies and Vices are the beſt, if not the only Recommendation to their Favour?

That ſuch Swarms of teaſing, inſignificant Inſects and pernicious Caterpillars, not only are the Growth D of every Year, but the Peſt of all thoſe Places where the Fair are to be found, we muſt, in good Manners, impute to their Ignorance, Vanity, any Thing, rather than the leaſt Hint of Encouragement dropt or receiv'd; that ſuch as reſemble E Angels in their Forms can, as *Shakeſpear* ſtrongly, tho' coarſely expreſſes it, *deſcend to prey on Garbage*.

I have hitherto expatiated only on the Power which the Ladies have over their Lovers, and ſhall now touch on their Influence over their F Poſterity; and this may be depended upon, that the Nurſery contributes more to the forming our Manners than the Schools: If the Diſcipline exerciſed there is directed by that Mixture of Elegance and good Senſe, which conſtitute the G Character of a truly fine Lady, the Gentleman, the Senator, the Hero is already form'd, tho' in Miniature, and almoſt any Pedant may do the reſt.

Plutarch

Plutarch makes no Scruple to aſcribe the eminent Accompliſhments of the *Gracchi* to the Inſtructions they received from their Mother, the admirable *Cornelia*; and who can help joining with him, when we hear her thus gallantly reproaching them, *How long ſhall I be call'd the Wife of* Tiberius, *and not the Mother of the* Gracchi?

With all theſe Talents and Opportunities, both to form the Infant, (I do not mean according to the Letter merely) and poliſh the Man; how much is it to be regretted, that they do no ſeem to think us worth their Culture, but ſuffer us to run wild, to degenerate viſibly, and, in a Manner, encumber the Earth we were intended to enrich and adorn?

Power has been ever repreſented as what the Sex was violently attach'd to, what they never fail to make the moſt of; and, in ſome Inſtances, it muſt be acknowledged, their Conduct h s given ſufficient Authority to theſe Aſſertions. But, alas! the ſhort Tyranny of the abſolute Miſtreſs, or even the more durable one of the uſurping Wife, is but a trifling, inconſiderable Specimen of their almoſt unbounded Influence.—As *Milton* ſays, *The World lies all before them*, and 'tis theirs to mould it into what Shape they pleaſe.

If, therefore, *Mammon* is now the Deity, which all worſhip alike, without any Act of Uniformity in its Favour, how can we avoid concluding, that theſe fair Idolatreſſes firſt ſet us the Example, tho' to their own Prejudice? I ſay to their own Prejudice; becauſe, if they themſelves bow down to Wealth, they teach us to rank Beauty but in the ſecond Place; and that by poſſeſſing the firſt, we may purchaſe the laſt.

Would they, therefore, but think more nobly of themſelves, and more contemptibly of thoſe who, preſuming on their Riches, believe they deſerve and may command their Favour; would they declare themſelves the Admirers and Patroneſſes of Knowledge, Virtue, publick Spirit, and irreconcile Enemies to all who proſtitute t Underſtanding, Honour and Co ence, and, for a Bribe of any K traffick away the Wealth, Glory Liberty of their Country, every Spinſter would number as many verts as Lovers, and every h Mother educate as many Patrio Children. To ſay all in a W they would make Virtue the ſhion, and Courts themſelves w not be able to corrupt ſo faſt as to reclaim.

To enforce yet farther all I have ſaid all I would inſinuate; let them form ſelves on the noble Character of *V* as drawn by the maſterly Hand of the Father of the *Britiſh* Stage, in his T of *Coriolanus*; or, if they think that flick Image to be rather the Workma the Poet, than of Nature, let them rea mire and imitate what is recorded of a Heroine, by one of our own * Hiſtorian follows.

" The young Counteſs Dowager of *del* having received a Repulſe from the (*Henry* III.) in a Matter alledg'd to be Equity, thus freely accoſted him: 'My ' the King, why do you turn your Face ' Juſtice? We can obtain no Right fro ' Court; you are placed between God a ' but you neither govern yourſelf nor ' you ought; but daily oppreſs the C ' and afflict the Nobility of your King The King, fired at her Diſcourſe, with rious Look demanded, ' Whether the ' lity of *England* had given her a Com ' to be their Advocate?' To which ſhe no leſs Warmth reply'd, ' The Nobili ' not made me any ſuch Charter, tho' you ' broke that which you and your Father ' granted, and ſworn inviolably to obſer ' for which you have ſo often extorte ' ney from your Subjects. Where a ' Liberties of *England*, ſo often rest ' Writing, ſo often granted, and ſo ' purchaſed and redeem'd? Therefore ' a Woman, with all your natural Su ' do appeal from you to the Tribu ' Heaven, where the great and terrible ' ſhall revenge our Cauſe.' The King founded at ſuch bold Truths, for a wh mained ſilent, and then aſk'd her, ' ther ſhe deſired a Favour, becauſe ſh ' his Couſin?' To which ſhe only ' Since he had deny'd doing Juſtice ' could ſhe expect any Favour?' And parted, without any other Satisfaction the affronting (our Author ſhould ha reprimanding) a Monarch without Co

* Daniel's *Hiſtory of England.*

STATE *of the* NATIONAL DEBT, *provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it ſtood* Dec. 31, 1740, *and* Dec. 31, 1741.

EXCHEQUER.	*Amount of the National Debt on* Dec. 31, 1740.				*Increaſed between* Dec. 31, 1740 *and* Dec. 31, 1741.	*Paid off within that Time.*	*Amount of the National Debt on* Dec. 31, 1741.			
	L.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*	*L.*	*L.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
Annuities for long Terms, being the Remainder of the original Sum contributed and unſubſcribed to the *S. S.* Company	1836275	17	10	3			1836275	17	10	3
Annuities for Lives, with Benefit of Survivorſhip, being the original Sum contributed	108100						108100			
Ditto for 2 and 3 Lives, being the Sum remaining after what is fallen in by Deaths	109447	8	2	3		800	108647	8	2	3
Ditto at 9*l. per C.* for ſhort Terms	161108	6	8				161108	6	8	
Ditto on Lottery 1710. for Ditto	109290						109290			
Ditto on Plate Act, 6 *Geo.* I. *Regis*	312000						312000			
Ditto for *Nevis* and St. *Chriſtopher's* Debentures, at 3*l. per Cent. per Annum*	37821		1	1			37821	5	1	1
Ditto at 3*l.* 10*s. per Cent.* 1731	400000						400000			
Ditto at 3*l. per Cent.* 1736, charged on the Sinking Fund	600000						600000			
Ditto 1738, charged on Ditto	300000						300000			
Ditto on Salt continued 1734	84500					84500				
Ditto further continued 1735	500000					102500	397500			
Ditto 1741					1200000		1200000			
Exchequer Bills made out for Arrears of old Bills exchanged	2200						2200			
Ditto on Victuallers Act 1726	481400						481400			
Ditto charged on the Duties on Coals 1737	499600						499600			
The Land Taxes and the Duties on Malt being annual Grants, are not charged in this Account, nor the 1,800,000*l.* charged upon the Additions of 6*d. per* Pound on Wines, *&c.*										
EAST-INDIA Company.										
Two Acts of Parliaments 9 and 10 Will. III, and two other Acts 8 and 9 *Annæ Reginæ*	3200000						3200000			
BANK of ENGLAND.										
Their original Fund at 6*l. per Ct.*	1600000						1600000			
Ditto for cancelling Exchequer Bills, 5 *Geo.* I. *Regis*	500000						500000			
Ditto for Arrears of the *S. S.* Company	4000000						4000000			
Ditto Annuities at 4*l. per Cent.* charg'd on the Duties on Coals, *&c.*	1750000						1750000			
Ditto at the *Lady-Day* 1739										
Ditto charged on the Surplus of the Funds for Lottery 1714	1250000						1250000			
Ditto at 3*l. per Cent.* for Lottery 1731	800000						800000			
SOUTH-SEA Company.										
For their Capital Stock and Annuities 9 *Geo.* I. *Regis*	27302203	5	6	2			27302203	5	6	2
	45943946	3	5	1	1200000	187800	46956146	3	5	1

An

An ACCOUNT *of the Produce of the* SINKING FUND *in the Year* 17
and to the Payment of what Debts contracted before Dec. 25, 1716,
ſaid Fund has been applied.

Dr.

	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
THE Exchequer to Caſh on the Sinking Fund on *Dec.* 31, 1740				185635	8	1
To the Produce of the S. Fund between *Dec.* 31, 1740, and *Dec.* 31, 1741						
Surplus of the	L.	s.	d.	q.		
General Fund	361487	16	4	1		
Aggregate Fund	704247	19	6	3	1165538	7	2
S. Sea Comp. Fund	99302	11	3	0		
					1351173	15	3

Per Contra Cr.

By Money iſſued between *Dec.* 31, 1740, *Dec.* 31, 1741.	L.	s.	d.
In full of 120,000*l.* granted for the Service of the Year 1740	69836	14	
In full of 1,200,000*l.* granted laſt Seſſion of Parl. for the Service of 1741	1000000		
To pay the Annuities at 3 *p. Ct.* on 600,000*l.* granted 1736, for one Year due at *Michaelmas* 1741	18000		
To the Uſher of Receipts of Exchequer, for Neceſſaries delivered for the Service of the ſaid Annuities	42	13	
To pay the Annuities at 3 *per Cent.* on 300,000 *l.* granted 1738, for 1 Year due at *Michaelmas* 1741	9000		
To the Bank of *England*, for Intereſt of 500,000 *l.* lent by them on Credit of Duties on Salt, continued 1735, for 6 Months Intereſt, due *March* 8, 1740	10000		
To Ditto, to make good the Premiums or Rewards for circulating Exchequer Bills charged on Duties on Victuallers, granted 1726, between *July* 24, 1739, and *Michaelmas* 1741	19018	4	
To Ditto, to make good the Premiums or Rewards for circulating Exchequer Bills charged on Duties on Sweets, granted 1737, between *July* 24, 1739, and *Michaelmas* 1741	27850	1	
To make good the Deficiency of the Lottery Annuities, 1731, at *Chriſtmas* 1740	4048	14	
To pay the Intereſt on Loans charged on the Duties on Salt continued 1741, for 6 Months Intereſt, due *Nov.* 5, 1741	21000		
To make good the Deficiency of Annuities on Plate Act to *Lady-Day* 1741	11984	13	
	1190781	1	
Balance in Caſh *Dec.* 31, 1741	160392	13	
	1351173	15	

Common Sense, Aug. 7. N° 286.

the BROAD-BOTTOM *and* NARROW-BOTTOM *Schemes*, &c.

WE have heard, ſince our late moſt extraordinary Miniſter no longer in a Capacity to diſ- ate the publick Wealth, and miſ- de the Helm of Power, of ſeve- Propoſitions, all tending to me- ate and alter the Meaſures he purſued; and one, and the moſt erally approv'd, was to ſettle the miniſtration on ſo broad a Bot- , that it ſhould for the future ain firm and ſecure againſt any ular Storm, that might at any e attempt to ſhake it; or any iſterial Iniquity, that might un- mine and blow it up: That in er to form this wide Baſis, and der it practicable and ſafe, it ld in the firſt Place be neceſſary those Gentlemen, who are un- ſionably in the Intereſt of their ntry, who have the moſt conſi- able Fortunes, and the greateſt ed Eſtates, and therefore pay largeſt Proportions in the pub- Taxations, ſhould be put into qual Share, at leaſt, in the Ad- iſtration with thoſe, who for e Years paſt, by a Sort of arbi- y Hand, excluded them the pub- Service, and treated them ra- as Out-laws than Fellow Sub- . But it was generally acknow- ed at the Beginning of the laſt on of Parliament, that this had a great Error in Government Policy, and that it was abſo- y neceſſary to amend the ſame the future. It is too melan- y a Reflection to conſider how lutary Meaſure came not to purſued, tho' generally approv'd. wever, I beg Leave here to give Authority in Proof of the Good- of this Meaſure, from Sir *Wil- Temple*, who has an excellent ervation on this very Point, in his *Eſſay on the Original and Nature of Government*. (It is that where he compares Government to a *Pyramid*, which Quotation we ſhall omit here, as our Readers may find it in our *Magazine* for 1732, p. 331.)

A The People at this Time indulg'd themſelves in the Hopes, that if the broad Bottom, then recommended, had taken Place, they ſhould have ſeen a thorough Reform, not only of the Miniſters, but in the Meaſures of Government, and that it B would not have appear'd neceſſary for a Government to be ſupported wholly by Corruption; the People would have had a Sort of Truſtees of their own in whom they could confide, and have ſeen the juſt Diſtribution of the Money levied upon C them for the publick Service; they would have paid their Taxes chearfully, when they no longer beheld an exorbitant and luxurious Miniſter outragiouſly plundering and rioting in the Profuſion of the publick Treaſure, diſtributing immenſe Eſtates to his Election Pandars, and D laviſhing princely Donatives on his ſcribbling Dunces. That this appears really to have been our Caſe in the late Adminiſtration we may ſee by the ſecond or *further Report of the Committee to enquire into his* E *Conduct for the laſt ten Years of his Adminiſtration*, where it appears, that what was iſſued for ſecret Services, (including the annual Sum of 3000*l.* paid to each Secretary of State for ſecret Service) in his laſt ten Years, was five Times as much as was ex- F pended from 1707 to 1717. They ſay, "That the Draught upon the Exchequer for that Uſe, in one Day only, *viz.* the 9th of *February* laſt, (the laſt indeed that the late Miniſter ſat at the Treaſury) amounts to a greater Sum than was iſſued for G that Service in any one of the forementioned Years. The Power, the Influence, the Offices of Government (ſay they) have been employed

towards violating the Freedom of Elections, (ſee p. 349, 350.) Are we to wonder now that the People who, before the Juſtneſs of their Complaints were manifeſted and confirmed by this Report of the Committee in Parliament, loudly murmured againſt the Miniſter, ſhould now inſiſt upon his being call'd upon publickly to anſwer this publick and atrocious Charge? Is it not a Juſtice due to them? May they not with Reaſon expect it? The People know well when they are injured, and tho' they will bear any Severity, and pay chearfully every Tax when they are ſatisfied their Money is laid out for the publick Utility; yet when they ſee it embezzel'd thus, they will be very uneaſy and complain loudly.

Let us illuſtrate this by another Quotation from Sir *William Temple*, who gives us an Account to what the Greatneſs and Wealth of the *Hollanders* in his Time were owing. "He ſays it was owing to their great Frugality and Œconomy in private Life, to the Simplicity and Modeſty of their Magiſtrates in their Way of living, which is ſo general, that he never knew one among 'em exceed the common, frugal, popular Air; and as to the two chief Officers in his Time, Vice-Admiral *Ruiter* and the Penſioner *De Witt*, (the one eſteem'd by all a very great Seaman, and the other as great a Stateſman as any of his Age) he never ſaw the firſt in Cloaths better than the commoneſt Sea Captain, nor with above one Servant following him, nor in a Coach; and as to his Houſe, neither did the Size, Building, Furniture or Entertainment at all exceed the Uſe of every common Merchant or Tradeſman. As to the Penſionary, who had the greateſt Influence in the Government, the whole Train and Expence of his Domeſticks went very equal with common Deputies and Miniſters of the State; his Habit plain, grave and popular; his Table plain, what only ſerved for his Family a Friend; his Train, (beſides Commiſſaries and Clerks, kept for him in an Office adjoining to his Houſe at the publick Charge) was only Man, who performed all the meni Service of his Houſe, and upon V ſits of Ceremony, this Servant ting on a plain Livery Cloak, tended his Coach abroad; for other Occaſions he was uſually in the Street on Foot and alone, the commoneſt Burgher of the To Nor was this Manner of Life af ed or uſed only by theſe partic Men; but this was the general ſhion or Mode among all the M ſtrates of the State; for I ſpeak of the military Officers, who reckoned their Servants, and live a different Garb, tho' generally deſter than in other Countries; yet the *Hollanders*, (ſays Sir *Wil* a ſtomachful People, who could endure the leaſt Exerciſe of a trary Power or Impoſitions, or Sight of any foreign Troops the *Spaniſh* Government, have ſince inured to all of them in higheſt Degree under their own pular Magiſtrates; bridled with Laws; terrified with ſevere Ex tions; environ'd with foreign Tro oppreſſed with the moſt cruel H ſhips, and greater Variety of T than were ever known in any vernment: Yet all this while, Way to Office and Authority thro' thoſe Qualities, which acq the general Eſteem of the Peo while no Man is exempted from Danger and Courſe of the L while Soldiers are confined to tier Gariſons, (the Guard of in or trading Towns being left to Burghers themſelves) and while great Riches are ſeen to enter publick Payments into private ſes, either to raiſe Families feed the prodigious Expences

…n, extravagant or luxurious Men; …n all publick Monies are applied …the Safety, Greatneſs or Honour …the State, and the People ſee the …agiſtrates themſelves bear an equal …are in all the Burdens they im…ſe; they bear all with Chearful…ſs, as well knowing the Taxes are …poſed for the Good of the State, …d not one Penny of their Money …cketted by any of their Magi…rates."

Give me Leave to add, that …en Miniſters are detected in em…zzling the publick Monies, not …ly the People expect, but our …inces have promiſed they ſhould …puniſhed. There is a Paragraph …this Purpoſe in a Speech of that …ſt excellent Princeſs Queen *Anne*, …her Parliament, in the Year 1702, …ere, addreſſing the Gentlemen of …e Houſe of Commons, ſhe ſays, …And that my Subjects may the …re chearfully bear the neceſſary …xes, I deſire you to inſpect the …blick Accounts of all the Re…ipts and Payments; and if there …ve been any Abuſes and Miſma…gements, I hope you will detect …em, that the Offenders may be …niſhed, and others be deterr'd by …ch Examples from the like Prac…ces."

Craſiſman, Aug. 7. and 14.

Of the ancient and preſent Revenue of the Crown, of Parliaments, the Practices of Stateſmen, true Patriotiſm, State of Liberty, Struggles in the Cauſe of it, &c.

SIR,

OUR Kings were formerly as independent of their People, as the People now wiſh their Repreſentatives to be of their Kings; I mean, they had Eſtates, Fees and Revennes of their own, more than ſufficient to maintain the Honour of the Crown, without the Aſſiſtance of thoſe State-Spunges the Land-Tax or Exciſes; the laſt of which had not even a Name among us; and the firſt was never propoſed, but on extraordinary Occaſions; nor granted even then, but upon ſuch Terms as made the Nation, in a Manner, the Gainer by the Exchange.

On the contrary, now, our Kings are underſtood to have nothing of their own; at leaſt, the Remnant of their ancient Poſſeſſions is never made an Article in Abatement of their Demands upon the People; and we have both the ordinary and extraordinary Charge of Government to provide for annually; the Intereſt of an enormous Debt beſide, and the Civil Liſt into the Bargain. So that in Effect the Title of Grand Penſionary may be made Uſe of here, with as much Propriety as in the Seven Provinces; it being in our Power, (I mean when the ſaid Civil Liſt is to be ſettled) to limit the Royal Appointments to as narrow Bounds as we pleaſe, both as to Value and Duration; and thereby convince this mighty Firſt Servant of the State, that his Intereſt is interwoven with his Duty; tho' we are ſuch Anti-Politicians, as to give up this commanding Privilege, and oblige ourſelves to pay the Conſideration punctually, whether our Buſineſs is perform'd or not.

But notwithſtanding this wide Difference between the preſent and former Circumſtances of the People and their Sovereigns; notwithſtanding the laſt, before they had ſtripp'd themſelves of their Lands and Lordſhips, could both maintain themſelves, and protect their Subjects, without the Aid of Parliament; notwithſtanding a Seſſion is now abſolutely neceſſary to keep the Wheels of Government in Motion, and ſuch a Train of extraordinary Incidents have conſpired to give Weight to the Scale of the People, and leſſen that of the Prerogative, it appears,

that the Voice of the Publick is not heard with that Reſpect it uſed to command; and we may complain a thouſand Times of a thouſand Grievances, to no Manner of Purpoſe; for tho' we refuſe nothing, we are denied all Things.

Retroſpects, I know, are odious to Stateſmen; they would, if poſſible, oblige the whole Nation to ſwill down a general Draught of *Lethe*, which would anſwer all the welcome Ends of an Act of Oblivion and Indemnity; ſince none could accuſe, when none could remember. But nothing ſeems to me of more Importance, than to mark the Riſe and Progreſs of national Miſchiefs; more eſpecially thoſe which are introduced under the Notion or Pretence of procuring publick Benefits.

Every body is ſenſible, that the firſt great Conteſt between the King and the Nation, was for the Purſe; for tho' the Nation was ever ready to give, the King was reſolved to pleaſe himſelf; and the Kingdom of *England* is ſo very unlike the Kingdom of Heaven, that even the Violent cannot take it by *Force*. Accordingly, his Majeſty found he had a Bull by the Horns; and when obliged to let go his Hold, became the Martyr of his own Raſhneſs.

His Succeſſor had his Eye on the Purſe likewiſe; but warn'd by his Father's fatal Example, had Recourſe to another Method of obtaining it; inſtead of wreſtling with a Bull, he choſe, at firſt at leaſt, to tickle a Trout, which afforded him both Pleaſure and Profit, with little Fatigue, and no Danger. However, tho' he conform'd to the Humour of the People, as to the Manner of fleecing them; on Fleecing, it appears, he had ſet his Heart notwithſtanding. The 120,000 *l. per Annum*, he had the Addreſs to draw from them, is known to be a much greater Revenue than ever was at the Diſpoſal of any *Britiſh* King before. It is true, he obtain'd it at a Criſis, when a Peace-Offering was thought neceſſary, and when almoſt every Voice of *England* pleaded in his Favour; but even then, not without a Conceſſion on his Side, *viz.* the aboliſhing the ſervile Court of Wards and Liveries, which, to the Nobility and Gentry, at leaſt, might very well be held a valuable Conſideration.

But this 120,000 *l. per Annum*, thought ſo ample an Appointment, what Compariſon does it bear to the Additions made ſince? So little truly, that the Unreaſonableneſs of the Miniſters of thoſe Times appears to us to be Moderation itſelf, and the Profuſion of the People to be ſcarce a Step beyond Avarice.

We muſt not forget indeed, that to an indolent, ſpendthrift Court, King, and a rapacious, mercenary profuſe Court, this appear'd but a ſcanty Pattern; nor that the Sale of *Dunkirk*, *French* Penſions, Acts of publick Bankruptcy, Piracy, &c. were thought proper Expedients to make good the Deficiencies ſo frequently felt, and ſo liberally complain'd of; or that the Lord Chamberlain *Hartford*, that notable, enterprizing Treaſurer, conſidered a Parliament as a Pump, which muſt have its Sucker moiſtened before it will do its Office.

It has been obſerved of Women, that, tho' debauch'd, they do not loſe all their Modeſty at once; but that, on the contrary, it requires Time and Habitude in Wickedneſs to render them ſo embronzed as to ſhame Day-light with their Enormities, without being abaſh'd themſelves. In like Manner, this Race of Pump-Parliaments preſerved ſome Decency, after it had loſt its Innocence, and refuſed to comply with many a Court Demand, which could not be granted with ſo much as the Appearance of Decorum; and as to the Meaſures which follow'd it in this Reign, they behaved like Prudes, who,

s juſt been frighten'd with the
mple of ſome ruin'd Beauty,
w outrageouſly virtuous, and af-
t every Man who even aſks them
civil Queſtion, or preſumes to
k them in the Face.

A new Reign, however, like a A
w Man, ſomewhat changed the
ne. K. *James*'s only Parliament
d both the Complaiſance to over-
k the Treſpaſs he had made, at
firſt coming to the Crown, by
ing upon the Revenue without
ir Leave, and moſt generouſly B
ded it upon him for Life; not-
ſtanding which, when he de-
ded ſuch an Addition as would
ve enabled him to ſubſtitute his
ay in their Stead, they thought
of Importance to reſume the
ple, and ſay *No*; tho', thereby, C
y loſt all the Merit of their for-
r Advances, and were ſure to be
t off for their Perverſeneſs.

During this ſhort, violent, unfor-
nate Reign, it muſt, however, be
ſerved, that the Revenue was in-
aſed above 800,000 *l. per Annum*; D
d that, with the Power and In-
nce of two Millions *only*, this
erprizing Monarch undertook to
bliſh an Army, and ſubdue all
ings to himſelf, without any far-
r Aids from, or Apprehenſions of
Parliament. Should we aſk why E
was enabled to go ſo far? I can-
ſay he had any Services to urge
his Behalf; but then he likewiſe
d been moſt grievouſly exaſpera-
d by the obſtinate Adherence of
e Commons to the Excluſion-Bill;
d it was neceſſary to pacify, if F
ſible, the Power we had loſt the
portunity to reſtrain within due
unds.

To our immortal Deliverer, it
s preſumed we owed all Things;
d, therefore, we were to be held
thout Excuſe, if we deny'd him G
y Thing. Accordingly, we reim-
ſe'd the Charges the *Dutch* had been
purely for our Sakes, without even
taxing their Bill. We had then *Ireland* to reduce, and, after that, *France* to humble; which we gallantly undertook, without Fear or Wit, and ſpared for nothing to accompliſh; inſomuch, that Millions were now aſk'd, and granted, with more Readineſs on one Side, and Confidence on the other, than hundred Thouſands in the Reigns we had ſtruggled thro' before.

In the Reign of Q. *Anne*, our Miniſters had paſt Experience of their Side; and, therefore, made no Bones of aſking 6 or 7 Millions annually; which were conſtantly given in Exchange for Thankſgiving-Days, and Streamers to adorn *Weſtminſter Hall*.

When the Houſe of *Hanover* aſcended the Throne, War was at an End, and we had no Bill of Services, on their Side, to diſchage; but moſt unfortunately a Rebellion broke out, which, it ſeems, render'd an Army Part of the Eſtabliſhment at home; ſome other Conſideration made it neceſſary that we ſhould have ſeveral hungry Princes in our Pay abroad; and, tho' the Civil Liſt was ſo amply provided for, the King was forced to ſtop Payment, and demanded his People's Help to make him an *honeſt Man*; ſo that our Miniſter fleeced away with as little Mercy as ever, and we were as dumb as ever before the Shearer.

Even under the moſt gracious Influence of his preſent Majeſty, whom God long preſerve, *paſt Experience* came again into Play; an Augmentation to the Civil Liſt was again demanded; a pretended Deficience to the Civil Liſt was to be made good; an annual Equivalent, for Loſſes ſuſtain'd by the Civil Liſt on Account of the *reforming* Gin-Act, was to be allow'd. The Princes who continued to us the Honour of their Friendſhip and Protection, we continued in our Pay; and

and thoſe who laugh'd in our Faces, and, at the ſame Time, pick'd our Pockets, we thought it reaſonable to arm againſt, and politick not to fight with. Upon all which Accounts, our Miniſter's Language was ever that of the Horſe-Leech, *Give! give!* and neither Accuſations nor Proofs can prevail with us, by the Help of a little political Salt, to make him diſgorge again.

As, therefore, *paſt Experience* has been ſo ſignally improved upon, by our Eagle-eyed Miniſters; as, even in the very Heat of laſt Seſſion, when we had ſo many Advantages of our Side, they had the Dexterity, not only to diſentangle themſelves, but to carry what Points they pleaſed; how neceſſary is it for us, at length, to be wiſe, to look forward, as well as backward, and ſave both ourſelves and our Poſterity?

Poſterity, indeed, ſince Expedients have been ſo much in Vogue, is a Term ſeldom mention'd but to be ſneer'd at; the trite Joke of, *What has Poſterity done for us?* is immediately quoted, what is call'd a Horſe-Laugh follows; and the inſipid Converſation takes another Turn the next Moment.

But, had our Forefathers teſtify'd no greater Concern for us, had they carry'd their Views no farther than their own immediate Offspring, how demonſtrable is it, that, many an Age ago, the Inhabitants of this noble Iſland would have had neither Liberty nor Property to loſe?

Nothing can be plainer than that one Generation are only Truſtees for the next; that the Rights we inherit, we are obliged, in Equity, to bequeath as entire as we received them; that we cannot juſtify even a Surrender, nor can avoid everlaſting Reproach, if we permit them, by whatever Hand, or Means, to be raviſh'd or pilfer'd away.

Nor do I recommend what is no longer in our Power; let us remember our chief Officer is our Penſionary; that the Purſe is ſtill our own, and tho' our Credulity has been impoſed upon this Year, we muſt not apply'd to again the next.

Whoever aſſerts our Liberty is already loſt irrevocably, talks rather from Fear than Knowledge; he that throws down his Arms, yields himſelf vanquiſh'd, and deſerves his Fate. But while our Kings muſt ſubmit to aſk for Aids; while we remember by what Road the preſent Family were advanced to the Throne of *Great Britain*; while no Law can be made without our own Conſent, and we have a Proſpect tho' but of one general Election more, let us diſpute every Inch of Ground; and if, at laſt, we muſt be enſlaved, let it be to any, rather than to thoſe who were elected to be the Guardians of our Liberties. A parliamentary Yoke is the worſt of all others; and a great Miniſter *(Burleigh)* has aſſured us, we are not liable to any other.

The Power of the Crown is, indeed, formidably great; but then it is of a new Kind; a Power that may ſeduce, but cannot compel. Without the Aid of his Commons the King can neither raiſe Men nor Troops; nor can the royal Command, or Warrant, authorize any Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, or ſuſpend any Law.

If, therefore, we ſee at a Levee a Circle of as fawning, cringing, ſupple, abject Vaſſals, as are to be met with even at the Footſtool of the Grand Signior; if we ſee red Coats multiply, like Janizaries, around us; if we find every Guinea exciſed away to 7*s.* to ſatiate the Cravings of the Exchequer, and no one vigorous Step taken, either abroad or at home, but to flatter the Prerogative, it is not becauſe the **** is become his own Carver and, therefore, puts in for the Lion's Share

…re in the Fable; but becauſe he … found it adviſeable to be upon …erms with his Jackals, and allow …ch his Proportion of the Prey.

His Strength, then, is founded …on our Weakneſs. In Conſequence, …n there any ſuch Thing as pub- …ck Spirit, private Integrity, Love …Virtue, Senſe of Fame, or Dread …Infamy, among our Nobility and …entry of ſenatorial Rank, we could …t be undone; but ſhould be able …remedy every Complaint, redreſs …ry Grievance, preſerve the In- …ocence of our Sovereigns, and per- …aps, render them ſerviceable.

Whereas, in our preſent Circum- …nce, ſo baſe, ſo ſordid, ſo ſelfiſh, …venal, ſo ſhameleſs are we, for …e general, become, that we do not …ait for Temptation to approach us, …t advance to meet it more than …alf Way. Whence many are led …apprehend, that we are ſold to …erdition; and that Redemption …annot reach us.

A moſt fatal Concluſion! ſince it …ds to deſtroy all Confidence, diſ- …ourage Perſeverance in Patriotiſm, …untenance the moſt wicked of all …poſtaſies, and verify the Upbraid- …gs of our Enemies, who expoſe …ery honeſt and noble Attempt, as …abour in vain.

Were there before our Eyes a …an, for Strength and Stature re- …embling the *Hercules* of Antiquity, …ith a triple Burden upon his Back, …hungry Leech at every Pore, a …ertigo in his Head, a Vulture at …is Heart, a teaſing Enemy in Front, …ith Snares and Pit-falls under his …eet; with what Horror ſhould we …e ſtruck, at ſo painful, ſo ſhock- …ng a Sight? And with what Cer- …tainty ſhould we depend on ſeeing …im fall, in a few Moments, amidſt …uch a Variety of Miſchiefs?

Or, were we only to be Spectators …of a barbarous Incident related as a …Poſt, by *Knowles*, in his *Turkiſh* Hiſ- …tory, viz. of a *German* Priſoner of a gigantick Figure and heroick Courage, expoſed, by the Command of the Sultan, with his Hands and Feet ſecurely fetter'd, to be deſtroyed Inch-meal by a Dwarf, who reach'd little higher than his Knees, who could behold ſuch an Inſtance of capricious Tyranny, without feeling the ſevereſt Anguiſh? Or, as *Milton* pathetically ſings;

Sight ſo deform, what heart of rock could long
Dry-ey'd behold?———

Or without feeling

——— Compaſſion quell
His beſt of man, and give him up to tears?

A real Spectacle commands the Affections much more than the moſt lively Deſcription or Repreſentation. When Danger of any Kind threatens the meaneſt Individual, even Cowards fly to their Reſcue; but when the whole Republick is beſet like the *Hercules* above deſcrib'd, or like the wretched *German* groaning under the Hands of a dwarfiſh Aſſaſſin, how ſlow are our Conceptions? How weak and languiſhing is our Concern? How lamely do we hobble to its Deliverance? How remotely do we place the Period of its Ruin? And how trifling do we repreſent our own Intereſt in its Preſervation?

The aſtoniſhing Inſenſibility father'd on the *Iriſhman*, who being told the Ship was ſinking, calmly reply'd, *It was nothing to him, for he was but a Paſſenger*, is to be match'd daily and hourly, in almoſt every Corner of this populous Kingdom. One would think we had been ſeiz'd by ſome political Torpedo, and were, already more than three Parts numb'd, almoſt beyond the Reach of Racks and Tortures to cure.

It is on this Account, no Doubt, that thoſe of the moſt illuſtrious Genius among us have withdrawn their Services, and almoſt their Affections from the Publick; of which, in their * epiſtolar Correſpondencies, they

* *See Mr.* Pope's *Letters.*

they have insinuated the World was not worthy.

But to be resign'd, however philosophically, is not, in my Opinion, so meritorious, as to endeavour, however fruitlessly, to prevent Mischiefs. Life ought to be measured by Action, not Duration; and he that barely thinks justly, nobly, benevolently, or heroically, is little better than a reasoning Vegetable.

Well, but have we not set our Shoulders to the Work in Earnest, with a willing Mind, with a determined Heart? Have we not panted thro' the Wilderness? Have not we breath'd the Air of *Pisgah*, and had a Prospect of the promised Land? say a Handful of genuine Patriots: Have we turn'd either to the Right or Left? Have we been moved by Offers? Have we been influenced by Example? Can we ever hope to recover the Advantages we have lost? Or if we should, that, like Water, they would not elude our Grasp a second Time?

These are shrewd Queries, I must acknowledge; but shrewd as they are, they are not to hold the Place of Demonstration; they are not to plunge us into the Slough of Despondency, and deter us from wilfully seeking our own Salvation, as *Shakespear*'s Grave-Digger expresses himself.

It is a common Saying, that one honest Man may face ten Rogues; and it is as true in Politicks, that in the End persevering Integrity will get the better of all Difficulties and Discouragements.

In the Reign of *Charles* I. the Prerogative had a much more formidable Aspect than it dares put on at present, and Parliaments were in a Manner both dead and buried; yet the glorious Constancy of one brave Man, *(Hampden)* in the Defence of a forty Shilling * Cause, redeemed both the Liberty and Property of his Country.

* *Ship-Money.*

It is said of that noble Patrio that while the said Cause was yet Suspence, the King, in Person, u dertook to reason him out of h Obstinacy, as it was called, by com paring the Trifle in Dispute wi the annual Value of his Estate, a the mighty Charge of the Suit; a that he should reply, "The Tri in Dispute is not worth a Nam If your Majesty will call a free Pa liament, and they find it necessar that your Majesty should have H my Estate, I should think it m Duty to resign it without a Murm But, tho' I give up all to public Necessity, I will part with nothi to *Will* and *Pleasure*; since, in doing, I should be a Traitor to t Constitution of *England*."

Had this Man's Bosom contain a Mass of Corruption, had his gre dy Eye lusted after the Spoils of t Publick, had his proud Heart pan ed to preside in Councils, had h empty Head ach'd to be adorn with a Feather, how easily had been induced to have given up h Principles, his Honour, and Country? And how effectually h that arbitrary Court triumphed ov the feeble Efforts of a divided, hea less, headless People?

Here, therefore, we come to t Root of our grand, epidemical, p litical Disease. We have set t high a Value on the Vanities a Luxuries of a Court, and too low one on the noble Consciousness having acted wisely and upright and the honest Fame inseparab from it.

On those Insect-Things, whic are the Caterpillars and Butterfli of a Court, I will not throw away Thought. Wherever the Sun shine the very Dust of the Earth will b made visible; but that Men, wh are born to Greatness, who eith by Descent or Election become Pa of the Legislature, who are in Po session of Fortunes, too large almo

Prodigality to ſquander, ſhould ſcend ſo far beneath themſelves, to covet Dependency, Servility, d Wages; to become Servants, en they may expect and demand be received as Friends, to expoſe mſelves to Hopes and Fears, when Nature and Fortune render'd ſu-rior to both, and to exchange the ve and Veneration of their Coun-, for the tranſient Smiles of any dividual whatever, is ſuch an Af-nt to common Senſe, that were it witneſs'd by every Day's Expe-nce, we ſhould place it almoſt a-ng Impoſſibilities.

The very Air of a Court is as ngerous to a Patriot, as that of vent-*Garden* to a Virgin; and in Moment Men there loſe the Vir-they had treaſured up for Years. —So prevalent is the Breath of ngs!

None are entitled to inſpect and form the State, who have not firſt amined, underſtood and reformed mſelves; who have not formed Eſtimate of Life and its Enjoy-nts; who have not ſet Bounds to ir Paſſions and Appetites; who ve not learned the Value of Mo-, as far as relates to Neceſſity, nvenience, and Decency, and the rthleſſneſs of it as to all beyond, ſs applied to rectify the Miſtakes Fortune, and *vindicate the Ways God to Man.*

Thoſe who are either Slaves to arice or Luxury will ſoon be alike ves to the very Devil himſelf, if he ers them their Choice of Wages. *Let no ſuch Man be truſted!*

But thoſe, and thoſe only, who ve no Wiſhes without themſelves, o are convinced there is no true portance, but in real Uſefulneſs, Dignity, but in Innocence and rtue, may be ſafely truſted with e Government of the World; for y would neither grow giddy with e Power, nor ſoil their Hands with its Wealth, nor proſtitute themſelves to its Pleaſures.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

Old STERLING.

To George Chaffin *and* Edmund Morton Pleydell, *Eſqrs.*

WE the Sheriff, Grand Jury, and principal Gentry and Freeholders of the County of *Dorſet*, met at the Aſſizes at *Dorcheſter* the 5th Inſtant, think it incumbent upon us to return you our moſt ſincere and hearty Thanks, for your unwearied Attendance upon your Duty, during this long, laborious Seſſion of Parliament, and for your ſteady Efforts, in Conjunction with a great Number of worthy and unbiaſs'd Patriots, to redreſs thoſe Grievances which cannot long be endured, without reducing this Nation to Contempt and Ruin.

And tho' your united Endeavours have been, in a great Meaſure, defeated by Accidents that could neither be foreſeen nor prevented, yet we cannot but obſerve with Pleaſure, that the Rectitude of your Intentions has been juſtified, by the good Conſequences ariſing from thoſe Attempts wherein you have ſucceeded; for by your Firmneſs in keeping back the Supply, at the Beginning of the Seſſion, we were delivered from an arbitrary Miniſter, who was the principal and juſt Cauſe of our Complaints. And by your ſtedfaſt Perſeverance in obtaining a Committee of Secrecy to inquire into his Conduct, you have (as it now appears to the Publick) not only laid a ſufficient Foundation to bring him to Juſtice another Seſſions, (tho' there was no Opportunity to attempt it in the laſt) but have alſo made it evident, we hope, to our moſt gracious Sovereign, and to the whole World, that the Uneaſineſs of his People did not ariſe from Peeviſhneſs

viſhneſs or Diſaffection, but was founded in their own real Sufferings, and a juſt Concern for his true Greatneſs, Glory, and Proſperity, with which our Welfare and Happineſs are eſſentially and inſeparably united.

At the ſame Time that we take this Opportunity to thank you for your paſt Services, we muſt humbly inſiſt with you, that you continue the ſame ſtrict Attendance the next Seſſion, not only in Town, but in the Houſe; that you uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to continue and perfect that happy Coalition, and Extinction of Parties, from which alone we can hope for Redreſs of all our Grievances: And that tho' our Love and Loyalty have no Bounds, you will conſider the exhauſted State of the Nation, and not conſent to any Grant of Money, till you have obtained ſuch true national Advantages, as may enable us chearfully to ſupply his Majeſty to the utmoſt, under our preſent Exigencies. Such we mean, principally, and in the firſt Place, as the fixing the Freedom and Independence of Elections upon a more ſecure Foot, and farther from the Reach and Influence of all miniſterial Power; the farther Proceeding, in an effectual and parliamentary Manner, againſt thoſe who have ſo notoriouſly and dangerouſly ſquandered the publick Treaſure; the laying before the Nation a fair and impartial Account of the Expenditure of the immenſe Sums raiſed upon them, which are yet unaccounted for to the Publick; an Inquiry into the paſt Conduct of our Affairs abroad, that the Reaſons of the Diminution of our Credit may appear, that thoſe who are the Cauſes of it may be brought to Daylight at leaſt, if not to Juſtice, and that the like Miſmanagements may be avoided for the future. In ſhort, we mean all ſuch truly conſtitutional Points, as may be juſtly expected from an Aſſembly not torn and d vided into Parties, by the Artifi of cunning and deſigning Men, b truly repreſenting a free, brave a loyal People, intirely united und the beſt of Princes.

Common Senſe, Aug. 14. N° 287.

CHARACTER *of Adminiſtra* BEHEMOTH, *and his Bret* CLODY.

TOTUS *Mundus agit Hiſtrion* is a trite Adage, which t Players have very judiciouſly pla as their Motto on the Front of t Stage; but the Truth of it appe almoſt thro' all the Gradations human Life. Every Man is a Pl er, every Face wears a Mask; who tops his Part is the beſt Act Tho', what is ſomewhat odd, ev one, in a good Character, deſires be, what hardly any one end vours; and in a bad one, is of really the Perſonage he repreſen The Prude would be thought cha therefore ſhe pleats her Features a ſtiffens every Muſcle into a ſour ligious Caſt, tho' while ſhe prete to give all her Heart to Heav ſhe knows and feels its Pulſe be wholly to Man. The Coque ogles, trifles, dances, opens all Charms, plays every Feature, ma Love to all, and has a *Tendre* none. The pretended Atheiſt pr in private, the pretended Zealot ver. The plump roſy-gill'd Doct in full Scent of a Biſhoprick, preac Humility and Abſtinence. The Litigant (tho' perhaps a very ho Fellow at the Bottom) is conten lye for his daily Bread. The lear Leech profeſſes to cure, touches Gold, ſhakes his Head, and p ſcribes the poiſonous Alterative w great Solemnity and Deliberati See thoſe *Court Things*, they m ſmile, bow, embrace and pro you may think they are bound each other in the ſtricteſt Bonds Frie

iendſhip; they are at this Inſtant
dermining one another; and each
pects every Moment, when the
ſer will blow up.——I mention a
w of theſe Characters only, as
ey are the common minor Actors
this great Stage, the World, and
introduce with ſome Form and
remony one or two principal po-
ical Perſonages for the Entertain-
nt of the Day.

Behold then the *principal Actor*,
t has appear'd on our Stage for
ny Years, and is now in his laſt
ne of the firſt Act; whether the
y will end ſucceſsfully or not,
ether it will prove a Tragedy or
Comedy, or a Farce only, is yet
Suſpence; but the Audience al-
dy hiſs and clamour much, and
has no Applauſe but from a few
y dirty Hands. Behold then *Be-*
moth, even the late Adminiſtrator
hemoth himſelf; ſee how the *Le-*
than rolls along the Surface of
great Waters, ſwoln with the
nder of the Deep.—They tell us
monſtrous Animal had always
ten'd in the publick Spoils, and
the Seeds of Felony appeared
hin him almoſt as ſoon as he exiſt-
Many Years are paſt ſince he firſt
up publick Offices for the publick
e of Civil and Military Employ-
nts; he levied Contributions in a
untry, where no body before him
thought of plundering; he un-
ook to relieve his Country plung'd
Avarice into extreme Miſery;
inſtead of ſuccouring the Diſ-
d, he protected the Guilty; he
ned a feign'd Contract, which
ſted only till he had inriched
ſelf with the remaining Spoils of
People; he was deteſted, he
w rich, he laugh'd, he felt no
oquy, his Character was invul-
ble, he increas'd his Power and
Purſe, and grew ſo inſolent, moſt
odently to give it out, that he
the State, the Conſtitution;
called the Effect of his Corrup-
tion the Conſequence of his Wiſ-
dom; ſo that according to his Ac-
count, all good Subjects were the
Valets of a haughty, avaricious, im-
perious Miniſter, who, under the
Pretence of ſerving the Publick,
confounded the Diſtinctions of Right
and Wrong, and made all Things
venal; for Gold was his only Inſtru-
ment of Rule. There was in his
Conduct in private Life ſomething
very weak and ridiculous, elate and
vain; his Houſes, Horſes, Statues,
Pictures and Writers were all of the
loweſt Kind; impoſed on from his
Architect to the meaneſt Scribbler,
the latter of which, as we have
ſeen, he paid at the publick Ex-
pence, and at a moſt exorbitant, and
(but that it is ſolemnly recorded) we
might think an incredible Price;
(ſee p. 349, 350.) He was a Connoiſ-
ſeur without Taſte, a Scholar with-
out Literature, a Defender of the
Church, and a Patron of the Diſſen-
ters, without Truth or Virtue; elate
without Dignity, ſufficient without
Capacity, and daring without Cou-
rage; a bold Aſſertor of Facts, over-
bearing in Proſperity, and inſolent
in Adverſity; a bungling Negotia-
tor, a prodigal Corruptor, and, in a
Word, a * *plundering Spendthrift*:
This is an imperfect Sketch of that
capital Actor in our Age, Adminiſ-
trator *Behemoth*.

Now if we turn our Eyes a little
lower, we may behold a near Rela-
tion of his, even *Clody* himſelf, mer-
ry, political, laughing, waggiſh,
ſmutty, talkative *Clody*: See the
ſlouching Thing ſliding along yon-
der, and tugging up his Gallow-gaſ-
kins with the Air of a buſy, prag-
matical, dirty Attorney; view well
his Dreſs and his Addreſs; and is
this the Thing whom I have heard
compared to the inſinuating, artful,
eloquent, polite *Alcibiades*? Is this
that *Clody*, who was choſen out to
ſhine in the *Perſian* Court, to win

* *Rapti Largitor*, Tacitus.

by his Rhetorick, and engage by his Mien, the poliſh'd *Aſiaticks?* It is he, and he has now ſtood for this Part ſo long, that he really fancies himſelf an Orator, without one Quality about him belonging to that Character: For my Friend *Clody* does not ſpeak, but gabble, his Words roll out of his Mouth, and tumble over one another in their Paſſage, with much Noiſe and diſagreeable Articulation; and were it not for the *Stentorian* Thunder of his Utterance, his whole Audience would be aſleep long before his Part was ended; he does not declaim, he wrangles two Hours together: He is, in his own Opinion, ignorant of nothing, in the Opinion of every one elſe, he knows nothing. *Clody* is a political Lawyer, he has much Buſineſs and no Genius, and like an ignorant Lawyer, has done all in his Power to involve the World in vexatious Suits; ſome People agree that he has Knowledge ſomewhere about him, but it is ſo miſlaid, and jumbled about among the reſt of the Pedlary Ware in his Brain, that it is not eaſily found. Abroad, in *Perſia* I mean, ſome Years ago *Clody* fell in Love with an old, gray, cunning, religious Man, whom he immediately choſe for his Confeſſor, and had he not been taken in Time from his Ear, he might have been his Martyr. This inveigling *Eccleſiaſtick* had ſo little Shame, to tell *Clody* to his Face, that his Wit and his Cloaths ſat eaſy upon him, and that he really did not know a more compleat Courtier, a deeper Politician, or a finer Gentleman; there are Seaſons, they ſay, when Men may be flattered into any Thing; *Clody*, who, to give him his Due, never uſed to over-rate himſelf on his Dreſs and Air at leaſt, ſwallowed it whole; he imagined that the Underſtanding of this knowing Prieſt ought not to be diſputed, he immediately began to conceive he was, what he could not be; and when through an Exceſs of Modeſty [illegible] doubted, he imputed it to the Pe[illegible]ſon's Eſteem, Friendſhip and ev[illegible] Affection to his Perſon and Par[illegible] and from that Moment *Clody* talk[illegible] of nothing but the great Cordiali[illegible] between him and *Florio*, (for th[illegible] was his Friend's Name) You m[illegible] truſt that good Man, ſaid he, w[illegible] what Secrets you pleaſe, you m[illegible] give him Credit for any Thing; [illegible] will myſelf be anſwerable for hi[illegible] Flattery is often the Mother of C[illegible] fidence, and thus by this parafici[illegible] Hook, too weak, one would thi[illegible] to hold the loweſt Animal, t[illegible] fawning aged Politician faſten'd h[illegible] to his Intereſt; and at the ſa[illegible] Time that he was conducting h[illegible] to his Ruin, he made poor *Clody* [illegible] lieve, that he govern'd the Worl[illegible] he called him by the Name of S[illegible] nior *Balance:* And from this M[illegible] ment he took aukward State up[illegible] him, and imagined himſelf a M[illegible] of Weight. Whether *Clody* thoug[illegible] this wiſe Prieſt was eaſier to be c[illegible] dited than controuled, and ſo ſave Trouble became his Creat[illegible] intirely; or by what other Mea[illegible] beſides theſe Compliments to [illegible] Perſon and Parts, he became ſo, [illegible] know not, but he was certainly [illegible] ſome Time his, and faithfully h[illegible] till on a ſudden having ſome Adv[illegible] tiſement from home, that all [illegible] Conduct was quite wrong, he fai[illegible] ran away from his new Friend [illegible] his Engagements, and declared [illegible] was a noble political Tergiverſati[illegible] a maſterly Stroke in the Art of N[illegible] gotiating.

Yet *Clody*, by his Addreſs and [illegible] ving Parts, gained a prodigious [illegible] ſtate, ſome ſay more than the A[illegible] miniſtrator; and now having a w[illegible] Reſolution to die very rich, he ſig[illegible] ſhrugs his Shoulders, and decla[illegible] ſolemnly that he is poor; this [illegible] true, for he is *miſerably* rich.

Clody *videri vult, & eſt pauper*

Univ

…versal Spectator, Aug. 7, 14, and 21.

THESE three Papers contain ſome Extracts from Mr. *Cibber*'s famous Letter to Mr. *Pope*, with Remarks in favour of the latter. As this Letter has occaſion'd much Diverſe and Amuſement, we ſhall give our Readers ſome Account of it from theſe Papers. The Occaſion of it is thus related.

"Colly *Cibber*, as *Actor*, as *Dramatick Author*, and as *Laureat*, is ſufficiently known to the polite World. As an *Actor* he has undoubted Merit; as *Dramatick Author* it is queſtioned, his Character is both *good* and *bad*; but as *Laureat* it is unexceptionably the *worſt* that ever was. This is a Character as *impartially* juſt, as my Judgment can form of it. Mr. *Pope* has, in frequent Paſſages of his Writings, made Mr. *Cibber* a Subject of Ridicule or Satire, even from his private Letters about 1716, to his laſt Satire 1741-2, (*viz.* the *New Dunciad*, of which we have given ſome Extracts, p. 185.) Mr. *Cibber*, on this unprovoked Attack, has given Mr. *Pope* a Rebuff, to ſhew how unjuſtly he was attack'd.

"In the Beginning of his Letter he ſays he was driven to it at the Deſire of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, &c. Upon which this Remarker ſays, It appears by this, that *Cibber* was not a *Volunteer*, but preſs'd into the Service, demonſtrating to the World, that he is not yet a *Bankrupt* in *Wit*, by engaging in Proſe the greateſt *Wit* in *Verſe* we now have [D] amongſt us. I know very well you will think the Engagement is unequal in every Reſpect, as to *Numbers* have the Advantage of *Narrative*: But *Cibber*'s Narrative is of ſo odd a Caſt, that if it has not the *Poignancy* of Wit, there is an Oddity in it, which makes it entertaining, and which you cannot meet with in any other Words or Manner than his own.—He thus apologizes: "Their ſpiriting me up to this unequal Engagement, I doubt will put an ill Compliment to my Skill or my Diſcretion; or at beſt, ſeems but to put me upon a Level with a famous Boxer at the Bear-Garden, called *Rugged and Tough*, who would ſtand being drubb'd for Hours together, by wearying out his Antagoniſt by the reſt Labour of laying him on, and by keeping his own Wind (like the *Roman* Combatants of old, who conquer'd by ſeeming to run) honeſt *Rugged* ſometimes came off victorious. All I can promiſe therefore, ſince I muſt ſubſcript for the Combat, is, that I will ſo far imitate this Iron-headed Hero, (as the Hiſtory called the late King of *Sweden*) as always to keep my Temper, as he did his [G] Head; and that while I have Life, or am able to ſet Pen to Paper, I will now, Sir, have the laſt Word with you."

After remarking upon ſeveral Charges againſt Mr. *Pope*, this Writer ſays, I come now to another material Charge, which is a very general one; Mr. *Pope*'s Affirmation, that *Cibber*, with all his Qualifications of Actor and Comick Author, is a *miſerable Poet Laureat* ——Speaking of his being choſe, Mr. *Pope* ſaith,

[A] 'Euſden no ſooner died, but his Place of 'Laureat was ſupply'd by *Cibber*, in 1730, 'on which was made the following Epigram.

"May I not believe by yourſelf?

In merry *old England* it once was a rule,
The king had his poet, and alſo his fool;
But now we're ſo frugal, I'd have you to know it, [poet.
That *Cibber* can ſerve both for fool and for

[B] Ay, marry, Sir! cries *Colly*, here you ſouſe me with a Witneſs! This is a Triumph indeed! I can hardly help laughing at this myſelf; for, *Se non è vero, ben Trovato!* A good Jeſt is a good Thing, let it fall upon who it will: I dare ſay, *Cibber* would never have complain'd of Mr. *Pope*, if he had never ſaid any worſe of him. But hold, Maſter *Cibber!* [C] why may not you as well turn this pleaſant Epigram into an involuntary Compliment? For a King's Fool was no-body's Fool but his Maſter's, and had not his Name for nothing: As for Example;

Thoſe fools of old, if *Fame* ſays true,
Were chiefly choſen for their wit;
Why then call'd fools? becauſe like you,
Dear *Pope*, too bold in ſhewing it.

[D] And ſo, if I am the King's Fool, now, Sir, pray whoſe Fool are you? 'Tis Pity, methinks, you ſhou'd be out of Employment: For if a ſatirical Intrepidity, or as you ſomewhere call it, a *high Courage of Wit*, is the faireſt Pretence to be the *King's Fool*, I don't know a Wit in the World ſo fit to fill up the Poſt as yourſelf.

[E] Thus, Sir, I have endeavour'd to ſhake off all the Dirt in your *Dunciad*, unleſs of here and there ſome little Spots of your Ill-will, that were not worth tiring the Reader's Patience with my Notice of them."

Notwithſtanding all this Set of Repartee, (ſays the Remarker) I believe no one, who ever read a ſingle Birth-Day Ode of *Cibber*'s, [F] will deny that he is a *miſerable Laureat*.

The next and moſt important Charge, as Mr. *Cibber* thinks, Mr. *Pope* has made on him, are in theſe Lines:

Whom have I hurt, has poet yet or peer
Loſt the arch'd eye-brow, or *Parnaſſian* ſneer?
And has not *Colly* too his lord and whore?

Cibber anſwers:

[G] And has not *Sawny* too his lord and whore?

Then he apologizes, that he has kept Company with Lords, and that ſo has *Pope*, with this confeſs'd Difference, That they admir'd *Pope*,

Pope, and laugh'd at *Colly*; that one was treated as a *Gentleman* among them, the other look'd on as a *Buffoon*, or, in *Cibberian* Diction, the *Fiddle of the Company*. As to the Charge of Whoring, *Cibber* begins and goes thro' it with Exultation, ſaying, *Pope* knows nothing of *his* Whoring, but he does of *Pope*'s.—This Subject the greateſt Streſs is laid on by *Cibber*, by his having labour'd it moſt; but he has made a falſe Quotation to introduce it, for Mr. *Pope*'s Line runs,

And has not *Colly ſtill* his lord and whore?

There is certainly a great Difference in the Senſe; for a Man might venially have been frail at 25, but would be ridiculouſly inexcuſable to ſet for *Beaux Garcon* at upwards of 70. Therefore *Cibber*'s *ſtill* Wenching (for *ſtill* is the Point it turns on) at 70, is a proper Subject for Satire, and in my Opinion, Mr. *Pope* is to be juſtified. However, *Cibber* is ſo enrag'd, that to make Reprisals, he tells an Amour of *Pope*'s of 30 Years ago: It is ſo very extraordinary, and has rais'd ſuch Variety of Converſation in Town, that I ſhall give it in his own Words, for no others can equal them.

"As Mr. *Pope* has ſo particularly pick'd me out of the Number of Sinners to make an Example of, Why may I not take the ſame Liberty, and even ſingle him out for another to keep me in Countenance? He muſt excuſe me then, if in what I am going to relate, I am reduced to make bold with a little private Converſation: But as he has ſhewn no Mercy to *Colly*, Why ſhould ſo unprovok'd an Aggreſſor expect any for himſelf? And if Truth hurts him, I can't help it. He may remember then, (or if he won't, I will) when *Button*'s Coffee-houſe was in Vogue, and ſo long ago, as when he had not tranſlated above 2 or 3 Books of *Homer*; there was a late young Nobleman (as much his Lord as mine) who had a good deal of wicked Humour, and who, tho' he was fond of having Wits in his Company, was not ſo reſtrain'd by his Conſcience, but that he lov'd to laugh at any merry Miſchief he could do them. This noble Wag, I ſay, in his uſual *Gayete de Cœur*, with another Gentleman ſtill in Being, one Evening ſlily ſeduced the celebrated Mr. *Pope* as a Wit, and myſelf as a Laugher, to a certain Houſe of Carnal Recreation, near the *Hay market*; where his Lordſhip's Frolick propos'd was, to *ſlip his little* Homer, as he call'd him, at a Girl of the Game, that he might ſee what Sort of Figure a Man of his Size, Sobriety, and Vigour (in Verſe) would make, when the frail Fit of Love had got into him; in which he ſo far ſucceeded, that the ſmirking Damſel, who ſerved us with Tea, happened to have Charms ſufficient to tempt the little-tioy Manhood of Mr. *Pope* into the next Room with her: At which, you may imagine, [his] Lordſhip was in as much Joy, at what might happen within, as our ſmall Friend could poſſibly be in Poſſeſſion of it: But I (ſtop me all ye mortified Mortals whom his Satire has ſince fallen upon) obſerving he ſtaid as long as without Hazard of his Head he might, I,

Prick'd to it by fooliſh honeſty and love,

as *Shakeſpear* ſays, without Ceremony, threw open the Door upon him, where I found the little haſty Hero, like a terrible *Tom-Tit* pertly perching upon the Mount of Love! But ſuch was my Surprize, that I fairly laid him of his Heels, and actually drew him out ſafe and ſound from his Danger. My Lord who ſtaid tittering without, in Hopes the ſweet Miſchief he came for would have been compleated, upon my giving an Account of the Action within, began to curſe, and call me an hundred ſilly Puppies, for my impertinently ſpoiling the Sport; to which, with great Gravity, I reply'd; Pray, my Lord, conſider what I have done was in regard to the Honour of our Nation! For would you have had ſo glorious a Work as that of making *Homer* ſpeak elegant *Engliſh*, cut ſhort by laying up our little Gentleman of a Miſlady, which his thin Body might never have been cured of? No, my Lord, *Homer* would have been too ſerious a Sacrifice to our Evening Merriment. Now as his *Homer* has ſo been ſo happily compleated, who can ſay the World may not have been obliged to [his] kindly Care of *Colly* that ſo great a Work ever came to Perfection?

And now, gentle Reader, let it be judged whether the *Lord* and the *Whore* above-mentioned might not, with equal Juſtice, have been apply'd to ſober *Sawny* the Satiriſt, and to *Colly* the Comedian?"

This amorous Tale of *Pope*'s Gallantry and the Merit which *Cibber* claims from having him from Danger, has ſuch ludicrous Humour in the Narration, that I believe it generally raiſes a Smile in moſt Readers. However, when the Story has been laugh'd at, what then? What does it prove more than that Mr. *Pope* was, at 25, what moſt unmarried Men at 25 might be without being ridiculous, or more than venially vicious. Now laying the Joke aſide of Mr. *Pope*'s Story, there is no Joke at all: But allowing Mr. *Pope*'s Charge on Mr. *Cibber*'s having *ſtill* his Whore, in his Dotage, true, *Cibber* is more ridiculous as well as vicious.—I cannot ſay any Thing of Certainty of *Cibber's* Amours; he may deny the common Report of thoſe vers'd in Theatrical Hiſtory; but if the private Anecdotes of *Drury-Lane* Theatre can carry any Authority, the *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields* was, within theſe 4 Years, in great

Da[mage]

ger of being loſt to the poetick World, the Malady of an unfortunate Amour a young Actreſs.——What an Honour e Nation had been loſt, had ſo glorious ork as a Birth-Day or New-Year's Ode *Colly Cibber*'s not been perform'd and ſh'd!

nother Inſtance of Mr. *Cibber*'s veteran ours I have heard behind the Scenes at *et-Garden*. When a young Actreſs was reat Vogue there, Mr. *Cibber*, and an- elderly Gentleman, were both equally ten with Love; both dangled after her, try'd, both inſtructed her; and *Cibber* ted to teach her to act a Part ſhe had no d to play: They were the Butt of the herſelf, and all the Actors and Actreſſes. a young Lord, who made Addreſſes to Lady, look'd on *Cibber*'s Pretenſions ſuch Contempt, that on ſeeing him and Brother Rival dadling after her into the e-Room, ſmirking, bowing, ſmiling, he —*Here comes* Suſanna [her Name] *and* wo Elders.

he laſt Charge of Mr. *Cibber*'s runs thus: "I have but one Article more of your ſpirited Wit to examine, and then I cloſe the Account: It is in the Verſe e you ſay,

Cibberian Forehead———

hich I find you modeſtly mean *Cibber*'s ndence; and, by the Place it ſtands in, offer it as a Sample of the *ſtrongeſt* Im- ce.——Sir, your humble Servant. —Suppoſe, in Proſe now, I were as ſtently to inſiſt, that you were an *honeſt*, *mann'd*, *inoffenſive Creature*, would my ſaying ſo be any Proof of it? No, Why then might it not be ſuppos'd an Truth, that both our Aſſertions were ly falſe? *Yours*, when you call me *Im-* ; *mine*, when I call you *Modeſt*, &c.— the general Benevolence of my Supe- ſtill ſuffers me to ſtand my Ground, or ually to ſit down with them, I hope l be thought, that rather the *Papal* the *Cibberian Forehead* ought to be out of untenance."

wonder (ſays our Remarker) Mr. *Cibber* d have laid himſelf ſo open; for he has branded for *indecent Behaviour* in the eſt Aſſembly in the Nation; which I e in *Impudence* in the greateſt Degree. *Colly*, perhaps, thought the *Mark* was out; but he, like other *Culprits*, has misfortune, on pleading *Innocence*, to be by his Crime being on *Record*. In the 1733, he was found *guilty* of *Impudence*, ppears by the Lines wrote at that Time, being put out of the Houſe of Lords, ch our Readers may ſee in the *London* zine for 1733, p. 298.)

PROTEST *in relation to Papers, &c.*

Tueſday, December 22, 1741.

Moved,

THAT an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give Directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, Copies of all Memorials, Declarations, and Letters, which have been ſent either to his Majeſty or his Miniſters, by the Queen of *Hungary* or her Miniſters, or by his Majeſty or his Miniſters to the Queen of *Hungary* or her Miniſters, with the reſpective Anſwers to ſuch Memorials, Repreſentations, and Letters: And of all Letters wrote by either of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, or any other of his Majeſty's Miniſters, to his Majeſty's Miniſter reſiding at the Court of the Queen of *Hungary*, or by the ſaid Miniſter to either of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, or any other of his Majeſty's Miniſters, relating to the State of the War in the Empire, and the Support and Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſince the Death of the late Emperor.

The Motion was objected to. And a Queſtion being ſtated thereupon,

It was propoſed after the Word [Declarations] in the former Part of the Queſtion, to leave out theſe Words [and Letters].

Which being objected to. After Debate, the Queſtion was put, Whether thoſe Words ſhould ſtand Part of the Queſtion?

It was reſolved in the Negative.

And it being propoſed to inſert, after the Word [Miniſters] mentioned in the fourth Place [and of all Letters which have been ſent to his Majeſty's Miniſters by the Miniſters of the Queen of *Hungary*, or by his Majeſty's Miniſters to the Miniſters of the Queen of *Hungary*.]

The ſame was objected to.

Then it was propoſed to leave out theſe Words [and of all Letters wrote by either of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, or any other of his Majeſty's Miniſters, to his Majeſty's Miniſter reſiding at the Court of the Queen of *Hungary*, or by the ſaid Miniſter to either of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, or any other of his Majeſty's Miniſters.]

Which being objected to. The Queſtion was put, Whether thoſe Words ſhould ſtand Part of the Queſtion?

It was reſolved in the Negative.

Content 32. Not Content 59.

Diſſentient'

Becauſe the leaving out thoſe Words in the Motion invalidates the Addreſs to the greateſt Degree, by denying the neceſſary Lights to ſee into Affairs of the utmoſt Concern

cern to the Nation, and Tranſactions moſt probably in Agitation between *Great Britain* and the Queen of *Hungary*. inaſmuch as there is neither Matter nor Means ſufficient left to give his Majeſty our beſt Advice upon, altho' ſo graciouſly aſked from the Throne at this critical Conjuncture. Beſides which, it is apparently putting ſuch a Check and Reſtraint upon the Privilege of the Houſe of Peers in wording Addreſſes to the King, as may prove of the utmoſt Prejudice and Loſs to both, which the Nation in general would in Conſequence be Sufferers by, ſhould this be made uſe of by miniſterial Artifice or Power, at any Time to come, as a Precedent, to defeat or annul Addreſſes of this Kind, whereon the Freedom and Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant Succeſſion and Government ſo eminently depend.

Haverſham.

An ESSAY towards an Inquiry into the ORIGIN *of* EVIL; *in a* LETTER *to* R. C. *Eſq;*

SIR,

AS you choſe this Method of examining into a Subject, which appears to each of us of ſome Importance, I ſhall willingly comply with your Propoſal, and lay open to the World my Sentiments on this much controverted Point: And as I hope we are both in Purſuit of Truth, and willing to embrace it wherever we find it, we may probably reap ſome Advantage from this Method of Inquiry; ſome Friend to Truth or us may lend a helping Hand, give ſome kind Hint, or urge ſome new Objections which have eſcaped our Notice. I ſhall therefore proceed to lay before you what appears to me to be the Truth of the Caſe, and by what Steps I arrive at the Concluſion.

That the Supreme Being is infinitely good, wiſe, and powerful, is, I think, allowed by all; and that to theſe all the *abſolute* Perfections any Being can be poſſeſſed of may be reduced, is to me equally plain.

Happineſs or *Miſery* are the only ultimate Ends *any Being* can propoſe to himſelf.

Happineſs is the only End a *good Being* can propoſe in forming any Syſtem.

A Being *infinitely good, wiſe, and powerful*, cannot but impart the greateſt *poſſible* Happineſs. His Goodneſs propoſing the End, Wiſdom concerting the beſt Means, and Power enabling him to produce it. Therefore,

As *God* is infinitely good, wiſe, and powerful, not to impart the greateſt *poſſible* Happineſs, would contradict ſome of his Perfections.

If any object, that it is enough to conſtitute a Being *good*, that he produces more Happineſs than Miſery upon the Whole, tho' the Difference be ever ſo little, I allow it; but if a Being produce but *one* Degree of Happineſs when it was equally in his Power have produced *twenty*, he is at leaſt not *good* as that Being, who, in the ſame Sitution, produced the whole Number. A therefore,

Tho' God might appear to be good if produced but the *ſmalleſt Degree* of Good in Ultimate, yet he can never be *infinitely* go or good in the *higheſt Degree*, unleſs he p duce the *greateſt Happineſs poſſible*.

In this Conſtitution of Things in wh God has placed us, it is *impoſſible* there ſho not be both natural and moral *Evil*. The fore,

It is a Part of the Conſtitution of G and for this Reaſon,

Such a Proportion of it as is (at any gi Time) is the *beſt Means* of attaining the End. And laſtly,

Suppoſing the Supreme Being to be Author of Evil, both natural and moral ſo far from leſſening or contradicting Perfections juſtly aſcribed to him, that contrary Suppoſition is a plain Denial of ſ of the Divine Perfections before mentio

And thus, Sir, I have frankly made kn to you, and to the World, the Reaſon I apprehend Evil was introduced into a S tem, of which a Being infinitely good, w and powerful, is the Contriver and Direct *viz.* becauſe it is the beſt Means of produc the greateſt poſſible Happineſs, as will further explained in the Proceſs of this quiry. And if you or any other to wh my Arguments ſhall appear inconclu would favour me with your Objections the World with a more ſatisfactory Sche I will aſſure you (however weak I prove in my Intellects) you ſhall have Reaſon to term me obſtinate: For w ever I find myſelf unable to anſwer leaſt to my own Satisfaction) I will dily admit, be the Conſequence as it it being altogether indifferent to me, Scheme I embrace, or what Name I while I have the Appearance of Truth Reaſon on my Side.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

P. S.—As all Harangue and Declam tends only to inflame the Paſſions and the Underſtanding, I ſhall be glad, for Sake of Truth, that every Thing of Nature may be avoided in this Debate.

The ANTHEM *performed at the Fu of the late victorious* JOHN *Duke of M borough. Set to Muſick by Signior Bo cini. Lately repeated at* Ranelagh-Ho

CHORUS.

WHEN *Saul* was King over us, waſt he that leddeſt out, and bro eſt in *Iſrael*,

The Lord then ſaid to thee, Thou ſhalt be
ain over *Iſrael*, and you ſhall chace your
emies, and they ſhall fall before you by
Sword.

DUET.

How are the Mighty fallen, the Weapons
ſtruction of War!

RECITATIVE.

How doth the City ſolitary ſit, ſhe that
great among the Nations, and Princeſs
the Provinces!

AIR.

All the Night ſhe weepeth ſore, and her
ars are on her Cheeks.

CHORUS.

Howl, O ye Fir-Trees, for the Cedar is
len.

Common Senſe, Aug. 21. N° 288.

THEY tell us, when K. *James* I. had
order'd my Lord *Saliſbury* to give 5000*l.*
his Favourite *Rocheſter*, the Treaſurer, who
ught it an extravagant Preſent, where
e was ſo little Merit, laid the whole
in Specie on a Table, in the Room thro'
ich his Majeſty was to paſs; who, very
ch aſtoniſhed at the Sight of ſuch Heaps
Money, aſk'd him, for what Purpoſes
e vaſt Sums were aſſigned? The Earl
him, he had his Majeſty's Orders
y them to the Viſcount *Rocheſter*:
s, Mon, (ſaid the King) *Sike a Heap o'*
r is too much for any one Subject; and or-
ed him but Half. What would this ſaga-
s Monarch have ſaid, had he ſeen, in-
d of 5000*l.* a 50,000*l.* Heap of *Siler*
ander'd in a very few Years on a few illi-
ate and obſcure Scriblers? Yet aſtoniſhing
it is, we have liv'd to ſee this prodigious
n of the publick Money thus diſſipated.
e p. 349.)

Some Time ſince I hinted, that I might
y ſoon give the Publick a Sketch of the
erals and Capacities of ſome of thoſe Per-
, on whom the Adminiſtrator thought
per to beſtow ſuch prodigious Sums; but
ce I was confidering to mark their Cha-
ters, I found moſt of them done to my
nd, in a Poem publiſh'd in the Year
, intitled, *Verres and his Scriblers.*
om which this Writer gives ſeveral Ex-
cts, which we have not now Room for.)

The following Memorial of their Excellencies the Earl of STAIR *and Mr.* TREVOR *to their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, preſented on the 29th Inſtant, N. S. is too remarkable to be omitted.*

High and Mighty Lords,

THE King our Maſter has lately had very earneſt and preſſing Inſtances made him by the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, for ſpeedy Aſſiſtance againſt the great Danger with which ſhe is threatned. She repreſents, that a new and very powerful *French* Army is actually marching through the Heart of *Germany*, with a manifeſt Deſign to deſtroy the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſubjugate the Empire, and conſequently enſlave all *Europe*.

'The King our Maſter has made very ſerious Reflexions on the ſaid Inſtances. He ſees with Horror a new Army of *French* marching to deſtroy the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and trample under Foot the Liberties of *Germany*, under the ridiculous Pretext of going to ſeek for Peace.

'His *Britannick* Majeſty is too ſenſible of the Conſequences of the Deſtruction of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and therefore is reſolv'd to lend all his Forces to his Ally the Queen of *Hungary*, and at the ſame Time he moſt ardently exhorts your High Mightineſſes to concur with his Majeſty in his ſalutary Deſign to ſave the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by lending great Part of your Troops in order to make, in Conjunction with the *Britiſh* Forces, a powerful Diverſion in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*, which is the ſureſt and ſpeedieſt Method to obtain a good and general Peace, or to avoid a long War, which muſt always be prejudicial to Maritime Powers: This the King of *Great Britain* declares to be his ſole Aim, on the Faith and Word of a King, and not the Ruin and Deſolation of his innocent Neighbours, though it is their Misfortune to be guided by Miniſters, who have no Manner of Regard to publick Faith.

'The King our Maſter is ready to ſhew your High Mightineſſes, that the Road that leads to Liberty is not ſo difficult to tread in as ſome People would fain repreſent it to be: Your High Mightineſſes have too much Penetration not to ſee through all the pitiful Artifices employed in order to diſguiſe or conceal the Danger which *Europe* is in: Therefore, his *Britannick* Majeſty being ſo well acquainted with the Courage, the Wiſdom, and generous Sentiments of your Republick, cannot doubt in the leaſt but that your High Mightineſſes will imitate your glorious Anceſtors in thoſe ſhining Proofs they ſo often gave of their Love of Liberty, in bravely defending the Liberties of all *Europe*, as well as their own.

'The glorious Deſign of ſetting *Europe* free, and ſetling its Liberty and Tranquillity on a laſting Foundation, never was ſo eaſy to be executed as it is at preſent, provided that we ſkilfully improve the fair Opportunity we now have, which, if neglected, will in all Probability never offer again.' *Signed*,

STAIR *and* TREVOR.

To Miſs L—— *from the Country.*

HAIL, happy groves, and warbling brooks,
Retir'd from all that noiſy ſtrife,
That o'er the buſy world preſides,
And ſwells the ſeas of publick life.

Hail, bleſs'd delights of rural eaſe,
The fanning breeze, the ſilent cell,
The blooming banks, the verdant walks,
Where contemplation loves to dwell.

Beneath this venerable ſhade
Contented I can lay me down,
Unmindful what the great ones do,
Or if the mighty ſmile or frown.

I write whate'er the Muſe inſpires,
Heedleſs what ſnarling criticks ſay;
All other cenſure I deſpiſe,
If *L*—— but approves my lay.

Come then, below this ſpreading oak
Let me indulge my thoughts awhile,
To ſcan the bliſs of rural life,
And time's unweary'd haſte beguile.

Happy the man, that, far from noiſe,
In the ſtill calm of ſome retreat,
Enjoys the ſweets of country eaſe,
And never thinks of being great.

Whoſe honeſt heart diſdains to join
The fawning throng, the venal tribe;
Whoſe hands ne'er touch'd th' unhallow'd ore,
Nor ſold his country for a bribe.

No conſcious guilt diſturbs his mind,
The fleeting minutes dance away;
Contentment with her balmy wings
Hovers around, and glads the day.

From quiet reſt, and downy ſleep,
He riſes with the early dawn;
Now climbs aloft and mounts the hill,
Or wanders thro' the bloomy lawn.

Sometime along the cryſtal ſtream
He guides the line with artful hand;
The ſcaly racers of the flood
Expire, deluded, on the ſtrand.

Or active in the noble chace,
Where full-mouth'd hounds direct the way,
He ſweeps impetuous o'er the plain,
To trace the mazes of his prey.

Or on the matted turf reclin'd,
The banks of ſome ſoft-murmuring flood,
He liſtens where the warblers ſing,
And muſick fills the liſt'ning wood.

Where o'er the clear, tranſlucent wave
The bending oſiers hang along;
Where babbling echoes learn to talk,
And diſtant rocks repeat the ſong.

There he admires the wond'rous works,
That bounteous nature round him throws,
Th' unclouded ſky, the verdant fields,
The downy peach, the fragrant roſe;
The lofty trees, the warbling birds,
The waters murm'ring as they fall;
He ſees, he wonders, and adores
The bounteous Author of them all.

Or to ſome cooling grot retir'd,
That never felt the ſultry ray,
Some darling author ſooths his mind;
A *Pope*, an *Addiſon*, or *Gay*.

Or with ſome friends in ſocial joy
And harmleſs mirth the minutes paſs,
While manlike reaſon crowns the bowl,
And wit inſpires the ſparkling glaſs.

Thus he enjoys that happineſs,
Which all deſire, tho' few attain,
Which 'mong the ſplendid and the great,
'Mong palaces is ſought in vain.

And thus, oh thus, may I ſtill feel,
In the ſoft balm of ſweet content,
An heart from raging paſſions free,
And conſcious of a life well ſpent.

Give me, kind heav'n, a country life,
The purling rill, the ſhady grove,
Some choſen books that fit my taſte;
But above all the friend I love.

With willing freedom I reſign
Whatever elſe mankind adore;
'Tis all I aſk, 'tis all I wiſh,
And heav'n itſelf can give no more.

BRITANNIA's *Lamentation: Or, The Ba*
of the THAMES.

To the Tune of *Tweed-Side.*

WHY, *Britannia*, thus ſenſeleſs of prai
On the banks of thy *Thames* doſt th
weep,
Whilſt its boſom thy navy conveys
To confound all thy foes on the deep?
Does not *Matthews* thy glory advance,
Where but late thou waſt cover'd w
ſhame?
Does not *Spain*, with *Sicilia* and *France*,
Fly for ſhelter, and ſhrink at thy name
Turn to valiant *Sardinia* thy ſight;
None but *C*—— could rouſe him to w
He it was taught the *Croats* to fight,
The *Sclavonian* he brought from afar;
He it was ſhook the Emperor's throne,
By his counſels the *Danube* was paſt;
All the wreaths won at *Lintz* are his own
And by him all *Bavaria* lies waſte.
At his nod, lo! each enemy yields,
Spain and *France* their loſt armies ſhall mo
For from *Prague* and fair *Italy*'s fields
He has ſworn, not a man ſhall return.
Then thy praiſe while the *Moldaw* proclai
And *Hungaria* is freed from her foe,
Why, alas! ſhould the banks of the *Tha*
Be the ſeat of repining and woe?
Not at *Auſtria*'s ſucceſs I repine,
May ſhe triumph (*Britannia* reply'd)
Tho' with anguiſh my head I decline,
And lament on the *Thames*' fruitful ſide

Mov the *Moldaw* and *Danube*'s wide flood
With the shouts of her victories sound,
And their currents run crimson with blood,
While the *French* are mow'd down to the ground!
Thou, *Hungaria*, may'st bless thy kind stars,
And thy captains experienc'd and brave;
Thou may'st thank thy undaunted *Hussars*,
And thy valiant train'd-bands of the *Saave*:
Yet had all thy success and thy fame
Flow'd from *C*———'s courage and art,
Would the honour, exalting his name,
Heal the canker which preys on my heart?
For if freedom and virtue must smile
Never more, where the silver *Thame* flows,
What, alas! will avail this lost isle,
That *Hungary*'s freed from her foes?
Has her safety restor'd my dead laws?
Yet secur'd is my birthright to me?
Tho' the *Gaul* from *Bohemia* withdraws,
From corruption have I been set free?
See my patriots around me desert,
The arch-criminal screen'd without shame;
Such apostates have taught my sad heart,
That ev'n virtue is now but a name:
Yet amongst that fall'n train there is one,
There is one, I shall ever deplore ——
What a labour of years is undone!
What a fall, ah! to rise never more!
He was once all my glory and pride,
He alone my lost rights could retrieve —
But his name now in silence to hide,
Is to him all the boon I can give.
Then my praise tho' *Bohemia* proclaims,
And with joy tho' the *Moldaw* may flow;
Still I weep, and the banks of my *Thames*
Are the seat of repining and woe.

To Mr. JOHN PENNY *at* Bath.

SIR,

AS we should look if you should cheat us,
Bamboozle us, and sorely beat us;
So look'd poor *Ned* and honest *Dick*,
Thinking you'd serv'd 'em a dog-trick;
And after pawning faith and honour,
That of some lines you'd be the donor,
Lines, such as dropp'd from honied quill
Of your elegiac, tuneful *Will* *,
Had quite forgot and broke the treaty,
By force of which we hop'd to greet ye.
But when—let's see—last *Sunday* morning,
As blithe *Aurora* was adorning,
With purpl'd streaks, the lofty cupolo,
Which we decrepid mortals stoop below,
Taking my way to smiling *Flower*'s,
With *Dick* to wing some raptur'd hours,
Her first salute was—full of haste—
Letter from—*Penny*—here—at last!
Quite out of breath, *Dick* cry'd, adzooks!
(You know, when pleas'd, how *Dicky* looks)
And has—our *Penny*—sent a letter!
No news to *Ned* cou'd e'er sound better;
My heart skips, bounds, my eyes strike fire,
I'm quite o'ercome, o'erjoy'd, expire.
At last I seize the welcome scroul,
As some poor, hungry, starving soul,
Whom every shilling had forsaken,
Would butter'd roul, or cheese, or bacon.
I ope, but faith, was much to blame,
My speed near made your meaning lame:
For in my eager, quick pursuit
To reap of your sage brains the fruit,
Here fell some scraps, and there fell others,
As like in size, as some twin brothers.
Then—had I follow'd inclination,
To satisfy my raging passion,
Drawing my doughty warlike whinyard,
I'd sent me —— to *Elysium*'s vineyard,
Where souls like yours, and *Dick*'s and mine,
Shall quaff nectarious, sparkling wine;
(Such as with rough-hewn *H*———s we've tipt,
Or with the smooth-tongu'd *H*——*n* lipt) —
But—recollecting in good season,
That—I should want both rhime and reason,
To press that blissful, verdant plain,
Before—I saw lov'd *Pen* again,
(For he, sad thought, might tak't in's head
In footsteps of his friend to tread)
I gather'd up the golden scraps,
Well nigh—the cause of dire mishaps,
And kissing them—to show my breeding,
I strait, Sir, piec'd 'em for the reading.
But ah! what wretch, tho' stout and bold he,
Would not like us with sweat so coldy,
With downcast phiz, and wat'ry peepers,
(For this would make e'en statues weepers)
Have read your pains, your cries, your groans,
Enough to melt your hearts of stones †!
In short I cou'd no farther go,
For plaintive notes of, ah! and oh!
But happ'ning—by a very chance
To cast again a rueful glance,
A little lower down your writing,
I met what calm'd—a grief so biting.
So that well-powder'd beau *Apollo*,
Whose trade we poetasters follow,
Oft, as our *Homer* says, does shroud
His head behind some dusky cloud,
Where, when retir'd, perhaps an hour,
He causes some dull, heavy shower;
But when again his radiance smiles,
Each pleasing view the sense beguiles.
That you so soon was rais'd to sanity,
Must please all those who taste humanity.
Your damn'd cascaders ‡ in the coach,
To lovely female-kind, reproach,

* Thomson, *the Author of the Elegy on Dr. Garth, see p.* 200.
† *He wrote Word he had recovered from an Illness on the Road.*
‡ *He was troubled in the Coach with some* spitting, spewing *Females.*

For that, and all your curs'd diſaſters,
Let pity of your friends be plaiſters.
And may a ſeries of delight
Your hobbling journey well requite:
May *Bath*, with all its ſcenes of pleaſure,
Charm—with a flow of charms—your leiſure;
And may each ſoft, ſalubrious ſtream,
The poet's and the doctor's theme,
Reſtore your torn, your tortur'd breaſt *,
To long ſought eaſe, nocturnal reſt.
Expectant here, we wait in ſadneſs,
Till you return, return our gladneſs;
Till you, our *Orpheus*, ſtrike the lyre,
Till on your accents we expire.
Till you, our *Bacchus*, grace the cup,
We quite renounce the chearing ſup.
Good lady *Ceres* ſcarce is reliſh'd,
By your drear abſence unimbelliſh'd.
Then haſte, my friend, ſome comfort bring,
And all the bliſs of opening ſpring.
Immortal *Flora*, ſweet'ſt of wenches,
See, gladſome 'gins regale our ſenſes,
And all the elements conſpire
To gratify each ſoft deſire.
Then haſte, my friend, my fancy roves,
Thro' verdant meads, umbragious groves:
It ſwells the note from *Penny*'s tongue,
Now ſweetly ſmooth, now harſhly ſtrong!
Bathonia, full of wanton glee,
Our opening pleaſures vye with thee:
Thy walks the dull, the ſtupid pleaſe;
But muſic warbles thro' our trees.
See *Ranelagh*, and ſee *Vaux-hall*,
And give thy proud conceit a fall.
Our kind dame *F*——, our fathers, brothers,
Good *Pentony* and many others;
But chief my *Bennett*, darling youth,
Replete with greateſt worth and truth,
All in your welfare take a part,
And ſhow th' o'erflowing kindred heart.

Pall-Mall,
April 7, 1742. *E. K.*

To Miſs MARGARETTA W——
at Vaux-hall.

Tune.—Can Love be controul'd by Advice?
Or, Tweed-ſide.

HOW bright and how gladſome the ſcene,
When ſweet *Margaretta* appear'd;
Ye powers! what a ſhape! what a mien!
Can ought with the nymph be compar'd?
Her beauties all blazing around,
As thro' the bowr'd allies we ſtray;
No fence 'gainſt her eyes can be found,
We gaze all our ſenſes away.
And ah! let us charm'd ſtill admire
Her graces, not ſtudied with art,
Her eyes, that have borrow'd no fire,
But what flows from pureneſs of heart.
Unlike thoſe affectedly fair,
Who ſhoot ſo acroſs yonder glade;
Who all ſeem guilt's livery to wear,
All ſeem to their follies betray'd.
But mark! how her wrapt ſenſes ſtray,
With *Handel*'s melodious choir;
See thoughtful regarding the lay,
Her boſom heaves time to the lyre.
So look'd the wiſe *Pallas* entranc'd,
When the Muſes repeated their ſong;
Now briſk to their warbling ſhe glanc'd,
Now mournful regarded the throng.
How happy the youth who'll enjoy
Such bliſs, and ſuch raptures as theſe,
A maiden that never can cloy,
Whoſe mind, as whoſe features, will plea
If he but of generous ſoul,
Conducts him with prudence thro' life,
Their hours all ſerenely will roul,
Undiſturb'd or by cares or by ſtrife.

E.

TEA. *A* FABLE. *By a* YOUNG LAD
Addreſs'd to the C—— *of* M——.

ENVY in men, tho' in diſguiſe, preſide
It ſways the valiant, and the cow
guides;
Often or fear, or emulation, nam'd,
In all it rules, altho' by all it's blam'd.
When *Cæſar* came where *Philip*'s glori
ſon
Was rais'd on high in emulating ſtone,
Why guſh'd the water from his trembling ey
You ſay, ambition did theſe drops ſupply.
No, no, 'twas envy, that the youth had gain
The world at years when he was ſcarce
nam'd.
Why fled great *Antony* from *Actium*'s coa
His fame abandon'd, and his empire loſt?
Nor fear, nor love, but envy ſpread the ſa
Impel'd the oars, and catch'd the flying ga
'Twas envious rage his jealous mind poſſeſt,
Leſt by the fair another ſhould be bleſt.
In publick ſpirit clad and veil'd by art,
'Twas envy ſtruck the blow to *Straffard*'s hea
Still as its power amongſt the great ſucceeds
A *Cæſar*'s murder'd, or a *Tully* bleeds.
But ſay, ye powers, that govern all belo
Whence does this rage uncurb'd 'mongſt w
men flow?
Form'd to give joy, and capable to pleaſe,
To ſooth each paſſion, and each ſorrow ea
When e'er you mention *Stella*'s lovely air,
Her ſnowy boſom and ambroſial hair;
Or when in laſting verſes you proclaim
Ardelia's praiſe (the Muſes grateful theme
Does jealous rage the female circle warm,
Blaſt every grace, and ruin every charm?
Propitious Muſe, the latent cauſes trace,
That ſtain the ſofter ſex with ſuch diſgrace
Whe

* *He went to* Bath *for Cure of a Cholick that frequently troubled him in the Night.*

Where the fam'd *Ganges* rolls his silver flood,
Thro' the dark horrors of an ancient wood,
Whose well-grown trees poſſeſs an ample ſpace,
Nor by the ax profan'd, nor conſcious of diſ-grace,
A cave there lies, far in the grove's receſs,
No warmth did e'er the horrid manſion bleſs,
Nor ſun e'er cheers it with its quick'ning ray,
But blaſting fogs obſcure the gloomy day.
'Twas here *Teannus* of gigantick mould,
Whose envy was produc'd, in dangers bold;
Ancient in toil, his mother's poiſons fir'd
His noxious breaſt, and all his veins inſpir'd:
Another's bliſs did ſtill his bliſs confound,
Her joys torment him, and his merits wound.
Unſucceſsful here he dwelt for many years,
Preying in widows and in orphans tears.
But left the goddeſs of the ſilver bow
Still then deſtructive to the mountain roe,
No more her ſhafts, 'gainſt harts and boars employ'd,
But this dire bane of human bliſs deſtroy'd.
Once tir'd with ſporting on the verdant plain,
Linda, faireſt of *Diana*'s train,
In the cool foreſt ſought a ſafe retreat
From ſcorching *Phœbus* and the mid-day heat,
Where the pure ſtream in gentle murmurs flows,
And feeds the lily and the fragrant roſe:
Not with her charms can neither flower compare, more fair.
Her breath's more fragrant, and her breaſt
As cruel *Teannus* chanc'd to paſs that way,
He ſaw and lov'd, and ſeiz'd his frighted prey;
The trembling virgin to her miſtreſs cries,
When the virgin goddeſs leaves the ſkies,
Her ſounding quiver rattles as ſhe flies;
And gliding ſwiftly thro' the aerial field,
Looks near the river's bank in clouds conceal'd;
Straight in her hand ſhe bent the poliſh'd yew,
Straight to the head the feather'd arrow drew,
The feather'd arrow hiſſing as it flew.
Reeling he falls, and trembling quits his prize,
While ſhades of death ſwim round his livid eyes:
Linda joyful from the plain withdrew,
And fair *Diana* to *Olympus* flew.
Thus on the plain was impious *Teann* laid,
In vain his mother haſten'd to his aid;
With tender care ſhe rais'd him from the ground,
She chaf'd his face, and wip'd the guſhing wound,
And thus prophetick ſaid; 'My ſon muſt die,
Since fate his life does to my tears deny,
Yet from his wound ſhall ſpring a lovely tree,
Which ſtill a favourite 'mongſt the fair ſhall be:'
And as ſhe ſpoke, a beauteous ſhrub aroſe,
Which that warm tide that from *Teannus* flows.
Fair fruit and flowers the new-form'd plant did grace,
Which *Tea* ſhe call'd, ſtill mindful of its race:
Unchang'd its envious juice it ſtill retains,
And darts its poiſon thro' its votary's veins.
From *Indian* clime, at length to *Britain* brought, wrought?
What madneſs 'mongſt the females has it wrought?
Still, as their ebbing malice it ſupplies,
Some victim falls, ſome reputation dies:
Then deareſt *M*—— ſhun the tat'ling train,
Nor think this counſel which I give in vain:
See them when young by men of ſenſe deſpis'd, priz'd;
Tho' fair, by none but fools and coxcombs
See them when old, ſlighted, forſook by all,
Deſpairing pine, and unlamented fall.
Far otherwiſe the few, the happy few,
Who other maxims, other aims purſue;
What tho' their charms endure but for a day,
And youthful bloom with circling years decay,
No waſte of time can ever make them quit
Their ſpotleſs honour, and their manlike wit.
Still in their looks you'll ſee a ſweet content,
The juſt reflexions of a life well ſpent;
Nor do you miſs the luſtre of their eyes,
Where merit lights a flame that never dies.

The GREENWICH CONTRAST. *An* EPIGRAM.

WHEN ſcarify'd *S*—— appears in the ſtreet,
She's an *angel* to *follow*, the *devil* to *meet*:
Ye gods! how perplexing, and pleaſing the *cheat!*
Behind G——'s a *Gorgon!* an *angel* to *meet.*

On reading Mr. POPE's WORKS.

HAIL ſacred bard! of ſtrength of thought poſſeſs'd,
With fire beyond the ſons of *Phœbus* bleſs'd;
For might I ſpeak my thought, not *Homer*'s pen
Painted ſo ſtrong arms, vices, virtues, men.

J. DINSDALE.

On CORRUPTION.

YOU ſay corruption ſtains the ſoul,
That's but a ſneer of envious wit;
Gild the vil'ſt metal o'er with gold,
'Tis ſtrait as beautiful as it.

A HYMN *to* IMPUDENCE.

BLEST impudence! how *Fronto* ſhines
Diſtinguiſh'd by thy grace;
Conſpicuous in his look thy pow'r,
Omnipotence of face.

Hear! how his *Wapping* rhet'rick charms
The drowſy ſottiſh crowd,
Who'd nod, unleſs his nonſenſe broke
Like thunder from a cloud.

Nor

Nor modern eloquence alone
Confeſſes thy kind aid,
With oaths and bawdy thou ſupplieſt
The modiſh ranting blade.

Vulturio, ſee! with ſolemn face
Invading others right,
While blinded with the luſt of gold,
He robs, nor fears the light.

Nay, the fat prieſt, half burſt with pride,
While folly is his lore,
Throws up his eyes to heav'n with grace,
And ſighs—for what? a wh-re.

And the old gloating married cull
With gold preſents the jade,
By forty tho' poſſeſt before,
Who ſwears ſhe is a maid.

But papal modeſty aſſumes
The privilege of God;
For who deſpiſes haughty *Rome*,
Is threaten'd with his rod.

Thou fortune giv'ſt; the man who dares
With impudence invade,
Is ſure the wealthy dame to win,
And puſh with cits a trade.

Hail impudence! thou envied pow'r,
Tho' in the vulgar found,
Who giv'ſt to folly wiſdom's air,
And force to empty ſound.

J. D.

To MYRON. FOLLY *and* WISDOM.

MYRON, the vulgar herds of men,
(*Urania* dares to call them ſo)
Driv'n by a flaming luſt leap in,
And headlong plunge in endleſs woe.

Point me the ſoul divinely wiſe,
(O'er reaſon's eye ſuch film is grown)
If pleaſure floats in falſe diſguiſe,
But takes the hooky ruin down.

Once, touch'd with a celeſtial flame,
We ſtrove t'outſhine in virtuous deed;
Now he attains the higheſt fame,
Who can in blackeſt crime exceed.

So children on the crackling ice,
Proud to out-venture onwards go,
Till ſudden in a wild ſurprize,
They ſink in watry death below.

But let a wiſer choice prevail,
Or elſe, preſumptuous ſinners, know,
Who higheſt mounts in vice's ſcale,
Tumbles at laſt in deepeſt woe.

But, Muſe, reverſe the gloomy ſtrain;
See *Myron* ſhuns the vulgar mode,
And bent empyrean heights to gain,
Journies along th' atherial road.

Go on, infernal fraud and force,
Charge, noble ſoul, undaunted through;
Heav'n, as you urge the glorious courſe,
Unfolds itſelf to meet your view.

But while thro' ſtarry ſpheres you bend
Your way, I feel a ſacred pride,
And fain *Juvenio* would attend
As trav'ller at his *Myron*'s ſide.

So if the ſilver globe of night,
Crown'd with her fulleſt glories riſe,
The little ſtars with twinkling light
Attend her progreſs up the ſkies.

JUVENI

The OLD COACHMAN. *A new Ballad.*

WISE *Caleb* and *C*———*t*, two birds a feather,
Went down to a feaſt at *N-uſt—s* togeth
No matter what wines, or what choice good chear, [good be
'Tis enough that the *coachman* had *his* do
Derry down, down, high derry do

Coming home, as the liquor work'd his pate
This coachman drove on at a damnable ra
Poor *C—rt—t*, in terror, and ſcar'd all while,
Cry'd, *ſtop! let me out; is the dog an* A—
But he ſoon was convinc'd of his er for, lo [will
John ſtopt ſhort in the dirt, and no fur
When *C—rt—t* ſaw this, he obſerv'd wi laugh;
This coachman, I find, is your own, my Lord B
Now the peers quit their coach in a pi plight, [li
Deep in mire, and in rain, and without
Not a path to purſue, nor to guide the friend; [will this
What courſe ſhall they take then, and
Lo! Chance, the great miſtreſs of human a
Who governs in councils, and conquers in
Strait with grief at their caſe (for the g well knew, [
That theſe were her creatures, and wo
This *Chance* brought a paſſenger quic their aid? [ail me? *be*
Honeſt friend, can you drive?—' What
' For many a bad ſeaſon, through ma bad way,
' Old *O—ſ—d* I've driven, without fa
' He was once overturn'd, I confeſs, bu hurt:'— [of th
Quoth the peers, ' It was we help'd hi
' This boon to thy maſter, then prith quite, [all m
' Take us up, or elſe here we muſt
He took them both up, and thro' and thro' thin,
Drove away for St. *James*'s, and brought ſafe in:—
Learn hence, honeſt *Britons*, in ſpite o pains, [verns the
That *O—ſ—d*, th' old coachman, fi
Derry down, down, high derry

T

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

FROM the *London Gazette*, *July* 31. By Letters of the 19th and 24th of *May*, brought by the *Veſuvious* Fireſhip, Captain *Thompſon*, from *Jamaica*, there is Advice of the Return of his ...jeſty's Land and Sea Forces from *Porto-...* to that Iſland, excepting ſome few of ... Tranſports which are not yet arrived. ...d by the ſame Letters there is an Account, ... Commodore *Anſon*, after having plun-...'d *Paita* upon the Coaſt of *Peru*, and ...ſe on that of *Mexico*, taken many ..., and got a Booty of near two Millions ... Pieces of Eight, was ſuppoſed to be gone *Acapulco*; and that five *Spaniſh* Ships, ...ich were ſent in Purſuit of him were re-...'d to *Panama*. (See p. 358.)

...A poor Woman going to Mr. *Smith*'s, at ... great Malt-houſe at *Brancaſter* near *Nor-...*, where was kept a tame Bear, and re-...ing with ſome Victuals in her Lap, was ...'d on by the Bear; and tho' ſeveral Peo-...ns to her Aſſiſtance, and ſtabb'd him in ...eral Places, they could not take him off ...e he had broke both her Arms, tore the ...h off her Thighs, and fractur'd her Skull. ...laſt a Maſtiff-Dog took him by the Ear, ...ich ſet him a roaring, and made him ...k his Hold, and he was preſently kill'd; ...ich was but a ſmall Amends to the poor ...man, who died of her Wounds the next ...y.

MONDAY, *Aug.* 2.

...Mrs. *Ragg*, a Cutler and Surgeon's In-...ment-Maker in the *Poultry*, coming down ...s at a Neighbour's Houſe in *Bucklerſbury*, ...h her Partner's Child in her Arms, fell ...r the Balluſtres thro' the Well of the ..., and died on the Spot; the Child living ...ten Minutes after.

...One *Thomas Homan*, an Apprentice to a ...er in *Fetter-lane*, having obſerved a Fa-...y, who lived in a Houſe next to his Ma-...'s, to be often out, except one Mrs. *Dix*, ...dow Gentlewoman, he took an Oppor-...y, early on this Morning, to get into ...Houſe by the Help of a Ladder, with an ...nt to rob it; but being heard by Mrs. ..., juſt as he got into the Window, ſhe ...k'd up a Poker, and ſtruck him over ...Head, but he took it from her, knock'd ...down, fractur'd her Skull, and then cut ...Throat. She cried out Murder as ſoon ...e firſt ſtruck her, which was heard by ...e young Lads, who ran to the Place, and got in at the ſame Window, where ſeeing the dreadful Scene, they came out again in a great Fright; however, encouraging each other, they enter'd a ſecond Time, and ſearch'd the upper Part of the Houſe, and then the youngeſt of them ran down to the Cellar, and found the Fellow under a Hamper, who ſurrender'd without making any Reſiſtance. He was then ſecur'd, and being carried before the ſitting Alderman at *Guildhall*, was by him committed to *Newgate*.

TUESDAY, 3.

From the London Gazette.

On the 4th of *June*, his Majeſty's Ship the *Roſe*, commanded by Capt. *Frankland*, being on a Cruiſe amongſt the *Bahama* Iſlands, fell in with a *Spaniſh Guard de Coſta*, of 10 Carriage and 10 Swivel Guns, and 80 Men, in Company of three Prizes which ſhe had taken. The *Guard de Coſta*, and two of the Prizes, engaged the *Roſe* for three Hours, when the two Prizes ſtood away, one to Windward, the other before the Wind; the *Guard de Coſta* continued the Engagement for an Hour longer, when her Crew, in Oppoſition to the Captain, haul'd down their Colours, and cry'd for Quarters. Capt. *Frankland* took out her Men, put ſome of his own People on board her, and ſent her after the Prize which ſtood to Windward, which ſhe retook; and himſelf follow'd the other two Prizes, and retook them both; and he carried them all three, together with the *Spaniſh* Ship, into *Carolina*. The Captain of the *Guard de Coſta* was *Fandino*, the Man who commanded the Ship that took Capt. *Jenkins*, when his Ears were cut off. Capt. *Frankland* has ſent him to *England*, and he is now in Cuſtody at *Portſmouth*.

WEDNESDAY, 4.

This Morning between one and two of the Clock, a Fire broke out in the long Room of the Thatch'd-Houſe at *Job*'s Gardens, *Iſlington*, which intirely conſum'd the ſame, and the Dwelling-Houſe adjoining.

THURSDAY, 5.

A Confirmation came, that the *Sea-Flower*, *Priddie*, and the *Bloſſom*, *Baſhley*, both from *Turky* for *London*, (but not belonging to the Company) were lately taken by two *Spaniſh* Privateers, after a ſtout Engagement, and carried into *Malaga*.

MONDAY, 9.

This Night Mr. *Cofield*, a Carpenter on *Blackheath*, was ſet upon by ſome Foot Pads between the *Green Man* and the Half-way Houſe,

House, and he making ſome Reſiſtance, they barbarouſly ſtabb'd him in nine Places, and then left him dead on the Spot; but Company coming up, they had not Time to rob him.

MONDAY, 16.

This Night, about 10 o'Clock, Mr. *John Lack*, who held a Place in the Armoury in the *Tower* upwards of 40 Years, was found murder'd at the upper End of the Road leading from *Goſwell-ſtreet* to *Iſlington*, by the New River. He was ſtabb'd under the left Breaſt, in the Throat, and under his right Ear.

TUESDAY, 17.

A Pardon paſs'd the Great Seal to *Robert Knight*, Eſq; late Caſhier of the *South-Sea* Company, of all Felonies, Crimes, Offences, *&c.* inflicted on him by Act of Parliament in the Reign of King *George* I.

THURSDAY, 19.

Advice came by the *Liſbon* Mail, That his Majeſty's Ships the *Deal-Caſtle* and *Loo* had made a Viſit to the *Spaniards* at *Vigo*, where they burnt in the Harbour two Privateers, ſix Barco-longos, and two new Ships on the Stocks. They alſo retook four *Engliſh* Prizes (among whom was the *Jemima*, *Cockle*, bound from *London* to *Oporto*) but were oblig'd to deſtroy one of them, her Maſts being all taken out. Some Letters mention, that they plunder'd the Town; but others hint that they oblig'd the Inhabitants to raiſe a conſiderable Sum of Money for the Preſervation thereof.

A Court Martial was held on board his Majeſty's Ship the St. *George*, at *Spithead*, Admiral *Cavendiſh* Preſident, between the late Captain of his Majeſty's Ship the *Superb*, and Mr. *John Hardy*, firſt Lieutenant; and upon full Hearing of both Sides, the Captain was caſhier'd, and render'd incapable of ſerving in his Majeſty's Royal Navy, for his ill Treatment to his Officers, and his inhuman Cruelty to his Men; and Lieutenant *John Hardy* was honourably acquitted.

FRIDAY, 20.

This Night, about Nine o'Clock, Mr. *Smith* who kept the *Five-Bells* Alehouſe at *Chelſea*, was robb'd and murder'd in the *King*'s *Road* near *Bloody-Bridge*, in his Way home from *London*. 'Tis ſuppos'd he made a ſtout Defence, being an able Man, and Quantities of his Blood being found in different Places in the Field. He had two Dogs with him, who had torn off a Flap of one of the Ruffians Coats, which, with a Hat, they left behind them. The Flap being red, and a large Stab in his Breaſt, ſeeming to have been done with a Bayonet, made it conjectur'd the Murderers were Soldiers; and the rather becauſe two Soldiers were obſerved to go over *Putney* Bridge late that Night, one without his Hat, and the other with his Cloaths very much torn. When Mr. *Smith*'s Body was found, the two Dogs (one of them very much wounded) were lying on it, nor would they ſuffer any Perſon to touch till his Maid was brought, by one who h pen'd to know him. And we were aſſ that one of thoſe faithful Creatures (that wounded) had refus'd, to the next Sa Night, all Manner of Suſtenance, tho had been laid before him.

MONDAY, 23.

This Night a Servant of *Oliver Edw* Eſq; a Brewer at *Iſlington*, was ſet upon Footpad on the Cauſeway between the T *Head*, and the Back-Door of *Sadler's W* who firſt ſtabb'd him twice in the Back, on his facing about ſtabb'd him in the Br when the Servant grappled with him, got him under; but being a nimble Fe he got up again, and gave him two Wo on his right Shoulder; notwithſtanding w he got him down a ſecond Time, but not get his Weapon out of his Hand, it ing tied faſt round his Wriſt: Upon this other Fellow came over the Bank to hi ſiſtance; which the Servant ſeeing, qu his Hold, and made the beſt of his home, having eſcaped being robb'd.

Theſe Villains were come to ſuch P that ſcarce a Night paſs'd without ſome being robb'd, wounded, or murder'd, bet the *Turk*'s *Head*, and the Road leadi *Goſwell-ſtreet*, which made it very dang to paſs that Way. The Day after the der of Mr. *Lack*, above mention'd, the who kept the *Turk*'s *Head* was committ *New Priſon*, on a ſtrong Suſpicion of h ving committed the ſaid Murder. He was alſo committed to *Bridewell*, but ſoon diſcharg'd.

SATURDAY, 28.

This Morning the Right Hon. the E *Stair* arrived here from *Holland*. (S 199, 202, 360.)

Among the many unhappy Accidents Month, we may reckon the frequent particularly, (beſides that mention'd the 4th Day) that in *Princes-ſtreet* near *Lion-Square*, at Mr. *Ladbrooke*'s a Ta Chandler in *Turnmill-ſtreet*, and at Mr. *ris*'s a Cabinet-Maker in *Crowder's-W ley* near *Mugwell-ſtreet*, ſome of whic conſiderable Damage.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

CHARLES *Morgan*, Eſq; to Miſs *bourn*.

Roger Frankland, Eſq; to Miſs *Fa gerton*.

Joſeph Damer, Eſq; Member for *Wey* to the Lady *Caroline Sackville*, only D ter of the Duke of *Dorſet*.

—— *Nevill*, Eſq; of *Holt* in *Le ſhire*, to the Lady *Mary Lee*, Daugh the Earl of *Litchfield*.

Edward Montagu, Eſq; Member fo *tingdon*, to Miſs *Robinſon*.

Right Hon. the Lord *Rogney*, to *Pym*, of St. *James*'s *ſtreet*.

Sir *Richard Bamfield*, Bart. to Miſs *Co-*
ington.
Rev. Dr. *Barton*, Canon of *Chriſt-Church*,
to Mrs. *Bigg.*
Rev. Dr. *Hodges*, Provoſt of *Oriel* College,
Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, to Miſs *Rad-*
.
Rev. Dr. *Thomas*, Rector of *Blechingly* in
y, to Lady *Blackwell.*
——— *Bowater*, Eſq; to Miſs *Bale*,
ghter of the late Dr. *Bale*,
Mr. *Andrew Deviſme*, Merchant, to Miſs
Webb, Siſter to *Robert Webb*, of the
le, Eſq;
Mr. *Tourville*, an eminent Jeweller, to
Bobey.
John *Ravenhill*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Foley*, Siſter
Mr. Alderman *Hoare.*
Rev. Mr. *William Wynne*, to Miſs *Patty*
rth.
The Lady of the Lord Viſcount *Duplin*,
of the Earl of *Kinnoul*, deliver'd of a
and Heir.
Lady *Smithſon*, Wife of Sir *Hugh Smith-*
Bart. Member for *Middleſex*, of a Son.

DEATHS.

R. *Henry Holloway*, Surgeon to *Chriſt's*
Hoſpital, and one of the Common-
cil Men of the Ward of *Farringdon*
hout.
muel Kettilby, Eſq; Collector of *Ber-*
upon Tweed, and Surveyor General of
Cuſtoms.
r. Benjamin Johnſon, Comedian, belong-
to the Theatre Royal in *Drury Lane*,
77.
Rev. Mr. *Johnſon*, only Son of the Rev.
Johnſon, Prebendary of *Durham*: He
ſuddenly as he was putting on his Sur-
.
Right Hon. the Counteſs of *Carliſle.*
John *Bridges*, Eſq; belonging to the *Six*
Office: His two Brothers, Woollen
pers in the *Strand*, both died ſince *Feb.*
.
William Henry *Bruce*, Eſq; Commander of
Majeſty's Ship the *Hawk*, ſtation'd at
Carolina: He died there on the 12th of
laſt.
Edward Engliſh, at *Bocking* in *Eſſex*, one
the moſt conſiderable Bay-Factors in *Eng-*
d.
Sir *Francis Leiceſter*, of *Tabley* in *Cheſhire*,
t.
Lady Viſcounteſs *Dunkerron.*
Mr. *Crouch*, chief Accomptant to the Bank
England.
Sir *George Waters*, Knt. of *Worceſter-Place*
ury: He had the Honour to repreſent
Duke of *Aquitain* at his preſent Ma-
's Coronation.
The Lady of Sir *John Warrender*, of *Lo-*
n in *Scotland*, Bart.

1742

Michael Bold, Eſq; in the 80th Year of his Age, deſcended from the ancient Family of the *Bolds*, of *Bold-Hall* in *Lancaſhire*. He was firſt of *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, and afterwards Fellow of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*; but ejected at the Revolution. He was remarkable for ſeveral elegant Compoſitions in *Latin* Poetry; and particularly for his Tranſlations of Part of *Milton*'s *Paradiſe Loſt* and of Mr. *Addiſon*'s Campaign. Amongſt his Papers were found the following Lines, which ſeem deſign'd for his own Epitaph:

Fortunæ fluctibus uſque
Huc verſatus & huc; ſed virtus una ſatelles
Præſtitit incolumem, tandemq; hac ſede locavit.
Et nunc, Balde, tuo placide te conde ſepulchro,
Quo neque pauperies, nec frons elata ſuperbi
Urgebunt ultra, nec faſtus ditis amici,
Nec bene pro meritis ſors raro grata merenti;
Sed ſecura quies feſſos tibi ſopiet artus,
Dum venit illa dies, ovibus quæ ſegregat hircos.

Rev. Dr. *Worth*, Archdeacon of *Worceſter*, whoſe Eſtate comes to *William Winſmore*, Eſq; of *Worceſter*, who married his only Daughter.

Mr. *Churchill*, one of the chief Clerks in the Long Room at the Cuſtom-Houſe.

William Hoſkins, Senior, Eſq; at *Farrow-Green* in *Surry*, nearly related to the Ducheſs of *Devonſhire.*

Rev. Mr. *Turner*, Rector of *Bonnington* in *Kent*, Author of ſeveral Tracts in the Claſſical Way.

Mr. *John Trenly*, Senior, an eminent Proctor in *Doctors-Commons.*

Mr. *Bolter*, an eminent Diſtiller in *Bermondſey-ſtreet*, in the 85th Year of his Age, ſaid to have died worth upwards of 100,000*l.*

Pleydell Goddard, Eſq; formerly a *Hamburgh* Merchant, and an Inſurer of this City.

The Lady of Sir *Rowland Alſton*, Bart. at his Seat in *Bedfordſhire.*

Mr. *Wandesford Gyll*, ſometime ſince Principal of *Furnival's-Inn*; and the next Day, Mr. *Nicholas Cotterell*, then Principal of the ſaid Society: They had been School fellows together, and afterwards bred up in the ſame Society, were conſtant Friends and Companions in their Lives, and in their Deaths were not much divided: The former died in the 63d, and the latter in the 59th Year of his Age.

Sir *Darcy Lever*, a Gentleman diſtinguiſh'd for his Learning and Humanity.

Lieut. Gen. *Biſſet*, an old experienced Officer, and Colonel of a Reg. of Foot in *Ireland.*

Chriſtopher Tilſon, Eſq; the eldeſt of the four chief Clerks of the Treaſury.

The ſecond Son of Vice-Admiral *Vernon*: He left three Sons when he went to the *Weſt-Indies*, of which only the eldeſt is now living.

Right Hon. the Lady *Folliot*, Widow and Relict of *Henry* Lord *Folliot*, Baron of *Ballyſhannon* in the Kingdom of *Ireland.*

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

THOMAS *Saltren*, M. A. preſented to the Rectory of *St. Ive* in *Cornwall*.—Rev. and Hon. *William Carmichaell*, L. L. D. to the Archdeaconry or Archidiaconal Dignity of *Bucks*, founded in the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, void by the Tranſlation of Biſhop *Claggett* to the See of *Exeter*.—Dr. *Whaley*, Maſter of St. *Peter*'s College in *Cambridge*, appointed Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in that Univerſity, in the Room of the late Dr. *Bentley*.—Mr. *Charles Lyttelton* preſented to the Living of *Allchurch* in *Worceſterſhire*, in the Room of Dr. *Worth*, deceas'd.—*Wm. Mayo*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Brington* in *Northamptonſhire*, void by the Tranſlation of the above mention'd Biſhop *Claggett*.—*Hen. Peers*, M. A. to the Living of *Upchurch* in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*: The Preſentation lapſed to the Archbiſhop for this Turn, upon the Wardens and Fellows of *All-Souls* College (the Patrons) not having preſented in the ſix Months allow'd to every Patron by Law.—Mr. *Rice Williams*, Archdeacon of *Carmarthan*, made a Prebendary or Canon of *Worceſter*, in the Room of the above mention'd Dr. *Worth*. deceas'd.—Mr. *Tottie* made Archdeacon of *Worceſter*, in the Room of the ſaid Dr. *Worth*.—Mr. *Congreve* preſented to the Living of *Blockley* in *Worceſter*.—Mr. *John Parry*, to the Rectory of St. *Nicholas* in *Hereford*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

RICHARD *Hall*, Eſq; appointed one of the Commiſſioners of the Victualling-Office.—*John Lockman*, Eſq; Commiſſary General at *Rhode-Iſland*, &c.—Mr. *Price Holloway* choſen Surgeon to *Chriſt*'s-*Hoſpital*, in the Room of his Father, deceas'd.—Capt. *Callis* (who was Captain of the Fireſhip that burnt the five Galleys in the *Streights*, ſee p. 359.) was for his eminent Services made Captain of the *Aſſiſtance*, a 50 Gun Ship.—Capt. *Oſborne* appointed Commander of the *Hawk* Sloop, in the Room of Capt. *Bruce*, deceas'd.—Mr. *John Harvey* choſen chief Accomptant to the *Bank*, in the Room of Mr. *Crouch*, deceas'd.—Mr. *Wm. Rous*, late Secretary to the General Poſt Office, made one of the Clerks in the Transfer Office at the *South-Sea* Houſe.—Lieut. Col. *Beake* made Aid-de-Camp extraordinary to his Majeſty's Forces.—Lieut. *Charles William Tonyn*, who ſerv'd in eight Campaigns in *Flanders*, made a Captain in Lord *Cadogan*'s Reg. of Dragoons.—*John Barnard*, Eſq; Son of Sir *John Barnard* made a Commiſſioner of the Stamp Duties.—Mr. *Robert Dundas*, Junior, of *Arniſtoun*, Advocate, appointed Sollicitor General for *Scotland*.

New Members.

George Lee, L. L. D. one of the Lords of the Admiralty, for the *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, in the Room of *Francis Eyles*, Eſq; now Superintendant of his Majeſty's Foundries.—Sir *Roger Newdigate*, Bart. for the County of *Middleſex*, in the Room of the Right Hon. *William Pulteney*, Eſq; now Earl of *Bath*.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

WILL. *Abram*, of *Exeter*, Linen-draper and Mercer.—*John Sanger*, of St. *Anne*'s in the Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, Carpenter and Builder.—*Jonathan Harris*, of the Town and Port of *Hythe*, Taylor and Mercer.—*Robert Yallop*, of *Norwich*, Bricklayer.—*John Luck*, of *Canterbury*, Mercer.—*Francis Drew*, late of *Thurington* in *Eſſex*, Chareſman and Dealer.—*Matthew Tovogod*, of the Town and County of *Poole*, Maltſter and Brewer.—*Martin Lloyd* the Elder, of *Glouceſter*, Woolſtapler.—*John Ord*, of the Parish of St. *George* in *Middleſex*, Victualler and Sail-maker.—*Rich. Bell*, late of *New Hermitage-ſtreet*, in the ſame Pariſh, Mariner and Merchant.—*Rob. Cabell*, of the Precinct of St. *Catherine* in *Middleſex*, Lighterman and Dealer in Coals.—*Edward Tilbary*, of St. *Mary*, *Stratford le Bow*, Scarlet Dyer.—*Fage*, of *Worceſter*, Merchant.—*Tho. Gore* now or late of *Eaſt Dearham* in *Norfolk*, Brewer.—*William Boſton*, of the *Three Crowns* the Pariſh of St. *Martin Vintry*, *London*, Chapman.—*Samuel Anſdell*, late of *Parkgate*, *Cheſhire*, Timber-merchant and Ship-builder.—*Andrew Lavington*, of the Pariſh of St. *Leonard*, *Devon*, Merchant.—*Wm. Oſwald* of *London*, Merchant.

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *July* 27. to *Aug.* 3.

Chriſtned	Males	591	10
	Females	487	
Buried	Males	762	14
	Females	720	
Died under 2 Years old			4
Between	2 and 5		1
	5 10		
	10 20		
	20 30		1
	30 40		1
	40 50		1
	50 60		1
	60 70		
	70 80		
	80 90		
	90 and upwards		
			14

Hay 55 to 59*l*. a Load.

FRO

ROM *Finland* we had, ſince our laſt, an Account, that the Velt Marſhal Count with the *Muſcovite* Army under his mand, having advanced upon the 17th ſame, within two Werſts of *Frederickſham*, re the *Swediſh* Army was then incamp'd, ſtrongly intrench'd; the latter, in a cil of War, reſolved to abandon that , and retire, which they put in Execu- about Midnight, having firſt ſet Fire to Suburbs, and blown up all their Maga- . The Flames being perceived by the ovite Army, eſpecially their *Huſſars*, were incamped within a Werſt of the , they from thence conjectured, that Enemy were abandoning that Fortreſs, upon they enter'd the Town, and made conſiderable Booty in Cloaths and other s of Value, which they brought back eir Camp, together with two Colours the Regiment of *Eſterbath*, and ſome Soldiers, who had not Time to ſave ſelves in the Confuſion. The *Swediſh* retired behind the River *Kemen*, where made ſome Stop, as if they intended to the Paſſage of that River, but having ed great Loſſes both in Men, Provi- and Ammunition, by their Retreat, ſoon after retired to *Abo*: And by our counts it is ſaid, that they have like- abandoned that Place, and that the Army has been carried back to *Swe-* ſo that they ſeem to have abandoned whole Province of *Finland* to the *Muſco-*

re has lately been a moſt extraordinary diſcovered at *Muſcow*, for overturning overnment of that vaſt Empire, and the young Prince *Ivan* to the . This was a Plot formed by the rs or Footmen, few other Perſons ha- yet been diſcovered to have been en- in it; and tho' it was communicated to Numbers of them, they were ſo faith- one another, that no one of them, by Imprudence or Deſign, betray'd the ; nor was the Plot diſcovered, till two Days of its Execution, when began to open their Deſign to ſome of reens of *Muſcow*, who gave Informa- it to the Government, and ſeveral of Plotters have ſince been puniſhed, but of them in a capital Manner, which the Moderation of the Government bliſhed in *Ruſſia*.

Prague we hear, that as the *French* , or rather Army, in that City, is merous, they make frequent Sallies, moſt remarkable of which was on the of *July*, when they ſallied out with gments of Foot and ſeven of Horſe, about 7000 Men, and attacked the Forces under Gen. *Feſtititz*, which ed intirely of the *Arriere Ban*, or Militia of *Hungary*. The *French* advanced with ſome Field Pieces in their Front, and began the Attack with extraordinary Vigour, by which they at firſt put the *Hungarians* into ſome Diſorder; but the latter having rallied and returned to the Charge, the Battle was renewed with great Obſtinacy on both Sides, and continued from eight o'Clock till ten in the Morning ſo doubtful, that it was impoſſible to tell in whoſe Favour it would end; but the *French* not being able to penetrate into the Body of *Hungarian* Cavalry, and fearing leſt they might be ſurrounded by freſh Forces, they were obliged to retire, and the *Hungarians* purſu'd them quite under the Cannon of the Place. There were ſome Priſoners taken on both Sides, and both ſung *Te Deum*; but as the *French* got no Advantage by the Sally, tho' they had nothing but Militia to deal with, they ſeem to have no great Reaſon for rejoicing, unleſs it be to revive the drooping Spirits of their Soldiers. On the 8th Inſtant, they made another Sally, with about 6000 Men, drove the *Auſtrians* from ſome of their advanced Poſts, and nail'd four Pieces of Cannon and ſome Mortars; but the *Auſtrians* having rallied, and returning with a Reinforcement to the Charge, the *French* were obliged to retire, without being able to puſh their Good-Luck any further: And as by our laſt Accounts from thence, the *French* had been obliged to abandon all their Intrenchments without the Town, it is probable they cannot hold out long; for as the Town has no Out-Works, a practicable Breach will ſoon be made in the Body of the Place; and then the Gariſon muſt either ſurrender Priſoners of War, or be cut in Pieces; unleſs this Cataſtrophe be prevented by the Army under the Marſhal *Maillebois*, which began its March towards *Prague* about the Beginning of this Month, and had reached *Frankfort* upon the *Rhine* by the 15th; but as this Army marches but three Leagues a Day, and conſequently will, in all Probability, come too late for the Relief of their Countrymen in *Prague*, their March may at laſt turn out to be nothing but a *French* Gaſconade for ſaving their Honour; for if this Army ſhould actually march into *Bohemia*, it is ſaid, that a large Body of *Pruſſians*, and another of *Saxons*, will alſo march into *Bohemia* to the Aſſiſtance of the *Auſtrians*.

The *Auſtrian* Army under Count *Kevenhuller* has likewiſe of late gained ſome Advantages over the *French* in *Bavaria*; and the Accounts from *Italy* are ſtill leſs favourable for the *French*; for on the 11th of laſt Month *Mirandola* was ſurrendered to the King of *Sardinia* and Count *Traun*, the *Auſtrian* General; whereupon the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* Army quitted their Camp upon the *Panaro*, and retired under the Cannon of *Ferrara*, but even here they made a very

ſhort Stay; for on the 14th they marched from thence towards *Rimini*, where the Duke *de Montemar* their General, made a Shew of waiting for the Enemy, and began to intrench his Army in a very ſtrong Camp; but upon their approaching towards him, he quitted this Camp likewiſe, and marched with ſome Precipitation towards *Preſaro*, in his Way to *Naples*.

We have an Account from *Barcelona*, towards the End of laſt Month, the Squadron upon that Coaſt had preſented before *Mataro* and *Palamos*, and had into both theſe Towns a great many and red hot Bullets, by which great Part both was deſtroyed, and many of the bitants buried under the Ruins of Houſes.

The Monthly Catalogue *for* Auguſt, 1742.

Biographical, Claſſical.

1 THE Lives of the *Engliſh* Admirals and other eminent *Britiſh* Seamen. By *J. Campbell*, Eſq; In 2 Vols. Printed for Meſſ. *Pemberton* and *T. Waller*, pr. 12*s*. 6*d*.

* 2. The Hiſtory of the Life of *M. T. Cicero*. By *C. Middleton*, D. D. The 3d Edit. In 3 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *W. Innys* and *R. Manby*, price 16*s*.

* 3. Anacreontis Teii Carmina; accurate edita; cum Notis perpetuis & Verſione Latina, Numeris Elegiacis paraphraſtice expreſſa. Editio ſecunda, priore emendatior. Impenſis S. Birt, J. Clarke & G. Ruſſel, pr. 2*s*. 6*d*.

* 4. A Practical Grammar of the *Latin* Tongue. The 2d Edition. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 5*s*. 6*d*.

Entertainment *and* Poetry.

5. The comical Works of Don *Franciſco de Quevedo*. Printed for *W. Sandby*, pr. 3*s*. 6*d*.

6. The Confeſſion of Count *de* *****. Printed for *F. Noble*, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

* 7. The Hiſtory and Adventures of *Jo. Andrews* and of his Friend Mr. *Abr. Adams*. The 2d Edit. Printed for *A. Millar*, pr. 6*s*.

8. The Deſtruction of *Troy*. Tranſlated into *Engliſh* Verſe from the *Greek* of *Tryphiodorus*, with Notes. By *J. Merrick*. Sold by *S. Birt* and *J. Rivington*, price 5*s*.

9. Ad verſutum Cardinalem; Carmen *vu-Στικον*. Cum Præfatione expoſtulatoria. Proſtant apud Gul. Parker, price 6*d*.

10. The Old Coachman. A new Ballad. Printed for *W. Webb*, price 6*d*.

Law, Political.

* 11. Serjeant *Salkeld*'s Reports adjudg'd in the Court of *King*'s-*Bench*. The 4th Edit. with many thouſand References. Printed for *T. Oſborne*, price 1*l*. 17*s*. 6*d*.

* 12. A new Edition of Mr. *Dalton*'s Country Juſtice, with a Continuation to the preſent Time. Printed for *S. Birt*. *D. Browne* and *J. Shuckburgh*. price 1*l*. 6*s*. 6*d*.

13. A critical Hiſtory of the laſt important Seſſion of Parliament. Printed for *J. Huggonſon*, price 1*s*.

14. An Inquiry into the preſent State of our domeſtick Affairs. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

15. A Letter to a Friend in the Country, on the Publication of *Thurloe*'s State Papers. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

Miscellaneous.

16. An Account of the Plot laid by *French* in 1730, for blowing up and ut deſtroying the City of *Luxemburgh*. Pr for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

17. The *Hampſhire* Wonder. Printed *W. Smith*, price 4*d*.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

SEPTEMBER, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 383.

the Debate begun in our MAGAZINE *for the Month of* July, *and continued in our laſt, the next that ſpoke was* C. Helvius, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

I N all Diſputes there is nothing more common than to find both Parties poſitive in their Opinion, not only that the Queſtion is capa- B of Demonſtration, but that the monſtration lies upon their Side of Queſtion; and this, I find, is the with regard to the Diſpute we now engaged in. The noble who ſpoke laſt, ſeems to think Side of the Queſtion not only C monſtrable, but that it has been monſtrated; and, in my Opinion, noble and learned Lord who before him, demonſtrated, as the Nature of the Caſe will it, the other Side of the Que- I ſhall grant, that no Propo- D even in Mathematicks, can demonſtrated, without making uſe of the proper Mediums for that Purpoſe; but when the Queſtion is Whether a new Law be agreeable to, or inconſiſtent with our preſent Conſtitution, ſurely the moſt proper A Medium for coming at a Concluſion is to ſhew, what is our preſent Conſtitution; and this my noble and learned Friend did in ſo clear and demonſtrable a Manner, that I cannot propoſe to add much to the Perſpicuity of his Argument.

That the Subjects of this Realm are to be governed by known and eſtabliſhed Laws is, I think, my Lords, the very Eſſence of our Conſtitution: That no Man, from the higheſt to the loweſt, is to be tried, condemned, or puniſhed, according to the arbitrary Will and Pleaſure of any one Man, or of any one Aſſembly of Men, but according to thoſe Cuſtoms which have been eſtabliſhed by Time immemorial, or thoſe Laws which have been approved of by the three Branches of our Legiſlature, is the Glory and the Security of our Conſtitution. I hope, your Lordſhips will all agree, that this

Aſſembly is the higheſt and the leaſt confined Court of Judicature in the Kingdom; and yet, I am perſuaded, none of you will ſay, that when a Man is impeached or accuſed before us, we are to try, condemn, and puniſh him, according to our arbitrary Will and Pleaſure: No, my Lords, we are to try him according to thoſe Parliamentary Methods which have been eſtabliſhed by Law or Cuſtom: We are to condemn or acquit him, not according to each Member's private Judgment, but according to the known Laws of our Country; and even when the Puniſhment is not determined by Law, before we paſs Sentence, we ought to conſider what has been the Practice of Parliament in Caſes of a ſimilar Nature. Upon this, my Lords, the Liberties of the Nation, and particularly thoſe of the Commons, depend. If then, in all our own Proceedings, we are to confine ourſelves to the Laws and Cuſtoms of our Country, how cautious ought we to be, that the other Houſe ſhall not introduce any new and extraordinary Method of Trial, Condemnation, or Puniſhment?

This, my Lords, leads me to conſider the Nature of the Bill now before us, and the Method of Trial thereby intended to be introduced; and I hope to be able to ſhew, that it is not only new and extraordinary, but that it is abſolutely unjuſt. I ſay, my Lords, the Method of Trial thereby intended to be introduced; for I take it for granted, that if this Bill ſhould be paſſed, it will be a Precedent for the ſame Method of coming at Evidence in all future Trials; and therefore, if the Bill ſhould paſs this Houſe, and his Majeſty ſhould be ſo gracious to his People as to refuſe it the Royal Aſſent, I ſhould look upon it as one of the greateſt Inſtances of a ſincere Regard to Liberty that was ever given by any Sovereign of theſe Kingdoms; becauſe, ſhould this Method of coming at Evidence be eſtabliſhed, no Man could be ſafe againſt the Reſentment of an ambitious King or revengeful Miniſter. the Parliament ſhould once make A Precedent for offering an Indemni in general Terms, to all thoſe w ſhould come in and give Evidenc of any Kind, againſt a particul Man, might not the King follo that Precedent? Could we find Fa with any Miniſter for adviſing hi B to do ſo? And if it were once eſ bliſhed as Law, that the King mig publiſh a Proclamation, reciting, t whereas ſuch a Man, perhaps Member of this or the other Hou was ſuſpected of being guilty treaſonable Practices, or of Hi C Crimes or Miſdemeanors, and the fore offering a Pardon, in gene Terms, to all thoſe who ſhould co in and give Evidence, of any Ki againſt him: I ſay, if this w once eſtabliſhed as the Law of Land, who could be ſafe againſt D Effects of ſuch a Proclamation? W then would dare to oppoſe the Ki Meaſures in Parliament?

Thus your Lordſhips muſt that the Method of coming at E dence propoſed to be eſtabliſhed this Bill, would be of the moſt d gerous Conſequence to the Indep dency of Parliament; and that in itſelf unjuſt, is evident from Laws not only of this but of well regulated Societies. It is eſtabliſhed Maxim in the Law all Countries, where there is F eſtabliſhed Law, that no Man o to be admitted as a Witneſs in Caſe where he is to get or loſe the Evidence he is to give. Is the Bill now before us directly trary to this Maxim of Law? Man who is to give Evidenc gainſt the Earl of *Orford* has G guilty of no Crime, he has no caſion for this Law, nor have any Occaſion for making ſuc

aw, in order to induce ſuch a
an to offer his being an Evidence;
d if he has been guilty of any
rime, can we ſay, after this Bill
paſſed into a Law, that he is no
ay intereſted in the Caſe in which
e is to give Evidence? Can it be
id, that he is neither to get nor
loſe by the Evidence he is to
ive, when by giving a plumb and
ell concerted Evidence, however
lſe, he is to have, by Act of Par-
iment, a free Pardon for all the
rimes he has ever been guilty of?

My Lords, the Method of giving
promiſing a Pardon or Reward to
oſe who ſhall give Information, or
ecome Evidence againſt a Crimi-
al, I have always thought to be,
ſome Meaſure, inconſiſtent with
ſtice and the Safety of the Inno-
ent. I am ſo much a Chriſtian,
at I had rather a hundred Guilty
ould eſcape, than that one inno-
ent Man ſhould ſuffer; and there-
re, I think, we ſhould be ex-
emely cautious of bringing this
ethod too much into Practice. It
a Method by which ſome inno-
ent Men have already been brought
o great Danger, perhaps ſome
ave ſuffered; and the longer and
ſtener it is practiſed, it will every
ay become more dangerous to the
nocent. It is more frequently,
d more generally practiſed in this
ountry than in any other; and it
a Practice which all the Foreign-
I have converſed with ſeem to
aſtoniſhed at: They wonder how
y Man can be ſafe, when Rogues
ave ſuch Encouragement to con-
ive and cook up an Information a-
inſt the Innocent. It is a Practice
at has been but lately introduced
o this Kingdom, and in Civil
ffairs has been expreſsly condemn-
d by one of our chief Courts of
quity, and by as good a Judge as
ver ſat upon that Bench. In a
auſe depending in that Court, I
ean the Court of Chancery, one

of the Parties concerned publiſhed an Advertiſement in our News Papers, offering a Reward to any Perſon that would come in and give Evidence to a particular Fact then in Queſtion before that Court. Complaint being made of this to the Lord Chancellor, he declared it to be a Sort of Subornation, and that it was of a worſe and more dangerous Nature than that of offering a Reward to a particular Perſon; becauſe the former was an Offer made to all the Rogues in the Kingdom, whereas the latter might be made to an honeſt Man, and if made to a Rogue, it was made but to one. For this Reaſon, his Lordſhip declared, that publiſhing an Advertiſement, with the Promiſe of a Reward, in order to procure Evidence, was an inſufferable Practice, and a Reproach to the Juſtice of the Nation, and therefore he committed the Perſon who had done ſo, to his Majeſty's Priſon of the *Fleet*, which was the greateſt Puniſhment he could inflict.

If the publiſhing of ſuch an Advertiſement be a Crime, my Lords, what can we ſay of this Bill, ſhould it paſs into a Law? Does not the Bill promiſe one of the higheſt Rewards that can be given to a Criminal? Is not this Reward promiſed to all the Criminals in the Nation, who ſhall come in and give Evidence againſt a Member of this Houſe? And is not the paſſing of a Law a more authentick and a more general Publication, than publiſhing an Advertiſement in any News Paper? Do as you would be done by, is, my Lords, a Rule of Juſtice preſcribed to us by the higheſt Authority: Let every Lord of this Houſe make the Caſe his own: Let him ſuppoſe, that he himſelf is the Perſon aimed at by this Bill; and then let him judge, whether or no he would think it juſt to invite all the Rogues in the Kingdom, by the Pro-

miſe of a Pardon, to cook up an Information againſt him. I profeſs upon my Honour, my Lords, that were the Caſe my own, I ſhould think it extremely hard, and therefore, I cannot agree to make it the Caſe of any other Man, eſpecially one who has the Honour to be a Member of this Aſſembly.

I know, my Lords, it will be ſaid, that I am arguing againſt what is now become a common Practice, and a Practice authoriſed by ſeveral Statutes. I know it is of late become uſual to promiſe, not only a Pardon but a Reward, to any Accomplice that ſhall diſcover and convict the reſt; but the great Caution that has been made uſe of in this Reſpect, is a Proof, that the Practice has never been thought altogether juſt; and by examining the ſeveral Laws by which this Practice has been authoriſed, we ſhall find, that the Bill now before us is of a very new and extraordinary Nature. The three Precedents that have been mentioned, and, I believe, none other can be mentioned, are far from being Precedents for what is now propoſed. In every one of theſe Caſes, it was certain that great Crimes had been committed: The Indemnity granted was confined to particular Perſons named in the Bill: The Crime to be diſcovered was aſcertained in the Bill; and the Perſons to be indemnified were not led and directed to give their Evidence againſt any particular Man. Even in the Caſe of the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Maſters of Chancery were not directed to give Evidence againſt that particular Lord, or any particular Man; for the Drawers of that Bill were ſenſible of its being inconſiſtent with the Rules of Juſtice, and with the whole Tenor of our Laws, to lead or direct a Witneſs in the Evidence which he is to give. In all our Courts below, the Judges are extremely cautious of aſking what may look like a leading Question, nor will they allow the Counſel to aſk any Queſtion, or to ſay any Thing, that may tend to direct a Witneſs in what he is to ſay. The particular Fact, indeed, upon which the Witneſs is to give his Evidence, is ſtated in every one of theſe Bills, as it ought to be in all Caſes of Evidence, but the Witneſſes are not directed to charge that Fact upon any particular Man. Is there, my Lords, the Caſe as to the Bill now before us? Are not the Witneſſes all directed to give their Evidence againſt one particular Man? Is there any particular Fact ſtated upon which they are to give their Evidence? Nay, we do not ſo much as know that any criminal Fact has been committed; and thus if we compare this Bill with thoſe Caſes that have been cited as Precedents for it, we ſhall find, that in every Point where it ought to be particular, it is general, and in the only Point where it ought to be general it is particular.

With regard therefore to the particular indemnifying Laws that have been mentioned, no one of them can be a Precedent for what is now propoſed; and with regard to the general indemnifying Laws for the Diſcovery of Felons and Smugglers, they can as little be ſaid to be Precedents for a Bill which is general as to the Perſons to be indemnified, and as to the Crimes for which they are to be indemnified, but particular as to the Perſon againſt whom the Evidence is to be given. The Law for pardoning a Burglarer who ſhall diſcover and convict two Burglarers or Felons, does not pardon him of all Crimes he has ever committed, becauſe Murder and Treaſon are particularly excepted. The Laws for pardoning a Smuggler who ſhall diſcover two Accomplices, ſo as they be convicted, do not give him a general Pardon, but only

Par

don for that particular Offence; no one of theſe Laws ever did, ever can, direct the Criminals inform or give Evidence againſt particular Man; therefore it is vain to plead any one of them as precedent for this Bill.

Now, my Lords, with regard to ſe Pardons that are offered by clamation, or by Advertiſement the *Gazette*, they are never of-, but when ſome heinous Crime certainly known to have been mitted: The Pardon is offered to thoſe that have been Accom- in that particular Fact; and e Accomplices are to be par- only for that particular Crime: here we are to offer a Pardon, re we know that any criminal has been committed, and we to give a general Pardon to all minals, and for all Crimes, pro- they have Cunning and Ad- enough to bring the Earl of in as an Accomplice in any Crime they have been guilty of. e, my Lords, are very mate- Differences, and ſuch as muſt , that the uſual Method of pro- a Diſcovery of the Criminal, ering a Pardon in a Proclama- or *Gazette*, cannot be pleaded Precedent for what is propoſed this Bill; for by this Bill, we to ſeek for a Diſcovery of the e as well as the Criminal, and, ieve, no Inſtance can be found ch a Diſcovery's being ſought , either by Proclamation, or by Advertiſement in the *Gazette*.

nother material Difference con- in this, my Lords, that when a ion is offered by Proclamation Advertiſement, it never is, nor t to be directed againſt any icular Man, even tho' there ld be a violent Suſpicion againſt . Suppoſe a Murder commit- : Suppoſe that a certain Perſon, ſeveral concurring Circumſtan- is ſuſpected of having been the Murderer; and ſuppoſe that the Perſon ſo ſuſpected is committed to *Newgate* upon Suſpicion. In this Caſe a Pardon might be promiſed, according to the preſent Cuſtom, to any Accomplice that ſhould diſcover the reſt, but ſurely it would be wrong to direct the Proclamation or Advertiſement againſt that particular Man then in *Newgate* on Suſpicion, by promiſing a Pardon to all and every Perſon and Perſons who ſhall diſcover any Thing relating to his being guilty of that Murder, or of any other Crime. This, I ſay, would be wrong, becauſe it might induce Rogues to give falſe Evidence againſt him; and becauſe, if he were innocent, if the Murder had been committed by Perſons unknown to him, none of them could come in upon ſuch a Promiſe of Pardon, to clear up his Innocence by diſcovering thoſe that were really guilty. Yet this is plainly the Caſe with regard to the Bill now before us: The Bill is directed againſt one particular Perſon, and the Pardon thereby granted is to be granted to none but ſuch as ſhall give Information or Evidence particularly againſt him.

Thus, my Lords, I have ſhewn, that the Bill now before us cannot be ſaid to be founded upon any Precedent in our Statute or Cuſtomary Law, therefore it muſt be allowed to be of a very new and extraordinary Nature; and as I had before ſhewn, that it was contrary to the moſt eſtabliſhed Rules of Juſtice, and of dangerous Conſequence both to the Independency of Parliament, and the Safety of innocent Men, I think, I may conclude, that our paſſing it into a Law can be juſtified by no publick Neceſſity whatever. But where is the Neceſſity for ſuch a Bill upon the preſent Occaſion? When Crimes of a very ſecret and hidden Nature have been committed: When it is certain that ſuch

Crimes

Crimes have been committed, but uncertain by whom, the publick Safety may warrant our endeavouring to diſcover the Criminals, by Methods which are not altogether conſonant to the ſtrict Rules of Juſtice; but in the preſent Caſe, is there ſo much as a Suſpicion that any ſuch Crimes have been committed? Suppoſe it true, as is inſinuated by the Secret Committee of the other Houſe, at the End of their Report, that the publick Money has been employed in Practices dangerous to the Liberties of this Nation, and deſtructive of the Independency of Parliament: Suppoſe it true, that the publick Money has been employed in bribing the Voters at Elections, or the Members of the other Houſe; for I cannot ſuppoſe, I hope no Man will ſuppoſe, that any Miniſter will ever dare to practiſe in ſuch a vile Manner upon any Member of this: I ſay, ſuppoſe this to be true, I ſhall admit it to be a very great Crime, but can it be ſaid, that it is a Crime of a ſecret and hidden Nature? Can ſuch Practices be carried on without a great Number of Aſſociates? Muſt not theſe Practices be known to all thoſe who have been practiſed upon, which muſt be an infinite Number? And can we ſuppoſe, that in ſuch a Number of Parties and Privies, there will be a Want of Evidence, or that a Secret Committee of the other Houſe will not be able to find Witneſſes, without having recourſe to one of the moſt extraordinary and moſt dangerous Methods for procuring Evidence that was ever thought of in this Nation? My Lords, if there be any Want of Evidence, it is to me a Proof that no ſuch Practices have been carried on, and therefore our paſſing ſuch a Bill as this may endanger the Innocent, but can no Way be neceſſary for diſcovering the Guilty.

But beſides this, my Lords, the Crime is of ſuch a Nature, that many muſt be privy to it who [illegible] not be properly called Accompli[illegible] nay, who do not thereby ſub[illegible] themſelves to any Proſecution or [illegible] nalty at Common Law. I ſhall g[illegible] it is criminal and ſordid in any [illegible] to ſell his Vote, either at Elect[illegible] or in Parliament: I know he [illegible] by a late Statute, be proſecuted [illegible] puniſhed at any Time within [illegible] Years; but after this Term i[illegible] lapſed, he can neither be pro[illegible] ted nor puniſhed; and if wi[illegible] one Year after the Crime, he [illegible] covers and convicts any one Pe[illegible] that has given or received a [illegible] for voting at an Election, he i[illegible] the ſame Statute diſcharged [illegible] all Penalties and Diſabilities in[illegible] red by any ſuch Crime; ſo th[illegible] very Voter that has been bribe[illegible] any Time, except within the [illegible] preceding the laſt, may ſafely [illegible] in and give Evidence againſt [illegible] Perſon that bribed him, or ag[illegible] the Perſon that employed hi[illegible] bribe; and therefore, if the E[illegible] *Orford* has been guilty of the [illegible] tices inſinuated againſt him, [illegible] thoſe he has employed to bribe[illegible] of thoſe that have been bribed, [illegible] ſafely come in and give Evide[illegible] to every Crime of this Kind [illegible] has ever happened, except ſu[illegible] were committed within the Ye[illegible] fore the laſt; and for the Sake [illegible] of bringing that one Year in [illegible] Account, I think, it would be [illegible] in us to paſs ſuch a dangerous [illegible]

This, my Lords, is the Caſe [illegible] regard to any ſuch Practices [illegible] lections; and with regard to [illegible] Practices in Parliament, if any [illegible] have been carried on, there [illegible] be no Want of Evidence w[illegible] ſuch an Indemnification as th[illegible] ſhall grant, that a Member [illegible] other Houſe, who had ſat the[illegible] ter having accepted of a Penſ[illegible] Place held in Truſt for him, [illegible] not ſafely give Evidence of [illegible] Fact, without ſuch an Indem[illegible]

as is propoſed by this Bill; but
y Member of the other Houſe
received a Bribe for his Vote,
has perhaps repeated the Crime
every Occaſion, he may ſafely
ſs his having done ſo, becauſe
could not be puniſhed for it by
Proſecution at Common Law;
as there muſt be ſeveral ſuch in
other Houſe, if any ſuch Prac-
have been lately carried on,
fore there can be no Want of
ence for proving ſuch Practices,
out the Help of this Bill; for
y ſuch Member, if willing,
t become Evidence, and if un-
ng, there is nothing in this Bill
ompelling him to do ſo.

om what I have ſaid, my Lords,
ill appear, that if the publick
ey has been applied towards
pting the Voters at Elections,
e Members of the other Houſe,
e muſt be a great Number of
ns who, if willing, may give
ence of thoſe Practices, with-
accuſing themſelves of any
e for which they can be pro-
ed or puniſhed by the ordinary
ſe of Juſtice; and as to any
amentary Proſecution, no Man
be afraid of it, who contributes
is Evidence to the Succeſs of a
amentary Inquiry; therefore,
e can be no Neceſſity for ſuch
l as this; and as the Neceſſity
re under is the only Argument
e heard in Favour of the Bill,
e I have fully anſwered that
ment. The Danger of Corrup-
eſpecially when the publick
ey is applied to that vile Pur-
by a Miniſter, I am fully ſen-
of: The Crime I deteſt in the
ptor as well as the Corrupted;
ſhall always be ready to join
y legal Parliamentary Method
detecting and puniſhing the
. But I have ſo great a Re-
r our Conſtitution, I think it
ſo perfectly modelled, that I
be againſt making any Altera-
in it, or any Incroachment up-
on it, for the Sake of proving or puniſhing a Crime, which, I think, may be fully proved and condignly puniſhed, by ſuch Methods as are conſiſtent with our Conſtitution, and ſuch as have been pointed out to us by the Practice of our Anceſtors in Parliament. If the noble Lord, againſt whom this Bill is ſo particularly directed, has been guilty of ſuch Practices, they may be diſcovered by the uſual Methods of a Parliamentary Inquiry, they may be puniſhed by the uſual Methods of a Parliamentary Proſecution: We can therefore have no Occaſion for ſuch a Bill; and as, I think, it would be a moſt dangerous Incroachment upon our Conſtitution, and a moſt fatal Precedent for Poſterity, I muſt be againſt paſſing it into a Law.

The laſt Speech I ſhall give upon this Subject, was that made by Q. Fabius Maximus, *which was to this Effect.*

My Lords,

THE Arguments in Favour of this Bill have already been ſet in ſo clear a Light, and the Objections to it ſo fully anſwered, that I intended not to have given your Lordſhips any Trouble upon this Occaſion; but as ſome Lords have but lately come into the Houſe; as the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt has given the Argument a new, and, as he uſually does, a very ingenious Turn; and as I am, from a due Regard to the Character of this Aſſembly, a ſincere Attachment to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and an unfeigned Concern for the Preſervation of our happy Conſtitution, extremely ſollicitous about the Fate of this Bill, I think it incumbent upon me to anſwer, as well as I am able, the Arguments made uſe of by the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, againſt our paſſing this Bill into a Law.

For this Purpoſe, my Lords, I ſhall

ſhall begin where his Lordſhip left off, becauſe he ſeemed to forget one of the principal Arguments in Favour of this Bill. He ſaid, the only Argument he had heard made uſe of for our paſſing this Bill into a Law, was its being neceſſary for carrying on the Inquiry now depending in the other Houſe: This I ſhall by and by ſhew to be a moſt ſubſtantial Argument, notwithſtanding the Pains he took to evade it; but his Lordſhip muſt recollect its having been ſaid, that this Bill was expected and deſired by every unbiaſſed Man without Doors; that unleſs we paſs this Bill, the Nation will expect no Juſtice, let the Crimes of our late Miniſter be ever ſo flagrant and manifeſt; and that if we reject it, the People will generally ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty and this Houſe have a Deſign to ſcreen the Guilty, and to ſtifle the Evidence that might otherwiſe be brought againſt them. This, my Lords, is a prevalent Argument for our paſſing the Bill, and with me it becomes the more prevalent from the Character and Circumſtances of the noble Lords, who, I find, appear againſt it. It appears within Doors, and it will be known without, that this Bill is oppoſed chiefly by thoſe, who are in high Offices, and conſequently ſuppoſed to be in high Favour with the Crown: The natural Inference from thence will be, that his Majeſty is againſt making a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry into the Conduct of his late Miniſter; and that this Houſe is ſo ſubſervient to the Inclinations of the Crown, as to refuſe doing Juſtice to the Nation.

This I know, my Lords, will be a moſt unjuſt Inference; but if we reject this Bill, we cannot prevent its being made; we cannot prevent its being made by a great Majority of the Nation; and from hence two fatal Conſequences may inſue: A general Diſaffection to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and a general Contempt of this auguſt aſſembly; and theſe Conſequences may probably be attended with a total Overthrow of our preſent happy Conſtitution. Whatever Lords in this Houſe may think, whatever the Majority of this Houſe may think, the Majority of the Nation are convinced, or at leaſt have a ſtrong Suſpicion, that the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford* has been criminal in ſeveral Reſpects: If this be ſo, the Nation will not be ſatisfied without publick Juſtice; if it be not ſo, it will be impoſſible to remove this general Suſpicion, unleſs every Method be taken that can be thought of, for clearing his Innocence, or diſcovering his Guilt; and if we ſhould reject this Bill, the Committee of the other Houſe ſhould for Want of Evidence meet with no Succeſs in their Inquiry, that bad Succeſs will not be imputed to the Innocence of the Perſon whoſe Conduct has been inquired into, but to our having rejected the Bill, which might have ſupplied that Want of Evidence; and conſequently the Diſappointment of publick Juſtice will be laid wholly at the Doors of this Aſſembly: I hope it may not go higher; for I dare not its being imputed to his Majeſty.

This, my Lords, is an Argument which ought to make us diſtruſt the Objections made to the Bill, were they much ſtronger than they are; and now I ſhall conſider the Anſwer made to the Argument for its being neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion to paſs this Bill. In order to ſhew, that no ſuch Bill can be neceſſary for making a thorough Inquiry into the Conduct of the late Miniſter, the noble Lord who laſt ſpoke ſuppoſed, that he could not be charged, nor ſo much as ſuſpected of any Crime, but that of corrupting Voters at Elections, and Members of the other Houſe, with

Money. My Lords, we all
w, we muſt know, that he is
ged by the publick Voice of
Nation, with expoſing the Trade
Navigation of this Kingdom to
Inſults and Depredations of
n; with negotiating away the
eur, the Allies, and the com-
Senſe of the Nation; with con-
ing a moſt diſhonourable and
icious Convention; with put-
a Padlock upon our Arms even
he was obliged to declare War;
deſignedly expoſing our Trade
he Enemy's Privateers, in order
ake our Merchants feel and ſuf-
by the War they had forced
into; with expoſing the Liber-
of *Europe* to the ambitious De-
s of *France*; nay, with concert-
Meaſures with the *French* Mi-
r, for putting a *Frenchified* Head
the *German* Body. Theſe, my
ds, are all Crimes of a ſecret
hidden Nature: We muſt ſup-
them all to have been covered
the greateſt Art; and in ſuch
catenation of heinous and trea-
ble Practices, can we ſuppoſe it
ble to have a full Diſcovery?
we ſuppoſe it poſſible to make
rough Inquiry, without previ-
granting a Pardon to ſuch of
Accomplices as ſhall come in
declare the Truth?

t, my Lords, ſuppoſe he were
ſted of no other Crime but that
employing the publick Money
ribing Voters at Elections, and
bers of the other Houſe, can
ſuppoſe, that he has carried on
a treaſonable Practice openly,
t any great Number of Agents
been employed directly under
Great Numbers, 'tis true, muſt
been bribed, and there muſt
been a great Number of Bri-
but we cannot ſuppoſe, that
two or three of them can
ge the Fact directly upon the
er; and as theſe two or three
Accomplices with him in his
Guilt, and liable to the ſame Sort
of Proſecution and Puniſhment, we
cannot ſuppoſe, that they will ac-
cuſe themſelves by accuſing him, un-
leſs they are previouſly pardoned ſo
far as their Accuſation may militate
againſt themſelves. That this was
the Method taken by the late Mi-
niſter for carrying on his corrupt
and treaſonable Practices againſt our
Conſtitution, is, I think, apparent
from the Report already made; and
it is likewiſe from thence apparent,
or at leaſt probable, that *Paxton* was
one of the villainous Agents he di-
rectly confided in. *Boteler* was the
Briber at *Orford*, and many of the
Voters there were certainly bribed
with publick Money; but neither
Boteler, nor any of them, can charge
the Miniſter. It is *Paxton* only can
bring the Charge home to him, at
leaſt ſo far as yet appears, and *Pax-
ton* ſays, he will anſwer no Queſtions
relating to the 500*l.* given by him
to *Boteler*, becauſe they tend to
make him accuſe himſelf. Of what,
my Lords? Suppoſe he had made a
Preſent of 500*l.* to *Boteler*: Was
there any Crime in it? No, my
Lords; but he is conſcious it was
publick Money, and that it was
given to undermine our Conſtitution,
by bribing the Electors at *Orford* to
chuſe a Creature of the Miniſter's.
This is the Crime he is to accuſe
himſelf of, and this he will not, he
cannot be deſired to do, without a
previous Indemnity.

My Lords, if we were certain
that *Paxton* was the Agent directly
employed by the Miniſter, a parti-
cular Bill of Indemnity for him a-
lone, might have done as to this
Point of the Charge; but this we
are not certain of. When *Paxton* is
brought to diſcloſe all he knows, it
may appear, that he had the Mo-
ney, and his Inſtructions, from a
ſuperior Agent, and then a new Bill
of Indemnity would be neceſſary for
that ſuperior Agent, in order to

bring the Charge home to the Miniſter; and thus we might have Occaſion for Half a Dozen ſuch Bills, before we could come at the Truth in any one Point. From hence we muſt ſee, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to paſs ſuch a general Bill as this now before us, even ſuppoſe the Miniſter were charged with nothing but that of employing the publick Money in corrupting Voters at Elections, or Members of the other Houſe.

But beſides the many other Crimes I have mentioned, is he not likewiſe charged with converting, not only the Money, but all the Poſts, Offices, Preferments, Bounties, and Titles of Honour, in the Diſpoſal of the Crown, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections and in Parliament? My Lords, this is a Crime of the higheſt Nature, and of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; and it is the more dangerous, becauſe it may have its Effect in this Houſe as well as the other. Nay, it will always have a much greater and more general Effect in both Houſes, than what is properly called Bribery; becauſe there are many who would reject with the utmoſt Diſdain a Bribe in ready Money, and yet might allow themſelves to be influenced, in their Way of voting, by the Promiſe of an Advancement in Honour, a high Office, or a conſiderable Penſion; or even by being threatned with the Loſs of an Office or Penſion they ſtood poſſeſſed of. Suppoſe the late Miniſter to have been guilty of this criminal Practice, and, I believe, there are very few in this Nation who do not ſuppoſe he has; can it be imagined, he carried it on directly and openly? He may perhaps have blundered ſometimes in his foreign Politicks, but ſurely we cannot ſuppoſe him ſuch an egregious Fool with regard to domeſtick Affairs. We muſt ſuppoſe he had two or three truſty Meſſengers, by wh Means he conveyed ſuch Prom or Threats to the Members of b Houſes; and as the Bearers of ſ Meſſages do thereby commit a v high Crime and Miſdemeanor, we ſuppoſe, that any of them accuſe themſelves by accuſing h without a previous Indemnity a themſelves?

Here likewiſe, my Lords, it wo be ridiculous to paſs a particular demnifying Bill: It is at pre impoſſible to paſs ſuch a Bill; cauſe we have not yet diſcov any one of the Meſſengers or Ag employed in carrying on thoſe minal Practices; but ſuppoſe we and that ſuch Meſſenger or A had refuſed to anſwer for the Reaſon that *Paxton* has done would be ridiculous to paſs a p cular Indemnifying Bill as to h becauſe when he came to be ſa examined, in Purſuance of that ticular Indemnifying Law, it m then appear, that he was but a ferior Agent, and that he was ployed by ſome ſuperior Age carry the criminal Meſſage; for treaſonable Practices are always ried on in ſuch a round-about that you muſt keep cloſe to Stream, through all its Win and Turnings, otherwiſe you never come at the Fountain H and this you cannot do without ing ſuch a general Indemnifyin as this now under our Conſider

Another Argument, my Lord Favour of this Bill, which has mentioned in this Debate, bu overlook'd, I ſhall not ſay d edly, by the noble Lord who laſt, is this, That there is a S cion, and a very general one, out Doors, that the Inquiry in the other Houſe is not ſa by the Crown, and that the no Man who contributes to its ceſs by his Information or Evi can expect any Pardon, and

a Reward from the Crown. s, I hope, is a moſt unjuſt Suſ- on, but however unjuſt it may it will have a bad Effect upon e who are able, and might other- be willing to give very mate- Informations to the Committee A the other Houſe. It is very rare, Lords, to find an Accomplice me an Informer from a pure ft of Repentance and Contri- : It is generally the Fear of detected and puniſhed, or the es of a Reward, that prevails B Men to become Informers; therefore, whilſt this Suſpicion ils, no Accomplice of the late iſter's will come in to give Evi- e againſt him: They can fear Diſcovery, becauſe, without the ctation of a Pardon, their mu- C Danger will prevent it: They hope for no Reward from the n, and if this Bill ſhould be ed, they can hope for none the Parliament. On the con- , they will ſuppoſe, that as as the Danger of this Inquiry D own over, their Patron will be ated in his Power; for this he be without appearing openly the Stage, or poſſeſſing any e in the Kingdom; and when happens, they may expect to be ly rewarded for their Fidelity E m, and their Treachery to their ry.

is therefore, my Lords, abſo- y neceſſary for us to join with other Houſe in paſſing this Bill: his Majeſty ſhould give it the l Aſſent, as I am convinced he F it will remove this Suſpicion; then we may expect, that if late Miniſter has been guilty of criminal Practices, ſome of his mplices will come in and make covery; at leaſt it will remove Excuſe for not anſwering, which G already been made both by *Pax-* and *Vaughan*, and will otherwiſe ade by every one of the reſt.

But ſuppoſe his Majeſty ſhould be prevailed on by wicked Counſellors to refuſe the Royal Aſſent to this Bill, the Weight of Parliament, when both Houſes join in the ſame Meaſure is well known to every one in this Nation: This Conſideration might induce ſome of the Accomplices to make a Diſcovery, and that Diſcovery might be a Means of prevailing upon his Majeſty to diſmiſs his evil Counſellors, and comply with the Deſires of his People.

I could mention many other Arguments, my Lords, in Favour of this Bill, but theſe, I hope, will be ſufficient; and now I ſhall beg Leave to take Notice of the moſt material Objections the noble Lord has been pleaſed to make againſt it. He ſays, ſuch a general Indemnifying Bill, directed againſt a particular Man, may be a Precedent for an Indemnifying Proclamation of the ſame Nature. My Lords, I hope it will not be ſaid, that the King can do as much by his Proclamation, as King, Lords and Commons can do by an Act of Parliament; or that any Act of Parliament can be pleaded as a Precedent for a Proclamation of the ſame Nature. But ſuppoſe it could, there can never be Occaſion for ſuch a Proclamation. The King has almoſt an abſolute Power to pardon whom he pleaſes, and what Crime he pleaſes: That he has ſuch a Power is known to every Man in the Nation; and that he will exerciſe this Power in Favour of one who diſcovers any Traitors or Treaſons againſt the Crown, can be doubted by none; therefore without any ſuch Proclamation this Power of pardoning, which is veſted in the Crown, may be made to operate againſt any one who oppoſes the King's Meaſures in Parliament, as much as if ſuch a Proclamation were publiſhed particularly againſt him; and yet we find, it has never

had any Effect upon the Independency of Parliament; becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible to form a Conſpiracy againſt an innocent Man, with ſuch Art as to impoſe upon upright Judges and an unbiaſſed Jury.

The next Objection to this Bill is founded upon an Objection in general to the Method of endeavouring to diſcover Crimes, by promiſing a Pardon to Accomplices. This Practice is ſaid to be contrary to the ſtrict Rules of Juſtice, to be but lately introduc'd into this Kingdom, to be more common here than in any other Country, and to be a Practice that Foreigners are aſtoniſhed at. Theſe, my Lords, are Charges that do not a little ſurpriſe me: I ſhall grant, that in Civil Caſes the publiſhing of a Reward in order to procure Evidence, may often be wrong; becauſe in ſuch Caſes no Man can be in Want of Evidence, except by his own Fault or Neglect; and yet even in ſuch Caſes it is ſometimes, and in ſome Circumſtances, both allowed and practiſed. If the Witneſſes to a Deed are gone out of the Way, and cannot be heard of, is there any Thing more common than to publiſh a Reward to thoſe, that can diſcover where they are, or whether they be dead or alive? Several other common Caſes might be mentioned, and in general it may be ſaid, that ſuch an Advertiſement can never be wrong, but when it has an apparent Tendency towards Subornation, or where a Proof might have been had, if it had not been for a Man's own Fault or Neglect. This, my Lords, was the Caſe with regard to the Suit in Chancery mentioned by the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt: The Lord *Macclesfield*, the then Chancellor, was right, I believe, in what he did, tho' the Deciſion can acquire no great Authority from his Character; but he expreſsly declared, that the Advertiſement then in Queſtion tended to Subornation of Perjury, therefore he committed Perſon who got it inſerted; Advertiſements for procuring dence ought certainly in all Caſes to be moſt cautiouſly allo of; but in Matters of a Crim Nature, the Caſe is quite differ The Publick can be guilty of Fault or Neglect: Criminal Ma are generally carried on in pri and with the utmoſt Secrecy; wh as Civil Affairs are uſually tranſa either in Writing or before Wit The Publick is ſeldom or never tereſted in Facts relating to Affairs; but it is neceſſary for publick Safety, that Crimes ſh be diſcovered and puniſhed; therefore in ſuch Caſes, it has ways, and in all Countries, bee lowed to procure Evidence by miſing a Pardon or Reward, ſometimes both: This Practice ancient, that in ſeveral Caſes eſtabliſhed by Common Law, the Caſe of Approvers, whic now laid aſide, not becauſe it unjuſt, but becauſe the Metho giving a Pardon by Proclamation by Advertiſement in the *Gazett* more convenient, more effectual, leſs dangerous.

In other Countries, my Lords, Practice may be leſs frequent in this, becauſe their Judges more arbitrary, and becauſe the leaſt Suſpicion they make u Torture; but in this Country w our Judges are confined to the Letter of the Law, and, where ture is never allowed, it would be impoſſible to diſcover the Cr nal, or to prove the Crime, wit promiſing a Pardon to any Acc plice that ſhall diſcover the and become Evidence againſt th This is therefore abſolutely ne ſary in this Country, and acc ingly has been by Law eſtabli in many Caſes, and confirmed many Statutes; nor is the Pra ſo dangerous here, as in other C

, becauſe of our Method of try-
all Crimes by Juries and in a
lick Manner; for with a Jury
Credit of an Accomplice does
ſo much depend upon his Cha-
er, as upon the Circumſtances he
es, and the Character of the
on againſt whom he ſwears: If
n theſe it ſhould appear impro-
le, that the Priſoner was an Ac-
plice with him in that Crime,
ury will give no Credit to what
ays, let his Evidence be never
ſitive.

Thus, my Lords, it muſt appear,
in this Country the Practice of
ning a Pardon to an Accom-
e, upon his convicting the reſt,
t only juſt but neceſſary; but
Bill is ſaid to be contrary to
Practice in all other Caſes, be-
e it gives a general Pardon for
Crimes and to all Criminals. I
ſurpriſed, how the noble Lord
d ſo much miſtake the Words
he Bill: It does not give a Par-
for all Crimes; it pardons only
e which our late Miniſter has
concerned in; and it pardons
ſuch Criminals, as confeſs their
ng been Accomplices with him
e Evidence they give upon their
g ſummoned and examined be-
the Secret Committee of the
r Houſe. Can we ſuppoſe, my
s, that any Highwayman,
ſe-breaker, or Pick-pocket will
ummoned before that Commit-
If they ſhould, can we ſup-
, that any Member of the other
e would believe them, ſhould
declare, that the Earl of *Or-*
was concerned with them in
ery, Burglary, or Petty-Larce-
No ſuch Crimes or Criminals
therefore be ſuppoſed to be par-
d by this Bill. Thoſe general
ds, *concerning other Matters re-*
g to the Conduct of the ſaid Ro-
Earl of Orford, can relate to
bot State Crimes, and to ſuch
em only, as the Earl of *Orford*
may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have been engaged in; ſo that the Pardon to be granted by this Bill, is not near ſo general, either as to Crimes or Criminals, as the Pardon granted by the 5th of Queen *Anne* to Burglarers and Felons; and therefore the Generality of the Pardon can be no Objection to the Bill, nor can the Bill in this Reſpect be ſaid to be without Precedent.

In order to raiſe another Objection againſt this Bill it is ſaid, my Lords, we are not yet certain, that any Crime has been committed. I do not know what your Lordſhips may be, but I believe there is not one Perſon without Doors, who is not convinced, that Boroughs have been bribed with publick Money, or with Poſts and Employments under the Crown, to chuſe the Creatures of Miniſters for their Repreſentatives in Parliament; and will any of your Lordſhips ſay, this is not a Crime? But ſuppoſe it were otherwiſe: Suppoſe we had no Suſpicion, that ſuch a Crime has been committed, would it be inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution, would it be inconſiſtent with the Safety of the Innocent, to paſs a Law for indemnifying any Perſon, as to any Charge againſt himſelf, who ſhould diſcover any Miſapplication or corrupt Diſpoſition of publick Money, or of any Offices, or any Payments, Allowances, or Agreements in reſpect thereof, either in Time paſt or to come? With regard to the Time to come, the Indemnifying Laws for the Diſcovery of Felons, Smugglers, falſe Coiners, Highwaymen, Shop-lifters, or Horſe-ſtealers, ſhew that it would not; and I can ſee no Difference with regard to the Time paſt; for as ſuch an Indemnifying Bill creates no new Crime, nor makes any Action criminal, or more criminal than it was before, nor introduces any new Method of Trial, nor inflicts any new Puniſhment, I

can

can ſee no Reaſon why it may not be made to have a Retroſpect, as well as to relate to the Time to come.

I come now, my Lords, to that which ſeems to be the chief Objection againſt this Bill, and that is its being directed, as is ſaid, particularly againſt *Robert* Earl of *Orford*. My Lords, I wiſh the Inquiry had been general, as was intended by thoſe of the other Houſe who think ſome Sort of Inquiry neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion; and then the noble new Earl would not have been ſent up to this Houſe with ſuch a Stigma at his Tail, as that of having his Name particularly mentioned in this Bill. But, my Lords, if we examine the Words of the Bill, we ſhall find, it is not ſo particularly directed againſt the noble Earl, as the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt would inſinuate; for with regard to the Miſapplication or corrupt Diſpoſition of publick Money or Offices, the Bill is not directed particularly againſt that noble Earl: If in Conſequence of this Bill, an Accomplice ſhould give Information of any ſuch Miſapplication or corrupt Diſpoſition made by any other Perſon, as well as the Earl of *Orford*, the Informer would have his Pardon, as to himſelf, and all the other Perſons concerned in that Miſapplication, let their Quality be never ſo great, would become liable to an Impeachment. Suppoſe it ſhould appear by the Evidence of ſome Informer, encouraged by this Bill, that a Secretary of State, a Lord Privy Seal, or a Lord Chancellor had made a corrupt Diſpoſition of any publick Money committed to his Charge, or of any Office belonging to his Department, would not the Informer be intitled by this Bill to a Pardon, for the Share he had in the Offence, as much as if he had diſcovered ſome Crime in the Earl of *Orford*? My Lords, I mention theſe high Offices with more Freedom, becauſe the noble Lords who are now in Poſſeſſion of them cannot be ſo much as ſuſpected of having been guilty of ſuch Crimes. If it were poſſible to ſuſpect them of any ſuch Thing, what Reaſon might be given for their behaving againſt the Bill, very different from that of its being particularly directed againſt the Earl of *Orford*.

The noble Lord was pleaſed, upon this Occaſion, to recommend to us a Precept delivered by the higheſt Authority. Do as you would be done by; and he deſired us to make the Caſe our own, in order to judge whether or no we ſhould think the Bill a juſt and reaſonable Bill. I profeſs, my Lords, I do ſo. Were I in the Earl of *Orford*'s Place. Were I as much ſuſpected, and as publickly accuſed by the general Voice of the Nation, as he is, if I were innocent, there is nothing I ſhould deſire more than to have ſuch a Bill paſs into a Law. I ſhould deſpiſe the imaginary Danger of giving Encouragement to Rogues to bring in a falſe Information againſt me; becauſe I ſhould depend upon the Penetration of this Houſe for the Diſcovery of that Conſpiracy, and upon your Lordſhips Juſtice in ſeeing it puniſhed in the moſt exemplary Manner. Without ſuch a Bill's being paſſed, eſpecially now it has gone ſuch a Length, I ſhould deſpair of being reſtored to the good Opinion of my Countrymen, and therefore I ſhould become a ſtrenuous Sollicitor in its Favour. But if I were conſcious of being guilty, there is nothing I ſhould dread more than the paſſing of ſuch a Bill againſt me. Whether I could have Aſſurance enough to ſollicit my Friends againſt paſſing ſuch a reaſonable and neceſſary Bill, I do not know; but I am ſure, if I had the Opportunity, I ſhould march out of the Kingdom as ſoon as I heard ſuch

h a Bill's being paſſed. This, Lords, is the Light I ſhould ſider the Bill in, were the Caſe own, and therefore I am ſur- ſed to find the Bill oppoſed by one who pretends to be a Friend the Earl of *Orford*, and at the e Time a Friend to his Coun-

I ſhall grant, my Lords, that in judicative Capacity we are to directed by the eſtabliſhed Laws Cuſtoms of our Country; but are now in our legiſlative Capa- : It is in that Capacity we are give or refuſe our Conſent to this ; and will it be ſaid, that we paſs no Bill, nor conſent to any Law, unleſs there be a Prece- t for it, or as the Oppoſers of Bill would inſinuate, a Law ex- of the ſame Kind upon Record? this were a Rule, my Lords, ought never to conſent to any Regulation; but this never was, ever can be a Rule in either ſe of Parliament. In our legiſ- ve Capacity we have no Buſineſs h Precedents, we have no Occa- to look for them: The publick od or the publick Safety is then only Buſineſs; and if the Law poſed be neceſſary for the pub- Good or the publick Safety, ought to agree to it, even tho' were apparent that ſome private would ſuffer, or might be ught into Danger by the Law poſed. Therefore, if no ſuch had ever been enacted, if no h Cuſtom had ever been introdu- into this Kingdom, as that of doning a Criminal who ſhall diſ- er and convict one or more of Accomplices, I ſhould be for the now before us, becauſe I think bſolutely neceſſary for the publick ty on the preſent Occaſion: But , my Lords, is not the Caſe; Cuſtom of pardoning a Crimi- who diſcovers and convicts one more of his Accomplices, or one or more Criminals, has been eſtabliſh- ed from Time immemorial, and has been confirmed and approved by many late Statutes. This is the Spirit of all the Precedents that have been mentioned in this Debate; and this A is ſufficient Authority, even from Precedents, for our agreeing to this Bill; for no Man ever ſuppoſed, that nothing can be a Precedent, unleſs it agrees in every minute Circumſtance.

This Bill may therefore be moſt B juſtly ſaid to be founded on Precedents, and I have ſhewn, that it is abſolutely neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion. If you paſs it, my Lords, you will make a new Precedent, which will be a Terror to all future Miniſters, and conſequently will C prevent their making Attempts upon our Conſtitution by Bribery and Corruption, or by any other ſecret and hidden Crime: But if you reject this Bill, it will be a Precedent for rejecting all ſuch Bills in Time to come, and this will be a Precedent D of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; becauſe it will encourage every future Miniſter to attempt overturning it, by Bribery and Corruption, or by ſome other hidden and ſecret Practices. Let him but take Care to preſerve the E Favour of the Crown, and to make all his Tools and Agents as criminal as himſelf, and then he may defy a Diſcovery; for no Man, not even the moſt malicious and revengeful, will chuſe to be hanged, for no other Reaſon but that of expoſing another to the Danger of meeting with F the ſame Fate.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, I muſt look upon the Safety of our Conſtitution to be ſo interwoven with the Bill now before us, that if the one be rejected, the other can no longer G remain in Security: It muſt at laſt become a Prey to Corruption. Let others declare their Deteſtation of that abominable Crime; but I ſhall

ſhew

ſhew my Deteſtation of it, by voting for the Commitment of this Bill.

Theſe were the moſt remarkable Speeches made in the Debate upon this Bill; and now I ſhall give you a ſhort Debate, which happened in our Club upon Occaſion of his Majeſty's Speech at the Opening of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament. (See *London Magazine* for *Dec.* 1741, p. 617.) *This Speech being read in our Club as uſual,* Q. Cæcilius Metellus *ſtood up and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows.*

My Lords,

HAVING heard his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, I doubt not but every one of your Lordſhips feels the higheſt Gratitude towards his Majeſty, for the paternal Care he expreſſes for the Welfare of his People, and his Deſire of the Advice of his Parliament at this critical Juncture; wherefore I hope to have your Lordſhips unanimous Concurrence in the Motion I ſhall make to you.

The Concern I am under in ſpeaking before this Houſe will, I hope, induce your Lordſhips to pardon my Defects, and the rather as what I ſhall offer ariſes from no other Motive, but a ſincere Attachment to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Duty I owe my Country; and to be as little troubleſome to your Lordſhips as poſſible, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch Parts of his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech, as ſeem to require your Lordſhips more immediate Attention.

My Lords, the War againſt the Crown of *Spain* is certainly of the greateſt Conſequence to our Trade, Navigation and Commerce, nor can any Thing ſooner induce the Enemy to agree to a Concluſion of it upon Terms, juſt, honourable and beneficial to this Nation, than to ſee a ſteady Reſolution in your Lordſhips to ſupport his Majeſty in the vigorous Proſecution of it, entered into by the Advice of Parliament, and recommended to be carried on *America*. My Lords, another moſt important Matter is the preſent State of Affairs in *Europe*: The Dangers threatning *Germany* upon the Death of the late *Emperor*, were foreſeen and laſt Year's Parliament took ſome vigorous Reſolutions in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*. But ſeveral Princes claiming different Parts of the *Auſtrian* Dominions, his Majeſty's Endeavours could not produce the deſired Effect, but *French*, *Bavarian*, *Saxon*, and *Pruſſian* Armies overſpread the Country; nor is it certain, that *Italy* may not alſo ſoon become a Scene of War.

His Majeſty has laid before your Lordſhips the Difficulties the common Cauſe has laboured under hitherto, ariſing from the Failure of other Powers, who being under the like Engagements, have not anſwered the juſt Expectations had of them ——Your Lordſhips will therefore I doubt not, with the greateſt Warmth, do your utmoſt to put his Majeſty in a Poſture of Defence, as Occaſion ſhall require, and to enable him powerfully to aſſiſt ſuch Friends and Allies, whom a Senſe of the common Danger may again unite, for the Safety of the Whole.

Theſe, my Lords, are Circumſtances that loudly threaten the Liberties of *Europe*; and tho' I do not pretend to underſtand the Intereſts of the ſeveral Potentates, or the Alliances mutually ſubſiſting among them, and therefore I ſhall not enter into any Detail, yet a Balance of Power on the Continent is plainly and eſſentially neceſſary to the Preſervation of all that is dear to us, that, I am ſure, your Lordſhips will, with your Lives and Fortunes, ſupport his Majeſty in maintaining it; nor can any The-

ſify our Duty and Affection to his Majeſty more, or add greater Weight to his Influence abroad, than Unanimity and Diſpatch in your Lordſhips Reſolutions for theſe great Purpoſes.

My Lords, as what I am now about to propoſe, gives no Sanction to any paſt Meaſure, nor precludes any future Diſcuſſions your Lordſhips may think proper to enter into, I hope it will not appear liable to any Objections.—I ſhall therefore tire you no longer, but conclude, my Lords, with this Motion,

'That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return him the Thanks of this Houſe for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, and to congratulate his Majeſty on his ſafe and happy Return into this Kingdom: To return our Thankfulneſs for the great Care his Majeſty has expreſſed for carrying on the juſt and neceſſary War againſt *Spain*; and the true Senſe we have of the impending Dangers to which *Europe* is expoſed in the preſent Conjuncture, and particularly of the Deſigns and Enterpriſes formed and carrying on for the Subverſion or Reduction of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which threaten ſo great Miſchief to the Common Cauſe.

'To acknowledge his Majeſty's great Goodneſs in expreſſing ſo earneſt a Deſire to receive the Advice of his Parliament; and to aſſure his Majeſty that this Houſe will not fail to take the important Points which he has recommended to us into our moſt ſerious Conſideration, and in the moſt dutiful Manner to offer his Majeſty ſuch Advice as ſhall appear to us moſt conducive to the Honour and true Intereſts of his Crown and Kingdoms.

'To give his Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of our inviolable Duty, Fidelity, and Affection to his Perſon and Government, and of our Zeal for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Succeſſion in his Royal Houſe; and that we will vigorouſly and heartily concur in all juſt and neceſſary Meaſures for the Defence and Support of his Majeſty, and the Maintenance of the Liberties of *Europe*.'

Upon this Cn. Cornelius Lentulus *ſtood up, and ſeconded the Motion with a Speech, which was to this Effect.*

My Lords,

THE Motion made to you by my noble Friend is ſo very modeſt, ſo juſt, and ſo well adapted to what his Majeſty has been pleaſed to repreſent to us in his Speech from the Throne, that I cannot ſuppoſe it will meet with any Oppoſition in this Houſe; however, when I conſider how critical, as well as important, the preſent Situation of Affairs appears, not only with regard to this Nation in particular, but with regard to *Europe* in general, I cannot content myſelf with barely ſeconding the noble Earl's Motion, and therefore, I hope, your Lordſhips will excuſe me, if I take up a little of your Time with enforcing what he has been pleaſed to propoſe.

My Lords, I ſhall begin with obſerving in general, that no Seſſion of Parliament ever, I believe, aſſembled at a more critical and important Conjuncture; nor was it ever more neceſſary than now for us to begin with ſhewing a hearty Unanimity amongſt ourſelves, and a firm Reſolution to ſupport his Majeſty in all the Meaſures he has taken, or may think fit to take, for vindicating the Honour of this Nation againſt the haughty Inſults of *Spain*, or the Liberties of *Europe* againſt the ambitious Projects of *France*. Your Lordſhips muſt be ſenſible, that at firſt the Inſults, and afterwards

the Obſtinacy of *Spain*, proceeded from a miſtaken Notion, that we were a factious and unhappy Nation, that his Majeſty did not enjoy the Affections of the People, and that our Miniſters had ſo great a Difficulty to ſupport themſelves againſt their Enemies at home, that they durſt not venture to declare War for vindicating the Honour or Rights of the Nation againſt its Enemies abroad. In this Opinion they were but too much encouraged by the ſeditious Libels, and malicious Lampoons publiſhed by a few diſaffected or diſappointed Men amongſt us; and this prompted them at firſt to inſult us, and afterwards to perſiſt obſtinately in refuſing to do us Juſtice. They knew they were no Match for the *Britiſh* Power when united: Their only Hopes were in our domeſtick Diviſions; and tho' they were a little diſappointed when they found that our Miniſters had reſolved upon warlike Meaſures, yet they knew that the Parliament then in being would be ſoon at an End, and by a new Election, they expected that our Miniſters would be involved in freſh Difficulties here at home, and ſuch as would render it impoſſible for them to proſecute the War vigorouſly abroad. Theſe Hopes have hitherto encouraged them to continue the War, and therefore, in order to put an End to theſe Hopes, we ought to begin this Seſſion with a full and explicit Declaration of our Affection for his Majeſty, our Zeal for his Service, and our Confidence in his Wiſdom and Conduct.

As the Inſults and Obſtinacy of *Spain*, my Lords, ſo the ambitious Deſigns of *France* have been chiefly owing to a prevailing Opinion abroad, that ſuch Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities ſubſiſted among us, as would render it impoſſible for us to exert our Power, as we have done heretofore, in Defence of the Liberties of *Europe*. Unluckily for E*rope*, the late *Emperor* happened die, whilſt this Opinion was pre lent at every Court in it; and t made the *French* Court ſuppoſe, th had then got an Opportunity carrying into Execution their lo ſubſiſting and often defeated Deſ of univerſal Monarchy: This ma them reſolve upon the Subverſion Reduction of the Houſe of *Auſtr* and at the ſame Time it made other Princes and States of *Eur* deſpair of being able to form Confederacy againſt the Deſigns *France*. On the contrary, ſince t found they could not oppoſe, ſo of them reſolved to chime in w the Deſigns of that ambitious Co in order to gain ſome immediate vantage to themſelves; but as t muſt foreſee, that this immedi Advantage may probably be atte ed with Ruin and Subjection in End, we cannot doubt of being to perſuade them to forſake the nicious Engagements they have tered into with *France*, and with us in proper Meaſures for ſtoring and eſtabliſhing a Balance Power in *Europe*. This, I ſay, Lords, we cannot doubt of, if can but remove that Suſpicion have formed of our being a fact and divided People, and conſequ ly unable to exert our Power ag our Enemies, or in Favour of Allies; and as nothing can mor fectually contribute to this deſir End, than our agreeing unanim to what my noble Friend has pr ſed, I cannot ſuppoſe, that any jections will be made to it by Lordſhips, eſpecially conſiderin having worded it ſo cautiouſly, it does not ſo much as imply an probation of any Meaſure found Fault with.

To deſcend particularly int ſeveral Paragraphs of the Ad propoſed, his Majeſty's Speech Lords, is ſo gracious and ſo w

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pted to our preſent Circumſtances, at I am ſure none of your Lord-ips will refuſe to return Thanks r the ſame, and as little will any you refuſe to congratulate him on his ſafe and happy Return to is Kingdom. Then with regard the War againſt *Spain*, as your ordſhips were formerly unanimous your Opinion, that it was abſo-ely neceſſary for us to engage in ſo I am convinced, you are now nanimouſly of Opinion, that it ght to be carried on with Vigour, l a ſafe and honourable Peace can obtained; and tho' you may per-ps differ in your Opinion, as to Conduct of it hitherto, yet no e can refuſe being thankful to his jeſty for the Care he expreſſes in Speech from the Throne, for rrying on a War which you all nk ſo juſt and neceſſary.

As to the Dangers to which *Eu-* is expoſed in the preſent Con-fture, and the Enterpriſes form'd inſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, I am , there are none of your Lord-ps that are not fully ſenſible of m; and your declaring in a ſo-n Manner that you are ſo, will, my Opinion, be one Step towards venting the Dangers with which rope is now threatened, and to-rds defeating thoſe Enterpriſes, t have been formed for ſubvert-, or at leaſt reducing the Power the Houſe of *Auſtria*. And as the laſt two Paragraphs of the dreſs propoſed, they are ſo pro-and ſo neceſſary upon the pre-t Occaſion, that, I think, I need ſay any Thing in Favour of m. I ſhall therefore conclude, Lords, with obſerving, that his jeſty has, in his Speech from the rone, acquainted us with the Applications he made for in-ing other Powers, equally enga-with him, to concert ſuch Mea-s as the important and critical juncture required; and to re-concile thoſe Princes, whoſe Union would have been the moſt effectual Means to prevent the Miſchiefs that have happened, and the beſt Security for the Intereſt and Safety of the Whole; but that his Endeavours have not had as yet the deſired Effect.——My Lords, that they have not had the deſired Effect, may very probably be owing to an Opinion entertained abroad, and propagated, I believe, by Advices from hence, that this new Parliament would be of a Complexion very different from the former, and that this might produce ſome conſiderable Revolution in our Affairs: I am perſuaded this Opinion will very ſoon appear to be without the leaſt Foundation; and, I think, we ſhould take the very firſt Opportunity to ſhew that it is ſo, in order to give a new Energy to his Majeſty's Negotiations, which will of courſe render his Endeavours more ſucceſsful than they have been hitherto. This I think the more neceſſary, becauſe an Accident may render thoſe Princes irreconcilable, who now may be eaſily reconciled: A few Days Delay may render the Affairs of *Europe* irretrievable; and therefore I hope your Lordſhips will unanimouſly agree to the Addreſs propoſed.

[*This* DEBATE *and* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

Common Senſe, Sept. 4. N° 290.

The ſhocking Nature and terrible Effects of Avarice and Ambition.

THE governing Appetites of the Brute Creation are *Luſt* and *Hunger*, here they reſt; and having ſatisfy'd theſe great Calls of Nature, go regularly on in Purſuit of the Ends of their Being. The ruling Appetites of the human Species are *Power* and *Money*, Paſſions, violent,

reſtleſs, in eternal Motion, and never to be ſatisfied: And accordingly Ambition and Avarice are the Root from whence all the Misfortunes and Miſeries of Mankind have ſprung. The Effects of the outrageous Paſſion for Money are contradictory and unaccountable, as it at once drives the unhappy Patients on to every Iniquity, to ſatisfy what is inſatiable, their hydropical Thirſt for Gain: Reaſon and Religion try their feeble Force in vain; the human Soul fully poſſeſſed with the *Auri ſacra Fames*, ſhuts out every other Conſideration, and pants after Gold alone. We ſee the miſerable Inſect for ever laborious, plunging through every Difficulty, plowing the Deep, building, trading, plundering, making uſurious Contracts, defrauding himſelf, his Family, Neighbours, Acquaintance and Friends, to attain what? An immenſe Eſtate! Are his Deſires limited to any ſpecifick Sum? Does he ſay, thus far I will go and no farther? No; for though his Days were to exceed thoſe of *Methuſalem*, his Appetite for more would ſtill the more increaſe, tho' contrary to every other Paſſion, he dares not think of enjoying what he ſo ardently wooes: Well, but he is in every Man's Opinion, (but his own) immenſely rich: Does this Accumulation of Wealth give him Power? It does, but it is Power to commit every Injuſtice within the Letter of the Law: Does it afford him Pleaſure? Does it yield him Tranquillity and Peace of Mind? His Soul is continually torn and convuls'd between Fears and Hopes, and his Attention ſo intirely fix'd to this one Object, that he is only fit to be the Inmate of a Mad-houſe: Does his Charity increaſe with his Money? He deteſts the Word Charity, and looks with much Contempt on thoſe Fools, who own their Humanity to their Fellow-Creatures. Is he belov'd in his Family? They hate him as an unnatural Parent, they impatiently wait his Demiſe: Has he any Friends? He is an Enemy to Mankind: Has he Enemies? All Mankind. How does he behave in a publick Office? Money is the Rule of Right and Wrong. Has he a Seat in Parliament? He trafficks there too, and purchaſes only to ſell; totally regardleſs of the Community, he graſps the preſent Penny, and chuckles over the diſtant Penſion he receives, though at the ſame Time the Wretch is boring a Hole in a Plank of the Ship on which he ſails. Behold him, after a painful and ignominious Life, on his Death-bed; his Anxiety, his Pangs, are not for the Loſs of Life, but his Money, his Money, the *Baal* to which he kneels, the only Deity he acknowledges and adores: Therefore he goes off the Stage a bad Citizen, a traiterous Subject, an unnatural Parent, a falſe Friend and a deceitful Companion. And yet, tho' utterly void of every ſocial Virtue while he lives, he is no ſooner dead, but we frequently ſee his Heaps diſſipated by his Heirs, and the Muck becomes beneficial to the Publick by being thrown abroad.

Let us now conſider in what Manner Ambition, the other reigning Paſſion, is detrimental to Society. We may behold then the *ambitious Man*, the *great Miſer*, taking every Moment infinitely larger Strides than the little Uſurer we have deſcribed above: See the vain Mortal, with a Crown on his Head, cloath'd in Purple, ſurrounded with all the Regalia of deſpotick Power; Fire, Sword, and Famine attend his March to give Laws to the Nations; he is obey'd by Millions to whom his Imperial Will is an abſolute Law, whoſe Exiſtence depends on the Breath of his Noſtrils: What can this mighty Monarch mean? What Reaſons can he alledge for thus ſtur-

ing the Repoſe of Mankind? his Dominions narrow, barren, ortleſs, ſitu te in a cold and ſh Climate? Have his Neigh- injur'd him, have any of his broke their Conventions, in- his Dominions, or given him leaſt Occaſion for theſe Prepara- to deſtroy them? No, he is in diſturb'd Poſſeſſion of an abun- fruitful and large Portion of Earth, a Country that can ſub- ll its Inhabitants, even in Lux- with its own Produce; his ſures are immenſe; the neigh- ing Kingdoms, however jealous is Power, perform their Trea- and obſerve their Engagements him: Wherefore then does he enjoy Happineſs in Plenty and e? Why truly in this Wanton- of his Power his Paraſites in- him, that tho' he is *mighty*, ay be yet *mightier*; they pro- they ſcheme, they promiſe to e him, what the wicked Mini- of his *Anceſtor* had projected, *erful Monarch*; he is blown up the Conceit; Juſtice, Treaties, rantees, Honour, all Obligati- divine and human, are thrown at once, and Fraud, Rapine, delity, and Bloodſhed ſucceed: ne is totally diſregarded, and in Room of it, the Word *Glory* is ſtituted, and remains at this Hour rious Anſwer to every Breach of h. We may at this Moment an aged hoary Prieſt cloſe to his er's Ear, ev'n the *Miniſter*, who ſchemed, conducted and carry'd Execution all his late *glorious* jects, who, inſtead of acting as iniſter of the Goſpel, is now he Age of 90, juſt tottering into Grave) the Servant of Antichriſt, involving the Chriſtian World ood and Slaughter. Does this ous Inſtrument of an arbitrary think there is an Hereafter? es he think at all? Does he hope make Providence his Accom-

plice? Or does he believe it only an empty Name? Oh holy Hypocrite! well would it be for thee that it were an empty Name; look around and ſurvey the Ravage and Bloodſhed thy nefarious Policy has occaſion'd; behold, thou Chriſtian Prieſt, the tremendous Effects of it: Has not the Omnipotent declar'd againſt thee? Is not thy Maſter's *Glory* tarniſh'd, that ſingle Word for which only the War was begun? Thou may'ſt ſee perhaps at this very Moment the Capital of *Bohemia*, that late flouriſhing and happy City with more than 100,000 Citizens within her Walls, ſubjected by thee to all the Calamities that War and Famine can inflict; an Enemy (oblig'd to be ſo in Policy) without; a mercileſs Enemy within her Walls. See, Famine prevents the Sword, the helpleſs Citizens die in Heaps, and Multitudes of innocent Babes and Women fall every Moment Sacrifices to thy pious Schemes; there is, I think, one, and but one Iniquity remains, greater than what thou haſt yet committed, and that is, to ſing *Te Deum* for thy Crimes, and blaſpheme the Almighty in thy Praiſes; this has been conſtantly the Practice of the Politicians, thy Predeceſſors, whether they have been victorious or otherwiſe.

This Inſtance is ſufficient to ſhew the Deſolation brought upon Mankind by Ambition in War; if we conſider the Miſeries thoſe People endure, who obey an abſolute Prince, even in Peace, we ſhall ſee Slavery is by no Means eligible, take it in the mildeſt Shape; if we conſider it in the Light only of common commutative Juſtice between Man and Man, we ſhall find it is not to be found under abſolute Power; for where Prerogative is the ſole Law, Juſtice has a very precarious Tenure: Yet, as Juſtice is abſolutely neceſſary to the Support of every Government, a ſpecious Shew of it

is

is kept up under all, even the moſt deſpotick Powers; for the Laws of Right and Wrong are not to be deſpiſed, but reſpected even there: The general Method, therefore, of pillaging the People is this; their Emperors ſend Deputies or Viceroys A into the ſeveral Provinces, who have generally very keen Appetites, and who for this Purpoſe are likewiſe kept very gaunt and lean with little or no Pay; when immediately theſe half-ſtarv'd Wolves fall to fleecing the poor People, and do it to the B Quick; they murmur with one Voice continually and aloud, they are heard to the *Seraglio*, they petition the *Sultan*, he graciouſly orders an Inquiry to be made into the Truth of this heinous Charge on his Servant; the Buſineſs is fully prov'd, C the Baſhaw is recal'd, he is ſqueez'd by the Monarch, the ſummary Bowſtring is ſent him; and the People are ſatisfied, tho' they never have or hope to have one Penny of Reſtitution from their Prince, into whoſe Coffers they know well every Ounce D of the Plunder goes; they are perfectly eaſy and ſatisfied, when they ſee the hated Miniſter puniſhed: And this Sort of political Juſtice, tho' frequently practiſed, is never ſufficient to deter the next Viceroy from doing the very ſame Thing, E and ſuffering in the ſame Manner.

When the late Czar, *Peter the Great*, purſued the King of *Sweden*, after the Battle of *Poltowa*, to *Bender*, he was ſurpris'd and unexpectedly ſurrounded by the Vizier's Army, and he and all his Troops were F in immediate Danger of being deſtroyed; when in this Exigence the Czar's favourite Miſtreſs, then in his Camp, (and whom he afterwards married, and left in his Will Empreſs of *Ruſſia*) undertook to deliver him; ſhe found Means in the Night G to be introduced to the *Turkiſh* General's Pavilion, and carrying with her a very rich Preſent of Gold and Jewels, with theſe Arguments prevailed on the Vizier to per the Czar's Troops to retreat in Remainder of the Night; wh they did accordingly: The New this was ſoon carried to the P and the Prime Miniſter immedi ly after ſtrangled at *Adrianople*; *Sultan* now took the Bribes, and creas'd his Riches by his Serva Treaſon: This is ſurpriſing; do not theſe corrupt Miniſters the Money and do their Duty There is ſomething in this m Vice that infatuates all who dea it.

We have ſeen how unlimited, unſatisfied the wild Will of Ma when left to itſelf. Let us concl with the well-known Example of *Macedonian* Youth, who after ha over-run *Aſia*, and the greateſt of the then known Earth, felt Thirſt for *Glory* (as the Slaves of *Grand Monarch* call it) far from ing quenched; the unhappy M man found himſelf over-heated, wanting Elbow-Room in the nar Limits of this Globe, and wept cauſe there were no more World conquer; the *Roman* Satiriſt well ridicules his Frenzy:

Unus Pellæo juveni non ſufficit orbis,
Æſtuat infelix angusto limite mundi.

Avarice and Ambition know no Bo

Craftſman, Sept. 4. Nº 845.

JUPITER *and* MOMU

A DIALOGUE.

Jup. WELL, *Momus*, what thy Advices from World of Men? According to m Reformation doth her own W and no longer requires Chaſtiſe to prepare her Way. Mortal mean the Majority of them, out for Shame, as ſoon as Vice pears, and cry up Virtue as the Deity in Faſhion; Patriots, formerly appear'd as ſeldom as

, now abound, like Inſects in mn; every Hive hath its Swarm; Zeal for the publick Buſineſs is evalent, that almoſt every In-dual neglects his own. In ſhort, y Shoulder is put to the Work; ruption, the grand Enemy, is on every Side, and the Vow ne forth to give no Quarter.

m. Ho! ho! ho!

p. Why that Horſe-Laugh, *Mo-*

m. That a God of your Rank Dignity ſhould miſtake Fame Truth: Patriotiſm has ever been Cry; and as there has ever been k for Reformation, a Glut of ious Undertakers have been ever y to offer their Service.

p. True; but theſe——

m. Are as honeſt as their Pre-ſſors.—Hypocriſy, I perceive, ld deceive even *Jupiter* himſelf. ll tell you a Story.—The Con-of the World being met toge-for the Redreſs of Grievances, with the woeful Phiz of *Hera-*, ever weeping over Diſorders; her, with the Glee of *Democri-* ever laughing at Abſurdities; ird, all Fire and Action, and for ing aſunder every Difficulty with Sword: another, all Study, Plot, trivance, Expedient, Knavery, what not; Princes implored, loſophers ſummoned, Politicians ſulted.—But on the Upſhot, no-g followed but Confuſion; for would have his own Way, and ared againſt all Oppoſition. At appear'd an old Fellow, long kney'd in the dirty Ways of , who, with much ado procu-an Audience, gave them to un-ſtand, he had a Secret to recon-all. A general Silence enſued. *each take Care of one, and leave reſt of the World to cut and ſhuffle themſelves!*

p. Well, and what follow'd?

m. Why, they took the Hint, from Reformers became Stateſ-

Jup. Aye; but the preſent Generation have Advantages, unknown to their Forefathers; Orators to plead for them, Writers to inſtruct them, and if Need were, Martyrs and Heroes to fight and die for them.

Mom. Ho! ho! ho!—I ſhall laugh for a Century.—Ho! ho! ho! Heroes and Martyrs.—Ho! ho! ho!

Jup. Forbear this Intemperance! I ſhall grow angry!

Mom. What! with Truth and Reaſon?

Jup. No; with Clamour and Miſrepreſentation: Men are never wholly good or wholly ill. In the worſt of Times there are thoſe, who ſtill retain their Integrity, and in the beſt ſuch as deſerve the Axe and Halter. I know of what variable Stuff they are compoſed, and in their very Creation ordain'd them, in their preſent State, to be incapable of Perfection. Such Railers as thou, ignorant or forgetful of this grand Fundamental, ſuppoſe, in their frothy Declamations, this Child of Frailty capable of playing the Stoic from his Birth, tho' Inſtinct, before Reaſon comes into Uſe, proclaims the Impoſſibility.

Mom. Nay, then, let Vice flouriſh! *Jupiter* himſelf condeſcends to be its Advocate.

Jup. Still thou miſtakeſt! I give no Authority to Vice; I make a juſt Allowance for natural Defects. Too much Rigour is as much the Bane of Goodneſs as too much Licence: And remember, a Tyrant-Judge deſerves Rebuke, as well as a guilty Priſoner his Puniſhment. There ſcarce ever was a human Heart, at all Times, inacceſſible to all Follies; if one is repulſed, another may ſlide in; if To-day Reaſon is *Argus*-ey'd, To-morrow ſome *mercurial* Paſſion may charm it to Sleep. Thoſe Deviations, then, from the ſtrait Road of Virtue, which thou and thy Followers ſpeak of with ſo much Scorn and ſo many Maledictions, ought to be

be more tenderly touch'd, ought to adminiſter Food to Compaſſion, rather than excite Contempt and Revilings. Whatever is valued by Men, Men will covet, whether it be Wealth, or Power, or Dignities. Till, therefore, it becomes faſhionable to conſider them as, indeed they are, Trifles, Men have no Right to gratify their Malignity, under the Pretence of ſacrificing to Virtue.

Mom. Gad a Mercy, Father *Jupiter!* I'faith you'd make an excellent Trimmer; and if I could perſuade myſelf, that any great Man whatever had any Correſpondence with you, or even thought you worth bribing with a ſingle Prayer,——— But, mum!———I wiſh that curſed Eagle, with his Lightning, was obliged to keep Company with *Cerberus!* [*Aſide.*]

Jup. Soh! were it not for his Thunder, *Jupiter* himſelf would not be ſafe.

Mom. But, with Submiſſion, ſince the Gudgeon and the Bait ſo exactly ſympathize, that if the laſt is within Reach, the firſt is ſure to ſwallow, why was not a little more Continence beſtowed on the one, or leſs Temptation connected with the other?

Jup. If there had been any Neceſſity for either, be aſſured it had been done; and thy Query, however archly put, doth not flow from the Super-abundance, but the Narrowneſs of thy Underſtanding. Life without Enjoyment had been a Curſe; the Earth, therefore, teems with Bleſſings, that Man, inſtead of repining, might be thankful for his Lot.

Mom. But, are not theſe very Bleſſings the Temptations we ſpeak of? Are not half the Evils of Mankind derived from this Root? And if they preſent Pleaſure in the Proſpect, do they not produce Miſery in the End?

Jup. Not the Enjoyment, but the Abuſe. Men covet much, but can enjoy little. The Lord of numerous Palaces can employ but one R at once; the Epicure, amid thouſand Dainties, can make one Meal; the Libertine in hi raglio, can enjoy but one Wo at a Time; and the Miſer, poſſ of Millions, hath but five Senſe gratify. Whatever Men do no tually taſte is. for the Time be but an idle Treaſure; and he *imagines* he is a *Cæſar*, or a Cr and he that *recollects* he is ſo, de equal Pleaſure from their diffe Conceits. That they might e Life, I made them ſuſceptibl Pleaſure; and that they might abuſe it, I gave them Common-S a Reſident, Boſom Deity, tha ever preſent, ever vigilant, ever moting what is right, and detec what is wrong.

Mom. And yet, in the Cours ſuch a long Succeſſion of Ages, ther *Jupiter*, what Advantages this perverſe Species derived this familiar, plain-dealing Ora Are they not as obſtinately de ever, both to its Advices and W ings? Are not they as inſenſibl the Decency and Advantage of T perance, as much the Sport of own brutal Paſſions, as cloſely ded to their own mean, low, ſ Self-Intereſts, as widely alie from all that is honour'd with Name of Virtue, and as effect incapable of whatever is truly nanimous and heroic? They they are; and I wonder you c nue the fruitleſs Experiment longer. Had I been Thund that cloudy Spot had been a cancy long ago. The common you beſtow'd upon them, in m pinion, aggravates both their and Guilt; ſince, inſtead of ma it a Guide to the noble Purpo was deſign'd for, they preſs it the Service of their Vices, make it hold the Candle to Shame. Thoſe who profeſs to lue, to admire, to court it, ha

...ner View but to debauch it; what ...y woo a Virgin, they make a ...lot of; whom they, afterwards, ...e out as a common Proſtitute, ...d live upon the infamous Gains, ...g, thoſe who are held in moſt ...eem for the Accompliſhments ſhe A ...ows upon them, make uſe of ...n only for the Ornaments of ...ech, but ſcarce ever think of ...dering them the Rule of Life. ...ence, tho' they talk, or write ...ewdly, they act abſurdly, as well ...vitiouſly, and expoſe themſelves B ...n to the Cenſure of the very ...ots they deſpiſe; who, even by ...Glimmerings of their own light ...fections, diſcover that, as to what ...rds the Paſſions, all Men are ...ſh alike.

Jup. When thou haſt Truth on C ...Side, thou haſt *Jupiter* likewiſe. ...Men, however plauſibly gifted ...h what they call Learning and ...gence, are ſeldom fit to be ...ed with themſelves; and hence ...Neceſſity of Government was ...d out; in which it was, at firſt, D ...med, that all the Virtues, Pow- ...and Faculties of the Species ...e to be united and made to ...perate, without any Mixture of ...r Vices and Frailties.

Mom. Well; and hath any Age ...ation produced any ſuch Syſ- E ...as your Almightyſhip hath ...painted? On the contrary, have moſt Governments proved to be the reverſe, an Aſſemblage of ..., Cruelty, Pride, Avarice, and ...y other infernal Ingredient, that ...d make Slavery wretched? Even F ...ſt exceptionable among them, ...re the natural Liberties of Man ...e moſt carefully provided for, ...the executive Power was ren- ...d as little miſchievous as ſeem'd ...ble, how far ſhort have they ...ed of Perfection? What a Variety G ...ſs have they conniv'd at? What ...iety of Corruptions have they ad- ...ed? What a Variety of Grie- vances have they produced? And what a Variety of Complaints are daily and hourly prefer'd to thee on all theſe Accounts?

Jup. Momus, if they are Men who complain, they are Men, likewiſe, who govern; all fallible alike; and were I viſibly to interpoſe, and make a general Change of Circumſtances, by lifting up the Impotent and Oppreſs'd to Power, and caſting down the Great to Vaſſalage and Poverty, tho' the Perſons would be changed, the ſame Quantity of Wretchedneſs, and conſequently Clamour, would remain.

Mom. Good! by what I hear from below, this will ſcarce admit of Contradiction. But then, how miſerable are theſe poor Wretches, who ſuffer more from one another, than all the Elements they are framed of and ſurrounded with?

Jup. Would they hearken to Common Senſe, they would have no Enemy but thoſe Elements to contend with. When thoſe below ceaſe to envy, thoſe on high will ceaſe to covet. Both are equally in Fault; for, if the Vulgar would be govern'd by a *Solon*, inſtead of a *Craſſus*, they muſt firſt teſtify, by their Conduct, that they look upon Wiſdom and Virtue to be more worthy of Admiration, than Riches and Honours.

Univerſal Spectator, N° 725.

Story of Eudoſius *and* Clarinda.

EUDOSIUS is a young Gentleman in every Reſpect accompliſh'd, either to ſhine in a Court, or enjoy, what he more affects, the Sweets of Solitude. During his Father's Life-Time, he became acquainted with a neighbouring Gentleman, who, from Places and Preferment, had a very plentiful Income; but liv'd in ſuch a Manner, as diſabled him from making any Proviſion for an only Daughter, who

was bleſt with all the Excellencies both of Mind and Perſon. *Eudoſius* could not look upon her without Admiration; but the Diſparity of their Fortunes prevented his wiſhing for her as a Wife; and his, no leſs than her Virtue, forbad him to hope for her as a Miſtreſs: If therefore he was ſo far Maſter of himſelf to prevent his Admiration from growing into Love, he could not help its being ting'd with Pity, when he conſidered what a Condition ſhe muſt probably fall into, ſhould her Father die without having retrenched his Expences, in order to leave her wherewithal to ſupport herſelf handſomely. It happened according to his Fears; he died, and left behind him little more than was ſufficient to defray the Expence of his Funeral, and pay his Debts. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Miſery that this Misfortune brought upon the incomparable *Clarinda:* She who had liv'd in the higheſt Elegance, was now at a Loſs for Neceſſaries, and had no Friend to apply to in her Exigencies; but was oblig'd to ſell her Jewels one by one, in order to procure herſelf Suſtenance. Her lovely Eyes were now continually drown'd in Tears, and her beauteous Boſom heav'd with Sighs for her ſad Misfortunes. Though naturally modeſt and meek, ſhe could not bear, after the different Life ſhe had formerly enjoyed, to aſk for Charity; and yet would gladly have accepted of it, had it been in a proper Manner given. All her Admirers had forſaken her Decline of Fortune, and ſhe had nothing to rely upon but the Mercy of Providence. She was ſitting one Day, as uſual, ruminating on her Miſery, when ſhe was ſurpris'd with the following Note:

Madam,

I AM under the greateſt Concern at your Misfortunes, and ſhould not have ſuffer'd them to torment you ſo long, could I have found proper Method of alleviating the and perhaps this, which I at take, may not appear intirely un ceptionable to you: But I flat myſelf you will lay aſide all Sc ples, when I aſſure you, upon Word and Honour of a Gentlem that my only Motive is to proc your Happineſs; and I ſhall be far from expecting the leaſt Ret or Favour for what I do, that if do me the Honour to accept of inclos'd Note for 500 *l.* you really lay an Obligation upon,

MADAM,

Your moſt obedient humble Serva

EUDOSIU

Clarinda, immediately upon re ing this, flew in a Tranſport Gratitude to the generous Man, at his Feet, and with her Te for ſhe could not find a Vent for Words, thank'd him in the tend Manner for the infinite Service had done her. It is hard to which felt moſt Confuſion at Interview, the Benefactor, or Perſon oblig'd. Let it ſuffice, h ever, that in the End he aſſur'd that this ſhould not be the l his Favours; but that he woul ways treat her, if ſhe would him Leave, as his own Siſter. in the moſt expreſſive Terms, feſs'd the greateſt Gratitude and ſpect for him, who had bee Guardian Angel to her; and wi full Confidence in his Honour, mitted herſelf entirely to his tection. *Eudoſius* ſoon after to genteel Houſe for her, furniſh in a neat and elegant Manner, ſupply'd her with all the Ne ries and Conveniencies of Life. now enjoys her Eaſe, and paſſe Time agreeably in reflecting o good Fortune, which gave her a generous Benefactor in the di reſted *Eudoſius*. And becauſe h quently favours her with his

y, ſhe employs her leiſure Time endeavouring to qualify herſelf his Converſation; and, as he is fectly accompliſh'd in every Part polite Literature, ſhe has made elf abſolute Miſtreſs of that Part which can properly come with- A Woman's Sphere; ſo that it is elegant eſt Entertainment to hear two excellent Perſons converſe ſome *Engliſh* or *French* Author the moſt refin'd Taſte, and in moſt polite Manner, whilſt each a Deference to the other's B gment, and each receives new ſure and Inſtruction from the r's Sentiments. *Eudoſius* beha- in this genteel and inoffenſive ner, never parts from the lovely *inda* but he draws Tears of ten- Gratitude into her Eyes, and C en and Bleſſings from her Tongue. his Part, when he leaves her, an Afternoon ſpent in the moſt eſt and agreeable Manner, how his god-like Heart exult with Thought of having been the ctor and Preſerver of ſo deſerv- D n Object! Can the Libertine Senſation equal to this? Can moſt exquiſite Pleaſures of the compare with this pure, this nly Satisfaction of the Mind? is a Tranſport Angels them- might be capable of taſting; E , ſuch as Brutes can equally . The Vicious may, perhaps, times feel a momentary Rap- which like Lightning may bright for a Minute, but in- y vaniſhes, and, like that too, where it ſtrikes. *This* is a ſet- F Sunſhine to the Soul, pure and ; makes it glow with the generous Ardour, and dilates it Senſations too refin'd for the of a looſe abandon'd Perſon ceive. Happy, generous, god- *Eudoſius!* Would the reſt of our G employ their Thoughts like protect *Virtue* and *Innocence* Fair-one, by keeping her above the Power of Temptation, inſtead of uſing all their Arts to deſtroy them, *Beauty* would then be a Happineſs to that Sex, and *Riches* to ours. As they are now too often Provokers to *Vice*, they would then be the Inſtruments of exerciſing our *Virtues*, they would then bring us a certain Pleaſure; whereas now they generally procure us Trouble: For I defy any faſhionable Libertine, or kept Miſtreſs, in the Height of their Splendor, to ſay they taſte a Happineſs equal to that which warms the Breaſts of the virtuous *Eudoſius* and chaſte *Clarinda*.

Craſiſman, Sept. 11. N° 846.

Of ſome late and preſent Meaſures.

SIR, *Auguſt* 24.

VINCENZO *Cartari*, an *Italian* Author, tells us of a remarkable Statue of *Neptune*, holding thoſe two Terrors of the *Mediterranean*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, in Chains, with this ſignificant Inſcription underneath it;

Pergite ſecuræ per freta noſtra rates!

Of ſpeaking Statues we read often in Poetry; but this, without the Plea of poetical Licence, may very properly be ſo called. To an *Engliſhman*, I am ſure, it diſcourſes moſt eloquently; and I could wiſh, if our Admiralty-Office deſerv'd any Decorations, that ſome Deſign of this Nature was erected in the Area before it, or elſe in that of his Majeſty's ordinary Reſidence, that both King and People might never forget, that on the Security of our Navigation depended the Security of the Commonwealth.

Had ſome ſuch wholſome Memorandum been viſible in Braſs and Marble, I think our Marine Lords Commiſſioners could never have ſlept in Peace at home, or ſhewn their Faces abroad, while our Merchants ſuffer'd ſo grievouſly from the De-

predations of the *Spaniards* before the War, or the Repriſals made by their Vermin-Privateers ſince. In ſuch Caſe, the very Statue would have reproach'd them with their Neglect, or ſtigmatized them for their Treachery, and the Inſcription would have been urged, as an unanſwerable Proof, that either they did not deſerve, or had forfeited their Places.

The Inſurer takes upon him to indemnify the Merchant from the Danger of the Sea; it is the Buſineſs of the Government to guard him from the Enemy.

In a maritime State like ours, which owes moſt of its Wealth to our Commerce, and all its Power and Importance with reſpect to the reſt of *Europe*, one would ſcarce think it poſſible that maritime Affairs ſhould hold a *ſubordinate* Place in our Councils. It would be to the full as reaſonable to ſuppoſe, in *Holland*, that the States were more concern'd to make good their Frontier againſt the *French*, than their Dams againſt the Ocean. Yet ſo it is, tho' we depend on our Adventurers at Sea for an annual Acceſs of Wealth, we leave them to bring it home as they may.

No longer ago than the laſt Seſſion it was made appear, by a Cloud of Witneſſes, that our Commerce was ſo far from being under the Care of our A——n, that there was Room to ſuſpect they had enter'd into a Conſpiracy to deſtroy it. Notwithſtanding which, how gentle were the Cenſures paſs'd upon that Occaſion, in Compariſon with the Crime? Tho' Facts of the moſt alarming Kind were notoriouſly proved, the Perſons who committed them, had not the leaſt Brand annex'd to their Names; tho' to be render'd, for ever, incapable of any publick Truſt, was the mildeſt Sentence that could have been paſs'd upon them.

When the War firſt broke and the Neceſſity of Guard-Sh and Convoys was urged thereup the Motion was greedily adop by thoſe in Power; but with Vie and from Motives diametrically poſite to theirs who made it. have purchaſed Twenty-Gun Sh would have given preſent Relief, taking Ships off the Owners Ha which Want of Trade had rend uſeleſs, as well as preſent Protec to the Merchant; but to build th ſtrengthen'd the Hand of the niſter, and enabled him the be to ſtand his Ground, againſt his Enemies. Accordingly, theſe Ships were jobb'd away to the f ral Ports where Votes and Int were moſt wanting, and the M chants, in the mean Time, wer be worry'd into an Abhorrence War, which they were repro with being the Authors of.

Nay, when theſe Ships wer laſt finiſh'd, and the moſt had made of the Diſtribution of C miſſions for the Command of t ſome of them were ſuffer'd t idle and uſeleſs in our Ports an vers, and others, there is good ſon to ſuſpect, were ſtation'd r with an Eye to the enſuing Elec than to chaſtiſe the Inſolence o *Spaniards*. For Example,

The *D*——, Capt. *H*——, order'd from her Cruize, ſix M before that critical Time cam to the Bay of *Inver*—— in *Britain*, and ſtation'd in the convenient Manner, for the Captain to have Acceſs to th Boroughs in the Neighbour which return a Member to P ment, and, to repreſent whic appear'd as a Candidate; a upwards of 30 Miles within L and on a Coaſt where, except joint War with *France* and *Spa Spaniard* ever ventured to viſit.

Well; but our Marine is in Hands, it may be urged.

the old Round-Head Motto of, *Lord, thou my Lips, and my Mouth ſhall ſhew thy Praiſe*, may again be inſcribed on *Britiſh* Cannon. That very Fleet which d the *Spaniſh* Squadron alone, to be eight Hours in paſſing the Straits of ltar, without giving it the leaſt Annoy-, and which was, afterwards, bully'd A Non-Reſiſtance, by the very Sight of *French* Flag, now lords it in the *Mediter-*, in Defiance of both; examines all , without Diſtinction, affronts the very of *France*, and in Half an Hour ne-ates a better * Treaty, than the famous *alance* would have brought about, ll his Addreſs, in a Twelvemonth.

Theſe are Facts, it muſt be own'd; they B well, and may be ſaid to be true *Britiſh* ſures; ſince, hereby, our Quarrel with is, at once, very effectually carry'd our diſtreſs'd Ally, the Queen of *Hun-*, is relieved; and *Italy* ſecured from the ute Dominion of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. this all we had to expect from the Change? St. *Sebaſtian*'s is ſtill a Town; C Commerce ſuffers almoſt as much as ever; ſcarce a Day eſcapes without ſome addi-l Article to our Loſſes.

the mean While, Councils are held, ers are diſpatch'd, Negotiations are car-on, a War of Memorials is actually be-, Preparations are made, Magazines are , Armies are embark'd, Auxiliaries are , Camps are talk'd of, Marches are or-D , even Men of Quality handle their , and, 'tis expected, that his ******* ſelf will condeſcend to *expoſe* himſelf as Mars of the Field.

To aſſert the Dominion of the Sea, to the War into the Heart of *Spain*, to the *French* the Trouble of reducing *Dun-* to the Condition of a Village, as under-by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, do we put ſelves to the mighty Expence, and run Hazard of all this? Anſwer, Stateſ-

Privy Counſellors are ſworn to Secrecy.

that our Troops are landed already on the ent, where *Spain* is entirely out of the ction, and, for what as yet appears, *Dun-* too.

Conſider, the Queen of Hungary——

which made her Peace both with the *Pruſ-* and *Saxon*; and, at the like Expence, ght have had a Friend of one of thoſe ven long ago.

ter; but the March of Maillebois——

might have been prevented; *Broglio* and ny, coop'd up in *Prague*, were Hoſtages the Peace of *Europe*. As, therefore, I G all'd the Meaſures purſued in the *Britiſh*, let me be allow'd to call theſe *German*; for they ſeem to deſerve no other Name but *one*; which, for Reaſons of State, I forbear to uſe.

What, are you never to be pleaſed? Of late, one of your principal Complaints was, That the Glory was departed from *Iſrael*.

It was, and with good Reaſon; but Glory, as well as Gold, may be bought too dear. Suppoſe a Man, whoſe Purſe was in the laſt Stage of a galloping Conſumption, ſhould plunge himſelf into Schemes of building Palaces, laying out Gardens, ſinking Fiſhponds, and every other Work of Expence and Oſtentation, would not you think that he deſerved a Cell among the Incurables?

And would you preſume——

It is no Preſumption to inſinuate Matter of Fact. But, were we in ever ſuch flouriſhing Circumſtances, repeated Experiments have, or ought to convince us, that we have nothing to do with the Continent, and I have too great a Tenderneſs for the Lives of my Countrymen to ſee them ſquander'd away in vain.

Were you a true Politician, you would have no ſuch Qualms——

I know private Judgment in State Affairs is as much undervalued as private Judgment in Eccleſiaſtick.—Let me then have Recourſe to Authority, and oppoſe one Privy Counſellor to another.

† "A Council was held *May* 2, in which a Motion was made for declaring War with *France*, and puſhing it with our whole Strength, which was warmly ſupported by thoſe, who were for making Court to the Favourites: But my Lord *Rocheſter* was not altogether of that Sentiment, and in particular ſet forth, That the Cauſes aſſign'd for this dangerous Meaſure did not come home to us; that the Moſt Chriſtian King's ſeizing the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, we had in a Manner juſtified him in, by acknowledging his Grandſon as King of *Spain*. That his ſeizing *Cadiz*, *Milan*, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the *Weſt-Indies*, were but proper Precautions for ſecuring the Poſſeſſion of that Crown. That it was true, theſe were Steps of great Concern both to the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*; but that they affected us more remotely; and ſcarce at all, if theſe Powers were able, by themſelves, to make good their Frontier. That if for Fear of the worſt, we were obliged to become Parties, the furniſhing 10,000 Men to the States, in Virtue of a Treaty ſtill ſubſiſting between us, would be a very ſufficient Aid, and a full Equivalent to our Share of the Quarrel; which was immediately no more than the Affront offer'd to us, by the *French* King's acknowledging the Pretender

* *That juſt made by Commodore* Martin, *which ſee in the* Occurrences *for this Month.* † *See* *in Page, call'd,* The other Side of the Queſtion.

tender as King of *England*, &c. and what a very little Addreſs, at this Criſis, would procure a very ample Reparation for. That, however, if we reſolved to embroil ourſelves a-new, it ought rather to be as Auxiliaries than Principals, rather by Sea than Land. In Support of which Opinion, he urged, with great Strength of Reaſon, the infinite Expence and diſproportionable Succeſs of our laſt Enterpriſes on the Continent, which were manifeſtly calculated to advantage the *Dutch* more than ourſelves; the annual Difficulties and Animoſities they occaſion'd; the Grievance they were eſteem'd, and the Burden of Debts they had incumber'd us with, which were ſtill, and ſtill likely to remain, uncancelled. His Lordſhip farther made it appear, that what with the Charge of Embarkations, Difference of Pay, *&c.* a Land War would coſt us, in almoſt every Branch, double the Money it would coſt any other Power in the Confederacy; and that therefore, if we meddled with the Continent at all, which he was far from holding either neceſſary or expedient, it would be moſt adviſable to furniſh our Contingent in Money, (*Germany* ſwarming with Men) by which Means the Charge would be known and fix'd, and both the Hazard, and every other Diſadvantage would be manifeſtly leſs. But his Lordſhip's principal Drift was to ſhew, that *Land Wars were none of our Province*; that the *Sea* was our *only Element*; that there we could indeed make it a common Cauſe; and by the ſame Means, both advantage ourſelves, and diſtreſs the Enemy; that it was the miſtaken or corrupt Policy of a late * Reign to make the *French* formidable at Sea: But that we had ſince ſeen ſufficient Reaſon to lament ſo fatal a Meaſure. That *La Hogue* had in Part reduced this new Pretender to the Sovereignty of the Ocean; and that if a proper Uſe was made of the intended Rupture, her preſent Majeſty might have the Glory to finiſh the reſt. That *univerſal Commerce* would be a Balance for *univerſal Empire*; and that if the whole Strength of theſe Kingdoms was exerted as Nature deſign'd it ſhould, it would be much more eaſy for us to attain the firſt, than *Louis le Grand* to compaſs the laſt."

This Speech was made on the Eve of the laſt grand War with *France*, and hath received ſuch a Sanction from the Event, as puts it almoſt on the Footing of an Oracle.

Are our Circumſtances mended ſince that Time? Have we a larger or quicker Circulation of ready Money? Are our Debts diminiſh'd? Is our Traffick enlarged? Are our Manufactures more flouriſhing?

But FRANCE *is weaker.*

Her Power is then the leſs to be apprehended.—I will, however, grant ſhe is our natural Enemy, and that all Opportunities ought to be taken of diſabling her from Miſchief. She hath likewiſe given us great and ſenſible Mortifications, eſpe in the Affair of *Dunkirk*, which we are diſpenſably obliged to ſee more effectually moliſhed than ever. If, therefore, all Preparations with regard to *France* had ter'd in that ſole View; if we had ſup the Queen of *Hungary* with an annual A Money; if we ſhould continue a ſtron active Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; if we *Flanders* to the Care of the *Dutch*, Ge to its own confederated Princes, and ploy'd the Reſidue of our Strength, in ging *Spain* to do us Reaſon, both our fo and domeſtick Concerns might have bee conciled, *France* would be humbled, *B*—— would be ſafe.

I am, SIR, Yours,

Common Senſe, Sept. 11. N° 291.

After a great many ſevere Reflexions upo Placemen, for not contributing their Sha the War, Mr. Common Senſe *proceeds*

THE Kingdom of *Spain* hath been looſe and diſorderly Adminiſtration above a Century paſt (the little Time Cardinal *Alberoni* was in their Affairs ex ed) yet even in this Country, ſo miſerabl vern'd, the War no ſooner broke out, the firſt Expedient thought of for a Fun ſupply the Expences, was by cutting o *Sine-cures*, by ordering that all Perſons poſſeſs'd two Employments ſhould receive the Salary of one, leaving it to their Choice which they would receive; and not to be doubted but the *Spaniſh* Pol Honour prevail'd upon many of them to the loweſt:——That all Penſions, (tho Officers Widows, and the like Charity fions excepted) ſhould be ſuſpended for Years: Beſides which, the Salaries of Employments that were abſolutely neceſ were leſſen'd, nay even thoſe of mil Officers; the Duke of *Montemar* him Captain General of the Forces of S gave up 12,000 Dollars a Year of his pointments; and it appears by theſe Re tions, that the Placemen in *Spain* contr three Millions of Piaſters a Year to carrying on the preſent War, which en them (notwithſtanding the Detention of Galleons) to ſend a great Army into at the ſame Time that they were engag a War with *England*.

I needed not particularly to have *Spain*, ſince the ſame Thing hath been in every Country which hath now a upon its Hands. The *Auſtrian* Dom were, next to *England*, the moſt bur with Civil Employments of any in E as ſoon as the Queen of *Hungary* w

* *Charles* II.

'4, all thoſe in Civil Employments im-
tely gave up the greateſt Part of their
es. In the Kingdom of *Naples*, when
reſolv'd to augment the Troops in or-
join the *Spaniards*, the only Tax laid
that Purpoſe was a Tax upon the Tax-
ers. When *Sweden* enter'd into the
War againſt *Muſcovy*, immediately all
in Civil Employments were reduced to
Pay, the other Half being applied to
Expences of the War.

Whoever hath a Mind to ſee the Particu-
of theſe Facts, let him look into the
of *Europe* for the Year 1739, Vol. II.
how far did the publick Spirit of our
men, here, carry them to eaſe their
ry labouring under a Load of Debts,
than all the other Countries before-
'd put together? How many *Sine-*
were cut off? Did the reſt remit the
or Half of their Salaries? Did thoſe
poſſeſs'd two or more Employments take
more than the Appointments belonging to

anſwer theſe Queſtions, it happening
the People murmured extremely at that
about the Burden of ſo many uſeleſs
yments, the Perſon who then con-
and confounded all Things took Occa-
to create more; he made new Employ-
, altogether unneceſſary, with immenſe
, and put into them ſome of the moſt
ized of his Tools. Many of them
themſelves by Way of Poundage, ſo
ſtead of contributing towards the War,
drew a great deal more from the Pub-
than before the War; this was their
of helping the Diſtreſſes of their
try.

ould not have one remarkable Anecdote
, and that is, juſt after the Convention,
put three Nations into a Ferment, was
publick, juſt in the Height of the Peo-
age, the Man who took it upon him-
takes about 10,000*l.* a Year more to
own Family, over and above what they
before. (See *London Mag.* for 1739, p.
8.) If ſuch a Treaty had been made
Grand Vizier, the People would have
him tied to a Horſe's Tail, (I mean a
d Vizier at *Conſtantinople*.) But to ſhew
Modeſty of the Action, the Perſon who
'd this Employment before, dying at
, the other was not ſworn in till next
. I know this hath only been count-
Bagatelle, in Reſpect to his other Acti-
and I will allow it to be ſo; but if you
the immenſe Sums they drew from
Publick before, conſider how it was
, take in all Circumſtances, and you
ſhow, that ſo impudent a Thing was
done by any other Man living before.
ſaw another of the ſame Family, who
been glutted with publick Money, about
ame Time ſending to a poor Province in *America*, to beg an Alms of about 80*l.* This was his Way of contributing towards the Expences of the War. (See *London Mag.* for 1741, p. 142, 143.) I wonder how the Overſeers of the Pariſh can anſwer it, that they did not ſend ſuch a ſturdy Beggar to the Houſe of Correction; but ſince he ſtill retains the Mind of a Beggar, it is Pity he was not left in the Circumſtances of a Beggar; —that may be ſtill remedied; if a fair Inſpection ſhould be made into his paſt Conduct, I will make no Doubt, but Matter enough will be found againſt him, to reſume all he hath drawn from the Publick; and becauſe I would not argue for any Thing that is ſevere, I would have the great Eſtate to which he was born, left him.

In fine, if a Fund ſhould be wanting for carrying on the War, there is a very good one in the Pockets of the Placemen, they are overcharg'd with publick Money; and ſince they are not honeſt enough to make an Offer themſelves of relieving their Country, it is to be hoped, that thoſe who have a Power of obliging them to it, will make them bear the Burden. If there are, as it is reported, Debts upon the Civil Liſt, ſure a Bill will be brought in, to ſubject the monſtrous overgrown Eſtate of him, by whoſe Robberies upon the Civil Liſt they were occaſioned, to the Payment of them.

Some Reflexions on an ESSAY *towards an Inquiry into the* ORIGIN *of* EVIL. *In a* LETTER *to the Rev. Mr.* Y. Z. (See p. 404.)

SIR,

MY unavoidable Avocations, which are too many and too preſſing to allow me much Time for the moſt important Diſquiſitions of a ſpeculative Nature, occaſioned, I acknowledge, a ready Compliance, on the firſt Mention of it, with the Method you have taken, of examining into the preſent very important Subject, being willing to hope, that *ſome Friend to Truth or us*, would not be backward in *lending a helping Hand* on ſo deſerving an Occaſion. However, to let you ſee I had no Thought of ſhifting the Burden intirely upon others, you have here my Sentiments of the ſeveral Steps by which, you ſay, you arrive at your Concluſion.

Your firſt, ſecond and third Steps to me appear to have no neceſſary Connexion with your Concluſion; nor have I any other Objection to them, than that the Perfections of Deity ſeem to be ranged in a prepoſterous Order; but it will be Time enough to take Notice of that, if in the Proceſs of this Inquiry you ſhould preſs that Order, preferably to any other, into the Service of your Scheme.

But as to your fourth, I am not certain, that I underſtood it, but am rather inclin'd

to

to think it altogether unintelligible.—Moral Happineſs, or the Happineſs of moral Agents, as ſuch, I imagine, allowedly conſiſts in the Pleaſure reſulting from a paſt rational Conduct of their own reflected on; but how can ſuch Pleaſure or Happineſs be poſſibly imparted to a moral Agent, who is capable, in Virtue of his moral Agency, of a rational or irrational Conduct, as he pleaſes? If therefore by ſaying, That a Being infinitely good, wiſe and powerful cannot but impart the greateſt poſſible Happineſs, you mean any more, than that ſuch a Being cannot but impart Capacities for Happineſs, ſuitable to the Creatures he has formed, your Aſſertion, I think, is not true; and if you mean no more, neither is this at all to your Purpoſe; becauſe you are very ſenſible, that in this Controverſy it is all along ſuppoſed, that notwithſtanding the Sanctification and Salvation of all Mankind are the Will or Deſire of God, yet he has formed them with a Liberty or Power of chuſing, to make a right or wrong Uſe of the Capacities he has imparted to them, and conſequently with a Capacity of Happineſs or Unhappineſs, as they wiſely uſe, or fooliſhly abuſe thoſe Powers, which he has given them.

Your fifth, viz. *In this Conſtitution of Things*, &c. contains a Principle of too great Importance, and of too conſiderable Influence on the moral World to be granted without Proof. Beſides, that ſuch a Proportion of moral Evil, as was at any given Time, was *Part of the Conſtitution of God, impoſſible* not to be committed, and the *beſt Means* of attaining the beſt End, is what I can ſcarcely imagine, you will think capable of being defended, on a more mature Conſideration: Nor indeed will your Premiſe at all ſupport ſo obnoxious a Concluſion. For, tho' it were granted, that it is impoſſible there ſhould not be moral Evil in the preſent Conſtitution of Things, yet it will by no Means thence follow, that all the moral Evil that is at any given Time, is Part of that Conſtitution: No, the only juſt Inference that could be thence drawn, is this, that ſome of the moral Evil then in being was Part of that Conſtitution.

But, indeed, wherever a Neceſſity of committing, or an Impoſſibility of avoiding to commit any Action, which we now call a moral Evil, takes Place, there the very Nature of Evil ceaſes, with reſpect to the Perſon who commits it, and conſequently the Accountableneſs for it: So that if by ſaying, that it is impoſſible there ſhould not be moral Evil in the preſent Conſtitution of Things, you mean, that it is impoſſible there ſhould not be what, at the ſame Time we commit it, we know to be moral Evil, it will be denied; but if you mean no more by it, than that it is impoſſible we ſhould not do Things, which after the Commiſſion of them, we know to be evil, it may be allowed, without the leaſt Impeachment of any of the d Perfections; becauſe he by no Means ex abſolute Perfection from us in this imp State.—By what has been already ſaid, will eaſily perceive, that I am ſo far allowing, that God is the Author of a moral Evil that is in the World, at any Time, that I do not imagine, he is the thor of any Part of it, and ſhall leave you to point out thoſe Perfections of th vine Being, which ſuch a Suppoſition plain Denial of.——As for *natural E* purpoſely wave the Mention of it at Time, becauſe I am not without Hope, a clear Explication of the Terms may p End to all Debate on that Head.—— what has been urged on the Head of *Evil*, I ſhall only beg Leave to add a Caſe, which may ſerve to illuſtrate the ſonableneſs of entertaining Apprehen that were your Scheme to prevail, it be very prejudicial to the Intereſt of V ——A Perſon in very neceſſitous Circum ces ſees an Opportunity of retrieving his dition, and raiſing himſelf above the F of the World, without any apparent D by taking from another a Sum of M which he knows he has about him: the Motives on your Scheme, for and a this Action, are theſe. If he does it, i be beſt, and not only beſt upon the W but eſpecially with regard to his own Intereſt; if he does not do it, it will b that he did not do it; but it will only upon the Whole, and not beſt with reſ his preſent moſt ſenſible Intereſt. Now a vaſt Præpollency of Motive in Prefe Virtue would, I fear, ſoon leave but of it in the World; ſo that every vi Perſon, at leaſt, moſt heartily wiſh Scheme were not true, which, in my nion, is no inconſiderable preſumptive ment againſt it.

I am, SIR, Yo

Common Senſe, Sept. 18. N° 29

Of political Writers, and the Neceſſity niſhing bad Miniſters.

THERE are a Sort of ingenious G men who take upon themſelves critical Expoſitors, or Commentators Works of dead Authors, and to make mean whatever they fancy they ſhould Two very wiſe and witty Writers, and *Cervantes*, have been often thus The Works of the firſt of theſe, they us, are a Satire on the *Church* and C *Rome*, and that the Character of *Fri of the Funnels* is plainly levell'd at the and Idleneſs of the Prieſts. *Garagantu* ſay) who ſwallows every Thing whole

plainly a *rapacious Miniſter*, and the hard
Bill thrown down that Monſter's Throat,
filled with compleat *Engineers*, furniſhed
Lanthorn and Candle, and all neceſſary
ements for cleanſing a Place grown foul
Corruption, were apparently intended to
a *Committee of Enquiry*; and when that
Giant, by revulſing his Breath, and
wing a Damp into his Stomach, found
to extinguiſh the Lights, while the
Engineers were yet in his Belly, it
orically denoted the Loſs of an *Indem-*
Bill. But ſome of theſe Paraphraſ-
Meaning-hunters have gone much far-
with the inimitable Works of the Au-
of *Don Quixote*: They have found out
the *Don* is the *Pope*, *Dulcinæa del Toboſo*,
Church, and honeſt *Sancho-Pancha*, the
; that when the *Knight-Errant* encoun-
Giants, gives Battle to Windmills, over-
a numerous Army of Sheep, and
ms all his other extraordinary and he-
Actions in Honour of his *Dulcinæa*
no Reaſon can juſtify) they take all
to mean *Matters of Faith* enjoined by
Church; that when his truſty *Squire* is
'd to laſh himſelf to diſenchant the
, the Author means the Penance en-
the People for their Sins; and that
cunning *Sancho* bites the *Don*, and
the Trees inſtead of his own Back,
lear that the crafty Penitents frequently
Abſolution without performing the
enjoined. What led me into this
of thinking was the Conſideration in
Manner we *political Journaliſts* ſhall be
by another Age (if any of our flimſy
rations ſhould have the Honour to de-
to Poſterity) for as we have, till very
, been obliged to deliver our Thoughts
ther in Metaphor, Allegory and Fable,
ly to fortify againſt Law Aſſaults by
Uſe of *initial Letters*, and ſometimes
been reduced to leave *Chaſms* for whole
graphs, or to fill them up only with lit-
we call *Aſteriſks*, beſides our *Italick*
ters, which are a Sort of *Feſcues* to
our leſs acute Readers Notice where the
of the Argument or the Wit lies: I
when we come to be commented on
ture Ages, theſe *Innuendo-Men* may be
ed to make ſtrange Work with us;
will ſay, perhaps, we were all a Sort of
Don Quixotes*, that when we combated
pointed Miniſters we fought with Wind-
, that when we oppoſed ſtanding Ar-
it was to as much Purpoſe as if we
bated a Flock of Sheep; that *Liberty*
our *Dulcinæa*, but *Property* our Deity;
this ſhould not happen, I am afraid a
deal of our Arguments, our Wit, our
, and our Satire will be loſt, or
will prove as bad, (and that is a morti-
Thought indeed) we ſhall be look'd upon
as unmeaning and unintelligible, or, perhaps,
if any Thing at all can be made of what we
wrote, it will appear only by ſeveral quarrel-
ſome and ſevere Altercations, that there were
Writers of oppoſite Sides at that Time; but
what they meant, or whom they aſſailed, or
which Party was victorious, will be left
wholly in the Dark: They may read the
Word *Liberty* in a Piece of every Page that
remains; they may obſerve ſhe is deſcribed as
a fair Virgin contended for by both Sides,
and violated by both alternately; they may
perhaps find out at that Diſtance the *Perſons*,
who once ſtood the foremoſt in the Rank of
thoſe Heroes, who devoted himſelf to deliver
her from Chains and Diſhonour, and ſeems
at laſt to have given her his Pity inſtead of
his Aid: But thoſe who ſhall in our more
durable hiſtorical Records peruſe an imperfect
Account of the political Tranſactions in our
Days, will find there was a wordy War,
which laſted many Years, between their An-
ceſtors and a Miniſter, as they declared, more
iniquitous than any that preceded him; that
he was very near overturning the then limited
Monarchy, and wholly deſtroying what was
called the Conſtitution in thoſe Days: They
will find that at laſt he was diſplaced and
others put in his Room, and ſome of thoſe
too who were look'd upon to be the warmeſt
Aſſertors of the Liberty of their Country;
they will ſtand amazed when they behold the
great and neceſſary Work of putting an End
to a corrupt Dependance not yet begun, no
Progreſs at all made in removing or puniſh-
ing thoſe, who were notoriouſly known to
have been the Tools and Accomplices of the
great Felon: They will ſigh to find them-
ſelves at that Time, by the Indolence and
Weakneſs, by the Flattery and Cowardice,
to ſay no worſe, of their Forefathers, under
the Power of arbitrary Hands; they may,
perhaps, when their Chains gall them, curſe
their Anceſtors who rivetted them with their
own Hands, and left them no other Inheri-
tance but Slavery. They will then behold
their fair Country, once renown'd in Arms,
famed for Liberty and Laws of their own
making, ravaged at the Pleaſure of deſpo-
tick Power, enervated by Luxury, in ſervile
Bonds, and certainly depending on the Breath
of an *abſolute*, perhaps a *cruel* Tyrant.

But we may be told, wherefore do we chuſe
to point out this melancholy Proſpect? We
ſay in Anſwer, it is to ſhew and mark out
what will, what muſt moſt inevitably hap-
pen, if we do not at this very Time labour
with our whole Might to prevent it; this is
the Criſis, perhaps the only Opportunity we
may ever have; if our Repreſentatives ſhould
return in the next Seſſion of Parliament with
the ſame Zeal and Vigour with which they
open'd the laſt, they will yet find Corruption
unable to make Head againſt them, they

may yet give the finiſhing Blow to that Monſter, and recover all: And every Undertaking to defend and ſkreen the *Criminal* will be vain and ineffectual; but this Work muſt not be done by Halves, either the Conſtitution muſt periſh, or the Corruptor muſt be puniſhed; and give me Leave to ſay, all other Remedies are *Palliatives* only, the Nation can be recovered by no other Means, but a legal Puniſhment of this Man and his Accomplices. And this deſirable and great End may be attained, if Gentlemen will attend to the End of a Seſſion, tho' it ſhould laſt long, tho' very incommode and diſagreeable to the Country Gentlemen; if they could with Patience bear the Fatigue, they would moſt certainly find their Labour rewarded with Succeſs, and enjoy the Honour and unſpeakable Happineſs of finding their Country recover'd, and the Conſtitution re-eſtabliſh'd by their Means. It was very remarkably the Play and Practice of the late *Miniſter*, to poſtpone thoſe Bills (which he well knew would not go glibly down with the Country Gentlemen) till the Cloſe of a Seſſion, when he ſaw none about him, but his Friends, or a great Majority of them, that is, when only his own Mercenaries remain'd in the Field, and the Country Gentlemen, wearied out with a long Attendance, and hopeleſs of any Succeſs, were retired to their Country Seats; then out came Votes of Credit, *&c.* with a *Nem. con.* to every Jobb. Thank Heaven, the Country Intereſt have now a Majority, if they think fit to make uſe of their Power; it is now in their Hands to prevent one Part of the legiſlative Authority from being wholly dependent on the other; whether it ſhall happen to become ſo by any Kind of Influence, by the Diſtribution of Honours, the Corruption of the Electors or the Elected, or by any other Methods whatſoever.

If Gentlemen thus attend, we may hope to ſee the Nation once more holding the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and ſettling ſuch a Peace with the humbled *Spaniards*, as may put it abſolutely out of their Power ever more to inſult us; we may, till that Time comes, carry the War on againſt them with the ſame Spirit and Force, as it was carry'd on by our moſt glorious Queen *Elizabeth*; ſhe, by depending on her own Ability and Courage, and the Affections and Zeal of her Subjects, both which never failed her, intirely ſubdued that moſt haughty, and at that Time, powerful and wealthy Nation; her Admirals plunder'd their Coaſts of their Gold and Silver in *New Spain*, while *Drake* did the ſame in *Europe*; her Orders were executed with Spirit and Fidelity, Half the Wealth of the *Indies* was brought to *England*, and to ſum up all, their moſt Invincible *Armada* (as they ridiculouſly called it) was beaten, ſcatter'd and deſtroy'd.

Craftſman, Sept. 18. N° 847.

Mr. D'Anvers,

BY whom the following Epiſtle was w
or to whom, or by what Accident it
into a third Hand, I am unable to give
the leaſt Account. —— I found it in
Hands of a Friend, he gave me Leav
take a Copy, I ſend it to you, and yo
hope, will honour it with a Place in
Craftſman. *Yours, &c.*

*To His Em—— C——l ******.*

My Angular good Lord, and Boſom Friend,

I Have now Leiſure to write, and,
haps, you to read. We have both e
had our Reigns, and may, at laſt, with
Wolſey, in one of our *Engliſh* Plays, b
long Farewel to all our Greatneſs.

For my own Part, this is what I have
many Years, ſeen Cauſe to apprehend,
conſequently made it my Buſineſs to pr
for. I do not mean either as a Chriſti
a Philoſopher; your Eminence knows
better. No, once a Politician and alw
Politician. *Judas* repented, and ſaved
Hangman the Labour; but we no where
that the *unjuſt Steward* either own'd
Guilt, I mean to the World, or was pu
for it. On the contrary, when he ſaw
Diſmiſſion unavoidable, inſtead of ſa
under his Crimes, he moſt heroically do
them, and thereby made himſelf eaſ
the reſt of his Days.

Need I tell you that I have *done* like
It is ſufficient to ſay, that I kept all
and ſwept the T————y into the
gain; that I am exalted above my P
that I have outdone all the *Roman* Pontif
the Affair of Nepotiſm; that I have
Coadjutors as well as you; that I have
my Mantle on *Eliſha*, who appears al
to have a double Portion of my Spirit;
I leave my Friends not only ſafe, but
Condition to cover my Retreat, let my
ſuers follow with what Ardour they pl
that the *Canaille* already begin to give
the Chace, and to open with leſs Vehem
than before; that even my very En
ſhare in the Perſecution they have r
that I am here at ————, the Wo
my own Hands, ſurrounded with all
Splendors of the World, which I hav
Virtue of a little political Magick, rai
of a Dunghil; that my ſole Employ
now, is to brood over my Wealth, and
Accounts, find Room for my Picture
Furniture, make Additions to my Ga
Fiſhponds, Grottos, Groves, *&c.* and
the Tempeſts which ſhake the Th
of Kings. In one Word, my good
C—

—l, thoſe that envy'd my Greatneſs, more my Retreat; and, in my own ſerions, I almoſt compare myſelf to *Cæ-* and *Cromwell*; for tho', like them, I ſubdued other Countries, I have, at triumph'd over my own.

is a common Reflexion, that we fear than we feel; to the Truth of which A Witneſs from my own Experience. even when my Aſcendency at C—— at its higheſt Flow, and I had the moſt to be ſure of a dead Majority of *thick* M———rs in both ******, a —n never yet was open'd, but my ſmote together, like *Belteſhazzar*'s he read the Hand-Writing on the on the bare Poſſibility of what might B before its Cloſe. The Story of *Acteon* to Pieces by his own Hounds, ſeem'd to a lively Picture of a M——r beſet with own Tools; every one of which I have to be a very *Cerberus*, that, till he had Sop, would deafen Hell itſelf with his

'Tis true, I had not only an Inventory of Names, Prices, *&c.* but made it my C ual Care to be able, on any Emergence, mand the Market; on the Strength ich Eſtabliſhment, and the great Mat- daily effected by it, I, ſometimes, gave to my Vanity, and, in a Sort of neſs, or Inſolence of Heart, diſplay'd ictator, and both talk'd and acted as if herſelf had taken Earneſt to be my D

this I have been condemn'd, both by and Foes; with how little Reaſon, I——— be the Judge, when I do you, moſt ſeriouſly, that, tho' I have call'd the grand Corruptor, many more have corrupted me, than have been ted by me. I have a Book, my Lord, I call my *Doomſday-Book*, conſiſting of E Volumes in Folio, and upwards, in I have cauſed to be regularly enter'd, of Debtor and Creditor, all the Ad- that have been made to me, and all plications I have been forced to make; aſſure you, every Page of the firſt ked with Proſtitutions, and Thouſands laſt remain unpolluted with a ſingle F

ſuch inconteſtable Records, then, Venality of the human Heart, and Years Demonſtration, that the of the C—— L——, and the Vails C—— were more than ſufficient to every Call, however frequent or ex- 'tis, in my Opinion, more to be d, that I ever knew what a Panick G that I ſhould ſometimes give my- Airs of one who, at once, both de- defy'd his Enemies.

whatever Palliations I have to plead, it muſt be confeſs'd I have an equal Share of Cowardice and Temerity to anſwer for. It was raſh to leave the People ſo much at large to chuſe for themſelves, on the Preſumption that I had the Power to chuſe them again afterwards; and my Cowardice broke out whether I would or no, when I abdicated my Government, before I was call'd to Account for any one ſingle Article of Mal-Adminiſtration.

To lay myſelf quite open to your Em———ce, then it was that I apprehended myſelf to be in the very Snares of Death, and the Hell I had not thought of from my Infancy before, in a Manner, ſtared me in the Face.—— With how little Reaſon, let the Event ſpeak. The Tempeſt, which ſtruck me with ſuch Horror, hath only blown me into Port, and, to all Appearance, I am, at this preſent Writing, the happieſt Man in the World.

Alas! that dreadful Word *Appearance!* How widely doth it differ from the Reality?

My Lord, tho' you ſhould be almoſt bow'd down to the Earth with Age, and its Infirmities; tho' your R——l P—p—l is no longer ſo obedient as formerly; tho' you find every Court-Whiſperer round about you pretends to know an Aſs by his Ears, as well as your Em——ce; tho' your Advice is always thwarted, and often over-ruled; tho', in Proportion, as Difficulties ariſe, Ways and Means ſhould fail; tho' you ſhould loſe all Credit among the Great; tho' your venerable Name ſhould become the Scorn and Contempt of the Vulgar, and the very Creatures you exalted ſhould endeavour to wreſt the Staff out of your Hold, bear up under all Preſſures, encounter all Oppoſites, and, if poſſible, die with it in your Hand!

If Buſineſs is a Fatigue, it is yet more an Amuſement; whatever Miſchief we do, while in Power, we have ſcarce Leiſure to reflect on. The Tyrant's Plea, Neceſſity, is ever at Hand to ſanctify Oppreſſion; Habit ſears the Conſcience; and, by continual Excurſions abroad, we ſcarce know what paſſes at home.

But when we are ſnatch'd out of this Hurry, what a hideous Vacuity follows? Repoſe and Eaſe are beſtow'd on private Men, who owe the Preſervation of their Innocence to their Obſcurity. To us they are utterly unattainable; unleſs a Draught of the Poet's *Lethe* were to be had, tho' at the Price of Half a Kingdom. The Wealth, Pomp, Grandeur, and cumberſome Ceremonial, which Philoſophers affect to deſpiſe, becauſe out of their Reach, and Fools covet, becauſe they regard nothing but the Outſide of Things, only ſuch as we know the true Value of; and, for my Part, I can truly ſay, I am glutted with them; and Satiety hath produced Loathing.

Thoſe who from the Vales of Life look up to us on the Eminence, wonder how it is poſſible for us to be unhappy, becauſe we are poſſeſs'd of all that they ſigh for; never once reflecting that he who, ſurrounded with Dainties, regards them with Diſguſt, inſtead of Appetite, is but more emphatically curſed.

The higheſt Pleaſures of Life conſiſt in having ſomething to wiſh, which we are almoſt certain of enjoying; and the trueſt Method to avoid Pain, is to have the Secret ſo to huſband the Sands of Time, that, on the one Hand, not a Grain may ſlide away in Waſte; nor, on the other, that we ſhould groan under that burdenſome Leiſure of counting them as they fall.

Believe me, my Lord, tho' I have been ſtaked down in the Midſt of a clamorous Circle, where every forward Cub of the Pack did his beſt to worry me to Death, I find that to be embaraſs'd with one's own tormenting Thoughts is a much more terrifying Situation; and that every additional Hour of ſuch a Being, is attended with more inſupportable Senſations than the laying it down.

All the Artifice I ever uſed to deceive my **** or plunder his People, I am now forced to practiſe upon myſelf, in order, if poſſible, to keep Reflexion out; which is ever clamorous for Admittance, and yet never enters but to breed Confuſion ——*Had I ſerved my God as faithfully as my King*, ſaid *Wolſey*, dying, *he would not have forſook me in my old Age.* Had I fear'd the Reproaches of my own Boſom more, and the Practices of my Enemies leſs, I had died with Honour, or lived with Comfort, ſay I.

Why then was I ſo ſolicitous to prolong a Life, ſo incapable of being made tolerable? Alas! my good Lord, what a Gulph does that Queſtion open? What a Proſpect does it ſpread before me?—Let my very Dreams explain the reſt!

The very Day that I received the Compliments of my Tools on the wonder-working Syllables annex'd to my Name, according to my uſual Cuſtom, I withdrew from the Feaſt, to invite a Moment's Slumber.——It came; but how attended? I can ſcarce relate it without Horror.

Methought I found myſelf on a wide, deſerted Plain, at dead Midnight, expoſed to all the Rage of the Elements, which were mingled in ſuch a War, as ſeem'd to threaten the Diſſolution of all Things. By the Glare of the Lightning, which flamed every where round about me, I diſcovered four Houſes, and haſten'd to the neareſt for Shelter; the Owner of which had ſcarce had a Glimpſe of me, but ſhe cry'd out; *I am* Truth, *and thy whole Life hath been a Lye! Away!* Amazed at ſuch a Reception, I poſted to the next, in Hopes of kinder Uſage; but how grievouſly was I diſappointed, when I found that to be the Reſidence of *Juſtice?* who inſtant drawing forth her Sword, declared, if came within her Reach, ſhe would ma my Doom a Warning to all ſucceeding Ag Terrify'd with the very Voice of one H ſo much Reaſon to avoid, I again took my Heels, without daring to look beh me; and, approaching to the third Te ment, found it to be the Abode of *Pea* but moated round, the Draw-bridge up, over the Door theſe forbidding Words; *Th is no Peace for the Wicked.* But one Cha of Reception now remain'd, the Storm doubled, and, more than Half in Deſpair puſh'd on to make my laſt Effort. H *Mercy* had her Dwelling; but then her S was on a Rock, ſurrounded with a ſee ingly-impaſſable Brake. I had, however Sight of the Goddeſs afar off, and proſtrat myſelf before her, endeavour'd to ſpeak, found no Paſſage for my Words.——She, vertheleſs, look'd with an Eye of Com ſion upon me, directed me to a Path, ſent me *Penitence* for my Guide. But, fore I could reap the Fruits of her Inter Favour, I walked in an Agony, which ſince ſcarce ever remitted, and which noth leſs than your ghoſtly Advice can ever roughly remove. *I am, my Lord,* &c.

Common Senſe, Sept. 25. N° 293.

A Perſian LETTER, *wrote ſome Years a*

From LONDON.

RICA *to* USBECK.

ALHA created this World in his Wra we are temporary Exiles from Pa *diſe*; the Crimes we committed, when might have enjoy'd perfect Happineſs, w we had no Wants, no Infirmities, but An tion, are puniſhed here by Frailties and W of the loweſt Kind. As to the Texture our Bodies, it is every Hour mutable frail; we are compoſed of, and ſubſiſt our Parent Elements; a few Bundles of Fi and Strainers cauſe a Rotation of thoſe Elements within us, and our brittle Ex ence depends on the Failure of the lea them: The whole Maſs of the Fluid is ven thro' them and ſecreted by its Con ries. The Syſtem is Fermentation:— Word, oppoſite Paſſions torment us, and another; our Pleaſures are much over-ba ced by Pains: We ſeem to be in the Sit tion of the 40,000 black Angels, who ture one another for ever in the Valley Darkneſs.—What Trifles are we! our ſerious Buſineſs is more unmeaning and in nificant than the Play of Babies. This, *byck*, is the gloomy Opinion of ſome Phil phers here, tho' they confeſs all Men were equally guilty in *Paradiſe*, as we may obſ

their Sentences; ſome were condemn'd
y they) for 30, others for 40 or 50, and
for 70 or 80 Years: Theſe laſt muſt
been Rebels of the firſt Magnitude by
Duration of their Puniſhment: Some,
thoſe who have been very little guilty,
injoin'd only to viſit this World for a
outh or leſs, and return again to Scenes of
mortal Youth and Pleaſure. Theſe Phi-
ſophers inform us, when this Sentence was
pronounced, after the grand Rebellion
Heaven was quelled, the Prophet of God
ed forth and meditated a Mitigation of the
dgment; and it was granted him, that the
appy Exiles ſhould loſe the Conſciouſneſs
their former Bleſſedneſs: This Doctrine
ſtroys itſelf; for if it be ſo, *Uſbeck*, how
me it to be promulgated or known? What
ery whimſical, the People of Religion
re call theſe Philoſophers whimſical, and
nt them as Madmen.

But now I have begun, let me give thee
n account of the religious Reveries of an-
ther Sort of no Philoſophers, called *Qua-*
ers; they profeſs the loweſt Humility, yet
e they extremely proud; they teach Sim-
licity in their Dreſs and Manners, yet are
ey vicious and delicate: They declare it is
ſigning to *Alha* to adorn themſelves in a
rt of coſtly Linen, compoſed of the fineſt
reads interwoven with curious Art, where-
n there are certain Vacancies left which help
form artificial Figures of Flowers, &c. yet
y they wear, and they ſay, without Offence
their Prophet, the ſame Kind of Threads
mpoſed in a plain Manner, and without
eſe Holes or Vacancies. They declare a-
inſt Pleats in their outward Veſtments, yet
e their Hearts generally full of Folds and
oublings; they ſay the great Prophet muſt
adored without Ceremony or Form, yet
e they the moſt formal and ceremonious of
l Men; they bend the Knee to no Man,
d yet do they expect every Man ſhould
end the Knee to them: They do not wor-
ip God, they expect rather that God ſhould
orſhip them: They ſay he does, for they
t in their *Moſques*, cover'd with certain
ound-brim'd Turbands, where they expect
im to enter their Tabernacles, ſo they call
their Bodies, the plaineſt Cabins thou didſt
ever behold; when they have ſat ſome Time,
nd gloomily brooded over their cold Imagina-
ions, they fancy the Prophet enters, they
iſe and uncover, they ſhake, they diſtort
their ſtiff Muſcles in a moſt ridiculous Man-
ner, and are deliver'd, with much Noiſe and
Fervency, of a Rhapſody of unintelligible I-
deas; they impiouſly call theſe Ideas the
Breathings of the Spirit; they ſay he ſome-
times vouchſafes to breathe into their Wo-
men: I aſſure thee, *Uſbeck*, I have ſeen
ſome of that delicate and tender Sex, throw-
ing aſide at once all Relation to Decency,
ſtand up uncover'd, and ſquawl out Nonſenſe
in the Face of a Multitude two Hours toge-
ther. Theſe ſad Folks are ſuffer'd and in-
dulged here, as they inform me, for this
Reaſon, becauſe they renounce all Arms and
Warfare, and cannot therefore be at any
Time dangerous to the State: I think, as
they refuſe to bear Arms in the common pub-
lick Defence, they ſhould not be indulged;
they do not contribute to their own or the
Defence of the State; but they can pay thoſe
who do, and here, you are to know, every
Thing is venal. Theſe People had ſomething
good in them at firſt, they form'd a Scheme
to follow cloſely their *Chriſtian Koran*, but
they have the Fate of other Sects, who in
Time, like Lines from the ſame Centre,
run wide of their Original; they are, in-
deed, at a great Diſtance now. Theſe Un-
believers are only Pretenders to Holineſs,
they live by wearing this Maſk; they are
religious, not pious; devout, not holy; the
Mortifications of the Spirit are drown'd in
the Luxury of the Fleſh, they are ſleek and
wanton, inſolent and plump as the Prieſts of
Keſaya.

Yet, before I part with thee, for while I
write, I always think I am with thee, I
muſt give a ſhort Account of another Sect,
a political Sect of Enthuſiaſts, called, the RO-
BINOCRACY; this Sect takes it Name from
one *Robin* or *Bob*, who is their Head and Pa-
tron; their principal Deity, Guard, Support and
Protector, is MONEY, for which Reaſon it
ought rather to be called AUROCRACY;
their Chief has laid it down as a Fundamen-
tal of their Faith, that all Obligations and
Relations in civil Life are to give Way to the
Love of Money; and this Doctrine they put
in Practice every Hour with ſurpriſing Suc-
ceſs, for by Virtue of it they have poſſeſſed
themſelves of almoſt all the Power in the
State. This ſame *Robin* at this Time flouriſhes,
inſults, deprives, puniſhes, bribes, de-
fies, flatters; the People univerſally hate
him, and his Accomplices; they cry out
Thieves aloud, nobody hears them; they
ſay he will deſtroy the Conſtitution. I know
not how better to deſcribe this notorious Rob-
ber to thee, than in thy own Words in the
Character of * *Hali*, which thou didſt ſend
to me from *Iſpahan*; there is, I muſt tell
thee, a very near Reſemblance between the
Indian and the *Britiſh Corruptors General*:
May this *Engliſh* Spoiler meet with *Hali*'s
Fate.——It is Pity, *Uſbeck*, that this beau-
tiful, fertile and temperate Spot of the Globe
ſhould be deſtroyed for the Sins of a few;
but ſo it will certainly be, probably very
ſoon, and this Iſland will have the ſame Fate
with the reſt of the Nations round her, and
at laſt be the Slave of *one* Man.

* *See* Craftſman, Vol. II. N° 46.

To

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

AS there are many in *England*, and eſpecially in *Wales*, that bear the ſame Name as the Gentleman, who is the Subject of the following Lines, it may not be improper to premiſe ſome Particulars concerning him to the Publick. The chief Reaſon that induces me to this, is, that he is ſo truly amiable in the Eyes of all, who have the Honour of knowing him, that they will readily do the Author the Juſtice of acknowledging, that he has only aim'd at ſpeaking of him as he is, without embelliſhing, heightening, or attempting to heighten or embelliſh any one Part of ſo excellent a Character.

His Eſtates lie in the Counties of *Brecon* and *Radnor*: He is the eldeſt Son of the late *Gabriel Powell*, Eſq; of *Swanſea* in the County of *Glamorgan*, and Brother to the truly-worthy Gentleman now of the ſame Name and Place; where is generally his Reſidence. He married the Relict of the late —— *Herbert*, Eſq; of the *Fryars* in the ſaid County of *Glamorgan*.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

R. S.

To JOHN POWELL, *Eſq*; *Barriſter of Law.*

By RICHARD SAVAGE, *Eſq*;

IN me long abſent, long with anguiſh
fraught;
In me tho' ſilence long has deaden'd thought;
Yet mem'ry lives, and calls the Muſe's aid,
To ſnatch our friendſhip from oblivion's ſhade.
As ſoon the *Sun* ſhall ceaſe the world to warm,
As ſoon *Llanelly*'s * *Fair* that world to charm,
As grateful ſenſe of goodneſs, true like thine,
Shall e'er deſert a breaſt ſo warm as mine.
When imag'd *Cambria* ſtrikes my mem'ry's
eye;
(*Cambria*, my darling ſcene!) I, ſighing, cry,
Where is my *Powell*? dear aſſociate! ——
where?
To him I would unboſom ev'ry care;
To him, who early felt, from beauty, pain;
Gall'd in a plighted, faithleſs virgin's chain:
At length, from her ungen'rous fetters freed,
Again he loves! he woos! his hopes ſucceed;
But the gay bridegroom, ſtill by *Fortune* croſt,
Is, inſtant, in the weeping wid'wer loſt:
Her, his ſole joy! her, from his boſom torn,
What feeling heart but learns, like his, to
mourn?
Can nature then ſuch ſudden ſhocks ſuſtain?
Nature thus ſtruck, all reaſon pleads in vain!

Tho' late, from reaſon yet he draws relief
Dwells on her mem'ry, but diſpels his grief
Love, wealth, and fame, (tyrannic paſſ
all!)
No more inflame him, and no more inthr
He ſeeks no more, in *Rufus*' hall, renown
Nor envies pelf, the jargon of the gown;
But pleas'd with competence, on rural pla
His wiſdom courts that eaſe, his worth
tains. [crea
Would private jars, which ſudden riſe,
His candour ſmiles all diſcord into peace.
To party ſtorms is public weal reſign'd?
Each ſteady, patriot virtue ſteers his mind
Calm on the beach, while mad'ning bill
rave,
He gains philoſophy from ev'ry wave;
Science from ev'ry object round he draws
From various nature and from nature's law
He lives o'er ev'ry paſt, hiſtoric age;
He calls forth ethicks from the fabled pa
Him evangelic truth to thought excites;
And him by turns each claſſic Muſe delig
With wit well-natur'd; wit, that would
dain
A pleaſure riſing from another's pain.
Social to all, and moſt of bliſs poſſeſt,
When moſt he renders all around him bl
To unread 'ſquires illiterately gay;
Among the learn'd, as learned full as they
With the polite, all, all-accompliſh'd eaſ
By nature form'd without deceit to pleaſe.
Thus ſhines thy youth, and thus my fri
elate
In bliſs as well as worth, is truly great.
Me ſtill ſhould ruthleſs fate, unjuſt, expo
Beneath thoſe clouds that rain unnumb
woes;
Me to ſome nobler ſphere ſhould *Fortune* ra
To wealth conſpicuous, and to laurel'd pr
Unalter'd yet be love and friendſhip mine!
I ſtill am *Chloe*'s, and I ſtill am thine.

A SIMILE *for the* LADIES.

IN limpid ſtreams a thouſand forms we
Which raiſe amazement in the wond'
eye.
Whate'er of beauty on their borders grow
The floating glaſs in its fair boſom ſhews.
The pride of ev'ry grove together meets,
And charms us with a wilderneſs of ſwee
Lo! with impetuous force a dreadful ſho
In torrents falls, and blots out ev'ry flowe

Such is the fate of woman. Oft we fin
A thouſand graces in one body join'd:
A faultleſs ſhape, a ſkin of ſnowy hue,
All that is lovely, tempting, chaſte and true
A deity confeſs'd, a *Venus* form'd a-new.
Comes baneful ſcleneſs, with its numer
hoſt,
The bright, eeſtatic ſcene at once is loſt.

* *Mrs.* Bridget Jones.

B A

BACTROMACHIA.

AGRESTES ludos, & Paganalia læta
Rusticolûm refero. Tenui tu, Musa, poetæ,
Proferibus numeros, atq; ordine singula narres.
Tempus erat, flavas quo condit in horrea fruges
Rustica, & terræ matri Cererique juventus
Annua justa bibit, collectæ debita messi.
Undique è villis turba omnis agrestis. & altum
Per nemus Oxoniense tenet, quæq; Isidis undas
Non habitat lentas; matres, juvenesq; senesq;
Undiq; frequens, mixtum sine nomine vulgus.
Ille superat Musis notum benè villula collem,
Ubi jugo sacras divis spectamus ad arces,
Ne procul densi, hîc epulas & pocula læti
Capiunt, saltantq; rudes, atq; Orgia cantant.
Jam mane: Sylvanus surgit, turbamq; sequacem
Campum vocat, & post se trahit agmine longo;
Hunc, pugnis baculisq; acerrimus olim
Qui fuit agricolûm, nunc morbo fractus, & annis.
Hunc, densâ vulgi circumcingente coronâ,
Qui fortè velint baculis certare manuque,
Inter juvenilis animos, grandemq; galerum,
Ille quem nectit splendens, argentea, ponit
Victoris manus, stimulatq; ad præmia pubem.
Ecce primus se protulit inclytus Ægon,
Non per vicos celebris, quo fortior alter
Non erat, plombi seu pondera tollere quisquis
Posset, longève per æthera mittere discum:
Non invictis præstans, patiensque laborum.
Adsere omnes aspecto corpore, & ingens
Ille nervorum tetigit, dum dextræ sedulus aptat
Robustum baculum, capulumq; ex vimine textum
Consultat, crebrisq; reverberat ictibus auras.
Ecce tibi exultat solus, nunc aerior hostem
Quem exposcit, meritæ nunc præmia palmæ.
Quippe Ægon nullo certamine victor
Non reportâsset; cum pugnæ se obtulit acris
Ille Damætas, atq; arma aptare lacertis
Incipit. Vulgi certatim ad sydera clamor
Tollitur, & resonant iteratis plausibus arva.
Ille fuit accinctus Damætas, impiger, aptus
Et quam juvenis, promptus pedibusque manuque
Fortior, & solis Ægoni viribus impar.
Jam properat Phœbus, cum Thyrsis & Alcon
Medium incedunt Circum, pelluntq; flagellis
Densas turbas, atque in loca justa coercent.
Tum sistunt heroes, atque bacillos
Aptant æquales, pugnæque arrecta cupido.
Illico exiliunt celeri pede, jamq; minantur
Ille baculis, & jam volvuntur in orbem,
Nunc ictus capiti, fugiuntq; premuntq;
Ille, minasque minis referunt, atque ictibus ictus.
Sic geminos ad prælia surgere gallos,
Alterniſque minas roſtris miſcere, ſequique,
Et fugere alternos, iterumq; ad bella reverti;
Reddit confuſos juvenum lata area plauſus.
Multa viri duro lateri dant vulnera, multus
Decidit in capulos ictus, ſine vulnere inanis.
Stat pedibus firmis Ægon, dextramq; minacem
Protendens capiti, defendit corpore plagas.
Ille, pedum motu melior, vitare periculum
Novit, & inſtantem ſubterfugit impiger ictum.
Colligit arma Ægon, hoſtemque ad tempora nudum
Callidus expectat, ferientemq; ipſe ferire
Cogitat: Infœlix voti! ſpes fallit iniquis
Fatis. Nam nimio capiti dum vulnera niſu
Porrigit, atq; uno palmam ſibi poſtulat ictu,
Incertis pedibus titubat, quà pocula nuper
Fortè effuſa madent, & lubrica decipit herba.
Inſtat Damætas lapſuro, & cernit inerme
Quà caput, erecto dat vulnera dira bacillo;
Tum verò, in facie viſo jam ſanguine, clamor
Per nemora, & valles finuoſas, ſaxaq; & arva
Perſonat, & ſacræ reſonabant Iſidis arces.
Agglomerant juvenum denſa agmina, gratag; donat
Præmia victori Sylvanus, & omne triumphis
Arvum repletur, magnâque ſequente catervâ,
Indita Damætas capiti ſpolia ampla reportat.
Ægonem ſocii mœſtum ſolantur, & ægro
Dant animos, vulnuſque ligant, mulcentque dolores.

Coll. Univ. Oxon.

A NEW ODE,

To a great Number of *great Men* newly made.

Jam Nova Progenies ———

SEE, a new progeny deſcends
From heav'n, of *Britain*'s trueſt friends.
O Muſe, attend my call!
To one of theſe direct my flight,
Or, to be ſure that we are right,
Direct it to them all.

O *Clio!* theſe are golden times;
I ſhall get money for my rhimes,
And thou no more go tatter'd:
Make haſte then, lead the way, begin,
For here are people juſt come in,
Who never yet were flatter'd.

But firſt to *C*———*t* ſain you'd ſing;
Indeed he's neareſt to the K—:
Yet careleſs how you uſe him,
Give him, I beg, no labour'd lays,
He will but *promiſe*, if you praiſe,
And laugh, if you abuſe him.

Then (but there's a vaſt ſpace betwixt)
The new-made E. of *B*— comes next,
Stiff in his popular pride:
His ſtep, his gait, deſcribe the man;
They paint him better than I can,
Waddling from ſide to ſide.

Each hour a different face he wears,
Now in a fury, now in tears,

Now

Now laughing, now in ſorrow:
Now he'll command, and now obey,
Bellows for liberty to-day,
And roars for power to-morrow.

At noon the Tories had him tight,
With ſtaunchest Whigs he ſupp'd at night,
Each party try'd t' have won him;
But he himſelf did ſo divide,
Shuffl'd and cut from ſide to ſide,
That now both parties ſhun him.

See yon old, dull, important L—d,
Who at the long'd-for money-board
Sits firſt, but does not lead:
His younger brethren all things make;
So that the T———y's like a ſnake,
Whoſe tail impels the head.

Why did you croſs God's good intent?
He made you for a Pr-ſ——nt;
Back to that ſtation go:
Nor longer act this farce of power,
We know you miſs'd the thing before,
And have not got it now.

See valiant *C——m*, valorous *S—r*,
Britain's two thunder-bolts of war,
Now ſtrike my raviſh'd eye;
But, oh! their ſtrength and ſpirit's flown,
They, like their conqu'ring ſwords, are grown
Ruſty with lying by.

Dear *Bat*. I'm glad you've got a place,
And ſince things thus have chang'd their face,
You'll give oppoſing o'er;
'Tis comfortable to be in,
And think what a damn'd while you've been
Like *Peter*, at the door.

See who comes next—I kiſs thy hands,
But not in flattery, *S——l S——s*;
For ſince you are in power,
That gives you knowledge, judgment, parts,
The courtier's wiles, the ſtateſman's arts,
Of which you'd none before.

When great impending dangers ſhook
Its ſtate, old *Rome* dictators took
Judiciouſly from plough:
So *G——* but at a pinch thou knoweſt,
To make the higheſt of the loweſt,
Th' Ex———r gave to you.

When in your hands the ſeals you found,
Did it not make your brain go round?
Did it not turn your head?
I fancy (but you hate a joke)
You felt as *Nell* did, when ſhe 'woke
In lady *Loverule*'s bed.

See *H——y V—e* in pomp appear,
And ſince he's made V—e T———r,
Grown taller by ſome inches:
See *Tw——* follow *C———t*'s call;
See *H——n*, *G——r*, and all
The black funereal *F——s*.

And ſee with that important face
Beranger's clerk, to take his place,
Into the Tr———y come;
With pride and meanneſs act thy part,
Thou look'ſt the very thing thou art;
Thou *Bourgeois gentilhomme*.

O! my poor country! is this all
You've gain'd by the long-labour'd fall
Of *Wa——e* and his tools?
He was a k—e indeed—what then?
He'd parts—but this new ſet of men
A'n't only k—s, but ſ—ls.

More changes, better times, this iſle
Demands; O *Cheſterfield*, *Argyll*,
To bleeding *Britain* bring 'em:
Unite all hearts, appeaſe each ſtorm,
'Tis yours ſuch actions to perform,
My pride ſhall be to ſing 'em.

The RIDDLE EXPLAIN'D:

A certain late extraordinary Promotion P——GE *accounted for.*

—— *Concors diſcordia* ——

TO ſome 'tis ſtrange, that equal ho
now
Shou'd grace a *W——*'s and a *P——*'s
That *they*, who long with unrelenting
At heads of diſagreeing parties ſat;
Who wars continual in St. *S——n*'s
Led on the hoſts, and with ſuch heat en
That *they*, ſo widely diff'rent, ſhou'd de
From the ſame P——, (whom but one
to ſerve)
The ſame reward! But ah! they little
The wiles of C—rt—rs, who can rea
Believe me, friends, the *Riddle*'s ſoo
plain'd: [
'On rival ſchemes intent themſelve
'Which others really were; and by t
ſhew
'Of mutual enmity, they wiſely dre
'Both ſides into their ſnares, of both
ſecrets knew;
'Still ſeeming diff'rent, ſtill in fact the
'Into each others hands they play
game; [
'The ſelf-ſame ends purſu'd, by
'*One* on the ſtage, and *one* behind the

EPIGRAM *by Mr.* W——

OF old, folks confeſs'd from their
be free;
But the modern way's better by half
Sir *R——* at *Orf-rd* was dipt in the ſe
And *P——* leapt into the *B-th*.

EJACULATION.

FROM pounce and paper, ink and p
Save me, O Lord, I pray,
From *Pope* and *Swift*, and ſuch like m
And *Cibber*'s annual lay:

m doctors bills and lawyers fees,
from ague, gout and clap,
d what is ten times worse than these,
* *George Savage* and † *Will. Knapp.*
H. PRICE.

The ATOM *and* WASP: *Or,*
PRIDE *Mortified.*

1.

S late I took my morning walks abroad,
And on with slow, majestick paces trod,
pride broke out: 'Of what importance I,
he earth my range, my canopy the sky!

2.

For me the glebe her golden harvests pours, [flow'rs;
nd pays her vernal debt in herbs and
or me revolves yon radiant world of light,
nd stars are made to beautify my night.

3.

Creatures that land, or air, or ocean fill,
re all dependent tenants at my will:
rm'd with my shaft, the lion roars and dies; [flies.'
nd whales stretch breathless, if my jav'lin

4.

thus from height to height ambition ran,
'd with the lordly character of man,
hop dash'd on me with a saucy wing,
on my lip infix'd its venom'd sting.

5.

atom in that luckless moment too,
in the wind, into my eye-ball blew:
low'ring fancies sunk; and pungent smart [heart.
'd from my eye, and anguish'd at my

6.

last recov'ring, thus——'Shall human forms,
nd in dust, for date the same with worms,
ay themselves in pride's imperial robe,
nd want a sov'reign empire o'er the globe?

7.

Know, mortal, know, if thou assum'st the nod, [God,
nd dar'st presumptuous snatch the reign of
ms shall unreveng'd insult their king,
nd insects wound thee with a tyrant sting.'
JUVENIO.

e following was omitted in our last for of Room.

present Posture of the French *Affairs in* GERMANY.

WHEN erst the gallant *Konigsegg*
(As in the news we've read from th' *Hague*)
Had storm'd poor *Broglio*'s quarters;

A fierce *Hussar* seiz'd on the chief,
As he was saving, with his life,
His breeches and his garters.
Disturbing a marshal of *France* in the night
Is not *a-la-mode à Paris*, or polite.

Who're you? quo' th' *Hussar*. Monsieur shook,
Said, I'm his excellency's cook;
No follower of the drum.
Hounds-foot, replies the *German*, quick,
Be gone with that; so with a kick
Salutes the marshal's bum.
Disgraceful! of war how capricious the chance,
A *German Hussar* kicks a marshal of *France*.

But, *Broglio*, say, wou'dst not be glad,
In spite of all thy gasconade,
Sans breeches or a rag,
To be as fairly now dismist,
By such another kicking jest,
From young *Lorain* and *Prague*?
Since thus one is drove to so piteous a taking,
Who the de'il would again go an emperor making.

A Brace of MARSHALS *in Distress.*

QUO' the marshal *Culote*, with an ill-natur'd smile,
To the grand politician, his brother *Belliste*,
Lo! the pass which your fine negotiations have brought us, [who've caught us;
Pent up here at *Prague* by the *Austrians*,
Sure ne'er have I been in so desp'rate a case.
Peace, peace, cries *Belliste*, brother marshal, pray peace;
Why sure you've forgot th' *Italian* last war,
When seiz'd in your shirt by the *German Hussar*,
Your breeches in one hand, your garters in t'other, [brother?
Running off in a fright—what say you, good
Wa'n't your case then as bad? I think rather worse, [a—se.
If you call in remembrance the kick on the

On Mr. POPE. *An* EPIGRAM.
By the Author of Quintilian's Complaint.

THE surgeon *Juvenal*, in every page,
Probes, cuts, or burns the vices of his age;
While doctor *Horace*, with sweet ridicule,
Physicks the *prating knave* and *scribbling fool*;
But POPE, by wisely joining either art,
With *lance* and *potion* plays about the heart,
And th' operation *pleases*, tho' men feel the *smart*.

We hope our Correspondent will indulge us with the Tell-Tale Journal *till our next, when we promise it shall be inserted: As likewise the* Carmen Pastorale *from* Scarborough, *the Verses on Miss* Sally Streate, *the* Defence, Cupid *and* Chloe, *and several other Pieces.*

* *Sexton of the Parish.* † *Clerk.*

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

THE following is a more particular Account of the Action at *Vigo*, &c. mention'd in our laſt, p. 412.

Whitehall, Aug. 31. The Earl of *Northeſk*, Captain of his Majeſty's Ship the *Loo*, being on a Cruize off of Cape *Finiſterre*, and the Parts adjacent, receiv'd Intelligence of a ſmall Privateer being at *Porto Nova*, upon which he ſtood in there on the 30th of *June*; but the Privateer diſcovering him, got higher up the River than the *Loo* could venture, and it falling calm, Lord *Northeſk* was obliged to anchor cloſe by the Towns of *Porto Nova* and St. *Jago*, into which he fir'd a few Shot, then landed ſome Men, and diſmounted four Guns, which were on a Battery at *Porto Nova*, and ſet Fire to ſeveral Houſes at St. *Jago*. On *July* 7, Lord *Northeſk* met with his Majeſty's Ship the *Dealcaſtle*, commanded by Capt. *Elton*, and receiving Intelligence of ſome Veſſels being at *Vigo*, they run up the River, and anchor'd before that Town, where they made Prizes of four Veſſels, two of which they ſet on Fire, being light, and not having Sails on board to bring them out. They fir'd ſeveral Shot into the Town, to cover the Boats while they cut away the Veſſels, there being a pretty ſmart Fire at them with Small Arms from the Shore. On *July* 19, upon Intelligence that the Privateer was ſtill about the River of *Porto Nova*, the *Loo* run in, and anchor'd under the Iſland of *Blydonès*, where Lord *Northeſk* put a Lieutenant and 60 Men, with two of the Ship's ſix Pounders, into a Sloop taken at *Vigo*, and ſent her up the River in Queſt of the Privateer; the Sloop could ſee nothing of her, but in her Return chaſed a Bark on Shore, and ſet her on Fire; and Lord *Northeſk* landed ſome Men, and burnt a Village of about 40 Houſes.

To the Hon. William Leveſon Gower, *Eſq*; *and Sir* Walter Wagſtaff Bagot, *Bart.*

Gentlemen,

WE the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of *Stafford* take this Opportunity of making our ſincere Acknowledgments to you, for your conſtant Attendance and ſteady Behaviour in Parliament.

And tho', thro' the Treachery of our pretended Friends, it has not produced all the good Effects, which you had Reaſon to expect, and we to deſire; yet it has begun ſuch a Change in the Adminiſtration, as will flatter ourſelves, end in uniting all Parti one common Intereſt, and in turning our vate Conteſts into publick Spirit and Lo our Country.

Your paſt Conduct gives us the hi Aſſurances of your future Zeal in opp Corruption in every Shape; in reſtorin Freedom and Independency of Parliam in encouraging every Branch of Trade in enabling his Majeſty to carry on the with Vigour, till he concludes it with to himſelf and Happineſs to his People.

FRIDAY, *Sept.* 3.

His Excellency the Earl of *Stair*, arrived here from *Holland* the latter E laſt Month, (p. 412.) upon ſome Affa the greateſt Importance, ſet out this M ing, on his Return to the ſame Place.

SATURDAY, 4.

From the London Gazette.

By a Letter of *Aug.* 10. receiv'd t Inſtant from *Edward Allen*, Eſq; his fty's Conſul at *Naples*, to his Grace the of *Newcaſtle*, there is Advice, That o *day* Morning, *Aug.* 8. a Squadron o Majeſty's Ships, conſiſting of the *Ip* Capt. *Wm. Martin*, Commodore; the *ther*, Capt. *Gideon*; the *Oxford*, Capt. *let*; the *Feverſham*, Capt. *Hughs*; an *Durſley Galley*, Capt. *De l'Angle*; four Veſſels, and four Tenders appear'd in t of *Naples*; and ſome Hours before they to an Anchor before the Town, (whic about Four o'Clock in the Afternoo Duke of *Monteallegre* ſent to his M Conſul, to deſire him to go aboard the modore, to know whether they came nemies, the Appearance ſeeming, as h hoſtile; but that his *Sicilian* Majeſty be glad to receive them as Friends, nothing more than the Amity of his *nick* Majeſty. The Conſul, upon that on board the Commodore, who comm ted to him the Purport of the Order received from Vice-Admiral *Matthew* a Meſſage to be deliver'd in the King's to his *Sicilian* Majeſty, which was, T *Britannick* Majeſty being in Alliance w Queen of *Hungary* and the King of S and the King of the *Two Sicilies* joined his Forces with thoſe of *Spain*, clar'd War with *England*, to inva Queen of *Hungary*'s Dominions, cont all Treaties, he, the Commodore, w to demand, that the King of the *Tw*

...ld not only forthwith withdraw his Troops ...m acting in Conjunction with thoſe of ..., but that his *Sicilian* Majeſty ſhould ...miſe not to give them any further Aſſiſ...ce of any Kind whatever. Capt. *De l'An...* of the *Durſley Galley*, was charged with ... Meſſage, and the Commodore deſired ... Conſul to accompany the Captain to be ... Interpreter. They went to the Secre...'s Office at Five o'Clock: The King was ... at Church, and was not to return till ... but the Duke of *Monteallegre* received ... Meſſage, and told them, that when the ...g return'd, he would give the Anſwer. ...ordingly at Eight, the Duke of *Monte...* came down from the King in Council, ...ld them, the Demand would be com...'d with, and in Writing, as required; but ...ed to have ſome Anſwer alſo in Writing, ...ting, that upon the ſaid Compliance no ...ilities ſhould be committed on either ... They then return'd on board with ...eral *Bourke*, who was ſent from his *Sici...* Majeſty to deſire this of the Commo...; but he ſaid his Orders were abſolute, ...did not authorize him to give any An..., but that he expected a Compliance in ... an Hour's Time, or at fartheſt, an ... after the Conſul and Captain's being on ... The Duke of *Monteallegre* then de...d that he might inſert in his Letter, That ... the Conſul and Captain's Aſſurances by ...d of Mouth, that no Hoſtilities ſhould ...committed, his *Sicilian* Majeſty did pro..., &c. Capt. *De l'Angle* deſired the Con... to tell the Duke, that he apprehended ... Commodore would not be ſatisfy'd with ... Condition; upon which the Duke de...d the Conſul to aſſure the Commodore, ...t if he objected to it, it ſhould be left out, ...that the Subſtance of the Letter being ... what was required, he hoped it would ...ſufficient for that Night. It was two ... paſt Midnight, when the Conſul re...'d on board, and the Commodore was ſo ...ſatisfy'd, as to promiſe he would not com...ce any Hoſtilities, upon the Aſſurances ... him by the Conſul, that any Thing he ...ſired to in the Form would be alter'd; ...cordingly in the Morning another Let... was wrote in the exact Words required; ... upon the Receipt of it, the Commodore ...ed all the Ships to prepare for ſailing, ... they were under Sail before Night, and ... of Sight the next Morning, the 21ſt ..., having been only 24 Hours in the Bay. ... whole City was in the greateſt Alarm ... Conſternation imaginable during the ſaid ...itation.

The following is a Tranſlation of the Let...above-mentioned, written by the Duke ...Monteallegre to Commodore *Martin*.

SIR, *Naples, Aug.* 20, N. S.

THE King had already reſolved, and given Orders, that his Troops which are join'd with thoſe of *Spain*, ſhould withdraw, in order to the Defence of his own Dominions. His Majeſty commands me to promiſe you in his Name, that he will forthwith repeat his Orders, that his Troops withdrawing from the *Romagna*, where they are at preſent, ſhall immediately return into this Kingdom, and that he will not, in any Manner whatſoever, either aid or aſſiſt thoſe of *Spain* any more in the preſent War in *Italy*.

Sign'd,
The Marquis of Salas,
Duke of Monteallegre.

To Capt. *William Martin*, Commander of the *Engliſh* Squadron.

WEDNESDAY, 8.

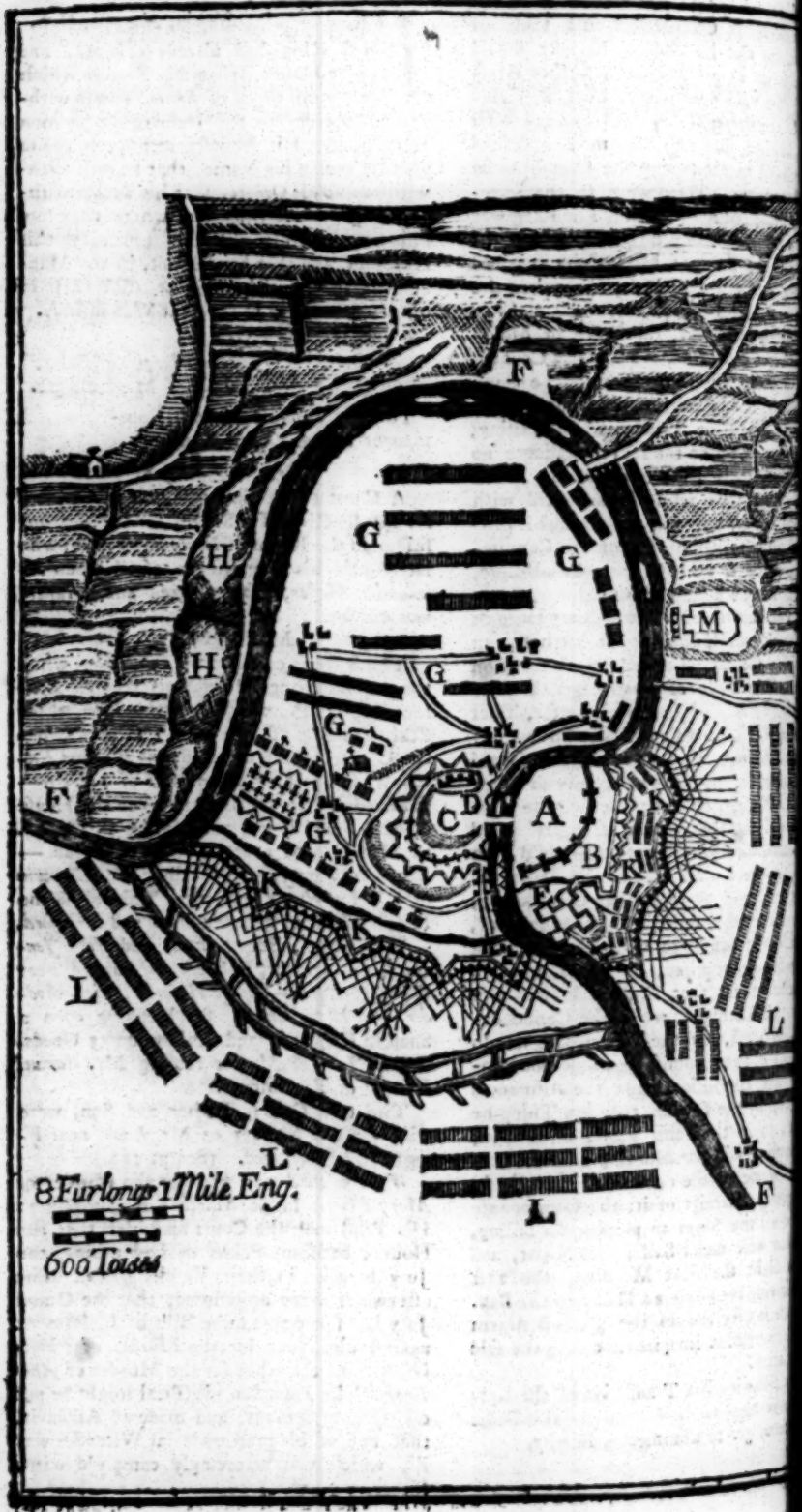
A Court of Huſtings was held at *Guildhall* for the Election of a Sheriff for the Year inſuing, in the Room of *Henry Neale*, Eſq; who lately paid his Fine, (ſee p. 360.) when *Alexander Maſter*, Eſq; Citizen and Draper, was choſen.

MONDAY, 13.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the 11 following Malefactors receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Chriſtopher Peterſon*, for ſtealing a Bag of Tea from a Grocer's Shop the Corner of the *Old Baily*.—*William Edwards*, for robbing his Maſter of 11*l.* 8*s.*—*Edward White*, for breaking open the Houſe of Mrs. *Mary Howe*, and ſtealing 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* in Money, and other Things of Value.—*Matthew Mooney*, for robbing Mr. *Goodwin* of a Silver Watch and other Things, on the King's Highway between *Bow* and *Stratford*.—*John Cooper*, *John Squires*, and *John Jennings*, for a Street Robbery committed near *Roſemary-Lane*.—*George Anderſon*, *Rich. Stodder*, and *Henry Hinton*, for breaking open a Shop in *Wapping*, and ſtealing ſundry Goods.—And *Jane Wood*, for robbing Mr. *Samuel Windſor* of 20 Guineas.

The two *Coſters*, Father and Son, were tried for the Murder of Mr. *Lack*, near *Iſlington*, and acquitted. (See p. 412.)

William Bird was tried for the Murder of *Mary Morris* in St. *Martin*'s Round-houſe: His Trial took the Court up no leſs than ten Hours; but ſome Points of Law ariſing, the Jury brought in their Verdict *ſpecial*. But afterwards being acquainted, that the Grand Jury had found two more Bills of Indictment againſt him, (one for the Murder of *Phillis Wells*, and the other for the Murder of *Anne Branch*) he requeſted his Trial might be put off till next Seſſions, and made an Affidavit, that one of his moſt material Witneſſes was ill, which was accordingly comply'd with. (See p. 359, 360.)


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EXPLICATION *of the* PLAN *of* PRAGUE.

A *The Old City.* B *The New City.* C *The Little Town.* D *The Caſtle.* E *The Citadelle.* F *The River* Moldau. GGGGG *Marſhal* Broglio's *Camp.* HH *A very uneven Bank over the* French *on that Side.* I *A Bridge of Boats, over which the* French *go a foraging.* KKK *The Retrenchment of the* French *Army.* LLLLL *The* Auſtrian *Army.* M Manſ- *Garden.*

TUESDAY, 14.

From the London Gazette.

Charles Town, South-Carolina, July 7. By Expreſs from General *Oglethorpe* we have Advice, That on *Monday* the 5th Inſtant, a Spaniſh Fleet of 32 Sail, conſiſting of 3 Ships of 20 Guns, 2 large Snows, 3 Scooners, 4 Sloops, the reſt Half-Galleys, after having hover'd about the Bar for 7 Days, and having then a ſtrong Eaſterly Wind, came in by *Jekyll* Sound, and that having ſtood the Fire of 150 Shot from the 18 Pounders at *Simon's* Fort, and from the Ships and Veſſels that lay under that Fort, they paſs'd by the Sound without once attempting to board any of our Veſſels, but firing very briſkly, proceeded up the River out of the Reach of the Guns, a little below *Gaſcoigne's*, where they landed their Forces, to the Number of near 3000 Men, at the ſame Time hoiſting a red Flag at the Mizen-Top-Maſt-Head of one of the largeſt Ships: Whereupon the General, having done all he could to annoy the Enemy as they landed, and having nail'd up the Guns, burſt the Bombs to the Cohorns, *&c.* was at laſt obliged to retire with his Troops, from the Camp at *Simon's* to *Frederica*, 7 Miles up the River.

By the Advice of his Majeſty's Council here, Notice of what is above has been ſent to the Governors and Commanders of his Majeſty's Ships of War in the neighbouring Provinces, deſiring their Aſſiſtance; and Letters have been alſo ſent to General *Wentworth*, Governor *Trelawney* of *Jamaica*, and Admiral *Vernon*, on the ſame Subject.

The *Flamborough* Man of War of 20 Guns, and a *Row Galley* belonging to this Government, with two of his Majeſty's Ships of War, the *Swift* and *Hawk*, are already diſpatch'd from hence to the Aſſiſtance of *Georgia*; and in a Day or two his Majeſty's Ship the *Rye*, of 20 Guns, together with another Row-Galley, will ſail to its Relief.

July 14. Another Expreſs is juſt arriv'd, which brings Advice, that the General and his People were well on the 7th Inſtant at Noon; that he has taken five *Spaniards* Priſoners, and is in no Fear of the Enemy. By the Priſoners he learnt, that the Governor of *Auguſtine* is himſelf in Perſon commanding the Expedition with 3000 Men, and that he expects a Reinforcement of 16 Sail of Veſſels more, with Men, *&c.* and that they have brought with them 20 or 30 18 Pounders, which they are now mounting on a Battery between Capt. *Gaſcoigne's* Plantation and St. *Simon's*.

July 17. The General continues at *Frederica*, where he is determin'd to defend himſelf to the utmoſt; and in Skirmiſhes has already kill'd upwards of 100 of the Enemy, and taken 16 Priſoners, one of them a Captain; and that two more Captains were amongſt the Slain. Our 4 Men of War are gone, with ſeveral other Ships, *&c.* to his Aſſiſtance; and we are in great Hopes, we ſhall ſoon have a good Account of them: We have been under Arms, in a general Alarm, 13 Days, are fortifying the Town, and Trenches will be thrown up from *Cooper* to *Aſhley* River.

THURSDAY, 16.

Was held a General Court of the Governor and Company of the Bank of *England*, when a Dividend of 2 3 Qrs. *per Cent.* for Intereſt and Profits, for the Half-Year ending at *Michaelmas* next, was agreed to; the Dividend Warrants to be payable on the 15th of *October* next.

The ſame Day, the Foundation Stone was laid of the Hoſpital for the Maintenance and Education of expos'd and deſerted young Children, to be erected in *Lamb's Conduit* Field, wherein was placed, between two Plates of mill'd Lead, by *John Milner*, Eſq; Vice-Preſident, in the Preſence of ſeveral of the Governors and Guardians of the ſaid Hoſpital, a Copper Plate, whereon is the following Inſcription: *The Foundation of this Hoſpital, for the Relief of expos'd and deſerted young Children, was laid* 16 Sept. 16 George II. 1742.

Both Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, purſuant to their laſt Prorogation, (ſee p. 359.) and (by Virtue of a Commiſſion ſign'd by his Majeſty, directed to the Lord Chancellor and others) were further prorogu'd to *Tueſday* the 19th of *October* next.

Eleven Tranſport Ships arriv'd about this Time at *Portſmouth* from *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, with two Regiments of Foot that are return'd from thoſe Gariſons, having ſtaid their proper Time according to the late Regulation, which ſeems very equitable, thoſe Places heretofore being called the Sepulchres of our Countrymen, on Account that the Forces there were never allowed to return to *England* again. (See p. 352.)

SATURDAY,

SATURDAY, 18.

From the London Gazette.

On the 7th Inſtant, his Majeſty's Ship the *Kinſale*, commanded by the Hon. Capt. *Hamilton*, being on a Cruize off *Dieppe*, and ſtanding in Shore, he ſaw a Veſſel lying to, which, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw the Man of War, made Sail towards her, hoiſting *French* Colours; the *Kinſale* ſtanding for her, they ſoon came within half Gun-ſhot, when the Privateer hawl'd down her Colours, and intended to board the *Kinſale*, which ſhe took for a Collier. Capt. *Hamilton* has brought her into *Spithead*: She is a new Veſſel and well found, has a Lute Stern and a Horſe Head, and is rigg'd ſometimes as a Scooner, and ſometimes as a Brig, had 58 Men when taken, 24 of whom were *French*, is mounted with two Carriage Guns and 13 Swivels. This Privateer is the ſame that engag'd the *Grampus*, and kill'd Capt. *Gordon*: She took ſix Prizes in the Channel, which ſhe brought into *Dunkirk*, from whence ſhe ſailed four Days ago. Her Name is the *El Santo Chriſto del Portal y noſtra Seniora de la Soledad de Portugalette*.

To ROBERT WILLIAMS, *Eſq*;

WE the Sheriffs, Grand Jury, Gentry and Freeholders, of the County of *Montgomery*, met at the General Seſſion held at *Pool* on the 20th of *Auguſt*, take this Opportunity of returning you our Thanks for your ſteady Conduct in Parliament, and congratulating you upon the Effects of it.

We with Pleaſure behold this happy Conſequence already, that the whole Kingdom is more united than ever for the common Support of all our juſt Rights; and in Time we hope ſome further Benefit may accrue, notwithſtanding your Efforts laſt Seſſions have fail'd of the deſir'd Succeſs, and the Conduct of ſome have entirely diſappointed our reaſonable Expectation.

We have adopted this Maxim as our own, That a Country can never continue free, nor increaſe in Wealth and Power, but by private Men doing their Duty to the Publick, and by a ſteady Courſe of Integrity and Wiſdom in ſuch as are intruſted with the Adminiſtration of Affairs. You have hitherto diſcharg'd your Duty; go on and proſper; join Heart and Hand with Men of Probity and Virtue, without Diſtinction of Names and Parties; be neither deceiv'd by the ſpecious Pretences of ſome, nor diſcouraged by the Treachery of others; purſue ſuch Meaſures, as in the End may render this Nation once more the Terror of the Continent, Maſters of the Ocean, and the real Arbitrators of *Europe*; but previous to theſe Conſiderations, however glorious and important in themſelves, there are other Points to be obtain'd of more national Concern; thoſe which immediately tend to the reſtoring and ſecuring our Conſtitution; to the quiet[ing] our Minds, ſo juſtly exaſperated with ſuc[h] Series of Miſmanagement, and which, by e[ſ]bliſhing Tranquillity at home, and uniting [the] People with the Adminiſtration, can a[lone] enable this Kingdom to contend with its E[ne]mies abroad: We therefore inſiſt, that for Warning and Inſtruction of all Miniſters wh[at]ſoever, you zealouſly purſue that Work w[hich] was begun laſt Seſſion, and is far from b[eing] compleated, to bring to publick Juſtice Object of the publick Hatred, the Patro[n] Venality and Corruption, the Author Contriver of our Miſeries and Diſgrace, Forger and intended Riveter of our Ch[ains] At the ſame Time do not forget his Acc[om]plices and Abettors; treat the Corrupted [with] the ſame Deteſtation as the Corruptor; where you can't puniſh, mark them o[ut] the People; let them be ſeen in their p[ro]per Colours; unveil them, detect the Cloven wherſoever you find it, even tho' it b[e] Sheep's Cloathing. We alſo require you, you exert your utmoſt Endeavours to r[e]the Septennial and Riot Acts, and to procu[re] Law for the further Puniſhment of Retu[rn]Officers who ſwerve from their Duty, an[d] obtain a real and effective, not a de[lu]Place-Bill, ſuch as may reſtore the Hou[ſe] Commons to the Subſtance, and not o[nly] its Conſtituents, the People, with the Sh[ad]of its Independency. Till theſe ſalutary and all other conſtitutional Points, ar[e] tain'd, we enjoin you to keep back the plies; then you will be juſtly entitled t[o] future Favour: Theſe are the Purpoſ[es] which we choſe you; and as your Con[du]ents, jointly with our Thanks for your Behaviour, we lay theſe our Thoughts you, as a Rule for your Conduct in the ſuing Seſſions of Parliament.

A Memorial was lately preſented [to] Majeſty by a great Number of the moſt nent Merchants of *London*, againſt S[ir] *Batters*, Maſter of his Majeſty's Ship *Tartar*, ſtation'd at *South-Carolina*, who ſeveral others, arm'd with Muſquets Cutlaſſes, violently enter'd the Ship [*Ga*]in order to impreſs the Men belonging ſaid Ship; and notwithſtanding they h[ad] fer'd to ſurrender, one of them (*James ford* by Name) was murder'd by the Ha[nd] the ſaid *Batters*, who coming over to *land*, was apprehended and ſecur'd i[n] *Marſhalſea* by Order of the Lords Co[m]ſioners of the Admiralty, but diſcharg[ed] gain upon the Opinion of the Attorn[ey] Sollicitor General, &c. that his Tri[al] long'd to the Court of Juſtice in *South*-*lina*: Upon which he was again commi[t]the Priſon for the County of *Surry*, he now lies by Virtue of a Warrant Juſtice of the Peace, and alſo from his the Duke of *Newcaſtle*. But the La[w]

Admiralty applying for his Majeſty's Par-
, occaſion'd the Merchants to preſent this
morial to his Majeſty, that the ſaid *Sa-*
l Baters might be ſent to *South-Carolina*,
re to be tried for the ſaid Murder.

A Proclamation was iſſued for appointing
ublick Faſt throughout *Great Britain*, on
dneſday the 10th of *November* next.

SATURDAY, 25.

This Morning an Expreſs arrived from *Hol-*
d, with Advice, that the Right Hon. the
l Carteret, who embarked on board the
ket Boat at *Harwich* on *Monday* laſt at
on in the Afternoon, landed on *Thurſday*
, and was preparing to proceed for the
gue.

MONDAY, 27.

Alexander Maſter, Eſq; having ſworn off
ſerving the Office of Sheriff, on the
h a Court of Huſtings was held for chu-
another, when Alderman *Hankey* was
'd to have a Majority of Hands; but a
being demanded for Alderman *Benn*, the
immediately began, and ended on this
, when Alderman *Benn* carried it by a
ority of 554, he having 1925 Votes,
Alderman *Hankey* 1371; and the next
he and *Charles Eggleton*, Eſq; were ſworn
Guild-Hall. (See p. 308, 360, 459.)

WEDNESDAY, 29.

bert Willimott, Eſq; Alderman of *Lime-*
t Ward, was choſen Lord Mayor of *Lon-*
n the Year enſuing.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

ENRY Jenkinſon, Eſq; to Miſs *Hall*, a
10,000 *l.* Fortune.

bert Burton, Eſq; to Miſs *Craddock*, a
ool. Fortune.

n. John North, an eminent Malt-Factor
ere, to Miſs *Grant* of *Goſwell-ſtreet*.

y Elwes, of *Iſleworth*, Eſq; to Miſs
, of *Richmond*, Daughter of the late
y Elwes, Eſq; and Niece to the late Al-
n Elwes.

. Hodgſon, one of the Supercargoes to
Eaſt-India Company, and Son to Mr.
n, Maſter of the Mathematical School
ſ's Hoſpital, to Miſs *Lockyer*.

ev. Dr. Bulkeley, Miniſter of St. *Luke's*,
ſt, to Miſs *Waldoe*.

el Vere, Eſq; of *Broad-ſtreet*, to Miſs
ter, of *Bloomſbury*.

ancis Elde, Eſq; one of the Maſters in
ery, to Miſs *Arblaſter*, a *Staffordſhire*
with 15,000 *l.* Fortune.

dmund Bacon, Eſq; Member of Parlia-
for Lynn, to Miſs *Knight*, of *South-*
n.

illiam Riggles, Eſq; lately arriv'd from
ica, to Miſs *Warren*, of *Mile-End*, with
une of 10,000 *l.* which was a few Days
left her by a near Relation.

muel Howard, Eſq; to Miſs *Eliz. Vere*,
Daughter of *Thomas Vere*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Norwich*.

James Pierſe, Eſq; Counſellor at Law, in *Ireland*, to Mrs. *Worth*, a 30,000 *l.* Fortune.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor ſafely deliver'd of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

RIGHT Hon. the Lady Viſcs. *Hilliſborough*.

Sir *James Brooks*, of *Shenton* in *Shropſh.*

Lieut. Gen. *Tyrrel*, Member of Parl. for *Boroughbridge* in *Yorkſhire*.

Robert Treſuſis, Eſq; at *Treſuſis* in *Cornwall*.

Sir *Henry Atkins*, Bart. about 16 Years of Age, poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable Eſtate, which deſcends to his Brother, now Sir *Richard Atkins*, Bart.

Col. *George Robinſon*, at *Dublin*, a brave and experienced Officer, who ſerv'd her late Majeſty Q. *Anne* in many Campaigns in *Flanders*.

Rev. Mr. *Bateman*, of *Ravenſthorpe*, near *Daventry* in *Northamptonſhire*.

George Haliburton, Eſq; Lord Provoſt of the City of *Edinburgh*.

Mr. *Abraham Elton*, formerly a Commander in the *Turkey* Trade.

Thomas Maynard, of *Hoxton-hall* in *Suffolk*, Eſq; Grandſon of *William* late Lord *Maynard*.

Alexander Cuningham, of *Craigends*, Eſq; Member of Parl. for the Shire of *Renfrew*.

Dr. *Alexander Stuart*, F. R. S. and Phyſician to her late Majeſty: About four Years ago he obtain'd the Prize of a Golden Medal from the Royal Academy of Sciences, of which he was then made a Member for his ingenious and learned Treatiſe on the Muſcular Motion.

Adam Holden, of *Greenwich*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the County of *Kent*.

Thomas Prince, Eſq; a Gentleman poſſeſs'd of a conſiderable Eſtate about *Exeter*.

Anthony Brown, Eſq; one of the Clerks belonging to the Tally-Cutter's Office in the Exchequer, a Place of 200 *l. per Annum*, in the Gift of the Lord *Walpole*.

Dr. *William Palgrave*, an eminent Phyſician of *Ipſwich*.

At *Teddington* in *Middleſex*, Dr. *Atkins*, a very ingenious Phyſician, who was exceeding well vers'd in the Virtues of the *Spaw* Waters.

Sir *George Caſwall*, Knt. formerly a Banker, and largely concern'd in the Sword-blade Company: In the Year 1721, he ſerv'd the Office of Sheriff of this City; and was Member in the laſt Parliament for *Leominſter*.

Dr. *Hugh Butler*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *Ireland*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

DR. *Roper* preſented to the Living of *Hanwell* in *Middleſex*,

Mr.

Mr. *Benjamin Newcome*, to the Rectory of *Tollishunt-Knights* in *Essex*.

Mr. *Layng*, to the Rectory of *Everdon* in *Northamptonshire*.

William Hoste, M. A. to the Rectory of *Tittishall* in *Norfolk*.

Mr. *Lockey Soley*, to the Living of *Northfield* near *Birmingham*, void by the Death of Mr. Archdeacon *Worth*.

Robert Eyton, D. D. Rector of *Wem* in *Shropshire*, to the Archdeaconry of *Ely*.

Robert Pugh, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Lambradisk* in the Isle of *Anglesea*.

Alexander Purcel, M. A. to the Rectories of *Stoake-Wake* and *Handford*, in *Dorsetshire*, worth 120 *l.* a Year, void by the Death of the Rev. Mr. *Barton*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

SAMUEL Mead, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Customs.

Joshua Churchill, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Salt Duties.

Alexander Arbuthnot, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Customs, and Duties on Salt, &c. in *Scotland*.

Alexander Udney, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Excise in *Scotland*, in the Room of *Gilbert Burnet*, Esq; deceas'd.

Martin Folkes, Esq; President of the Royal Society, chosen a Member of the Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, in the Room of Dr. *Halley*, deceas'd.

Richard Hall, Esq; lately made a Commissioner of the Victualling, appointed Lieutenant of the Cooperage belonging to that Office.

Capt. *Rambouillet* appointed Capt. Lieut. of the First Regiment of Foot Guards.

John Bourman, Esq; appointed to succeed *Edward Jodderell*, Esq; as one of the Clerks of the Hon. House of Commons.

Earl of *Northesk*, late Commander of the *Loo*, made Captain of the *Preston*, a 60 Gun Ship.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Wright, now or late of *Lewes* in *Sussex*, Dealer. — *Thomas Griffin*, late of *Upper Arely* in *Staffordshire*, Timber-Merchant.—*Benjamin Hampton*, late of the Parish of *Hayes* in *Middlesex*, Mealman.—*John Douglass Knight*, of *Cornhill*, *London*, Haberdasher of Small Wares.—*Richard Milnes* now or late of St. *Mary Aldermary*, *London*, Merchant.—*John Stokoe*, late of *Tanfield* in the County of *Durham*, Brewer, Victualler, Innholder.—*Tho. Hammerton*, of *Bristol*, Ironmonger. — *Tho. Stead*, of *Hereford*, Vintner and Dealer in Wines.—*George Bokenn*, of St. *Mary Aldermary* Church-yard, *London*, Merchant.—*John Kingman*, of St. *Dunstan in the West*, Coffee-man.—*Peter Powell*, and *John Powell* the younger, of the City of *Exeter*, Leathersellers, Merchants, and Partners.—*Richard Read*, of St. *Sepulchre's*, *London*, Pawnbroker.—*John Hinde*, of *Holborne*, Merchant.—*John Potter*, of St. *Clement Danes*, Mercer.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 109		*African* 10	
—*Ann.* 114 7/8		*Royal Ass.* 85	
Bank 142 1/2		*Lon. ditto* nothing	
—*Circ.* 6*l* 7*s* 6*d*		3 *p. C. Ann.* 100 3/4 a 7/8	
M. Bank 115 1/2		*Salt Tallies* 2*l* 3/4	
India 172		*Emp. Loan* nothing	
—*Bonds* 4*l* 4*s* a 3*s* a 4*s*		*Equiv.* 112	

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 34 11 2 1/2 a 10 2		*Bilboa* 38 7/8	
D. Sight 34 8 1/2		*Leghorn* 50 1/8	
Rotter. 35 1		*Genoa* 54 1/2	
Hamb. 33 7 2 a 2 1/2		*Venice* 51 1/8	
Paris 31 1 3/16		*Lisbon* 5*s* 5*d* 1/8 a 1/4	
Bourdx. 31 1/2		*Porto* 5*s* 5*d* 1/4 a 1/8	
Cadiz 39 1/4		*Antw.* 35 1	
Madrid 38 3/4		*Dublin* 9	

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	24	26	*Pease*	24	28
Rye	18	21	*H. Pease*	22	25
Barley	18	22	*H. Beans*	20	21
Oats	11	14 6	*B. Malt*	23	26
Tares	25	27	*P. Malt*	25	27 6

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Aug.* 24. to *Sept.*

Christned	Males	536	1
	Females	527	
Buried	Males	802	1
	Females	818	

Died under 2 Years old

Between	2	and	5
	5		10
	10		20
	20		30
	30		40
	40		50
	50		60
	60		70
	70		80
	80		90
	90 and upwards		

Hay 55 to 59*l.* a Load.

Our Advices from Abroad grow every Day more important, we ſhall begin to a fuller Account of them than formerly. our laſt we gave the Earl of *Stair*'s Me- to the States General, p. 405, and we ſhall give a counter Memorial, deli- the 23d of laſt Month, to their High ſtineſſes by the Marquis *de Fenelon*.

High and Mighty Lords,

While the Miniſters of *Great Britain* incapable of alledging any Thing what I had the Honour to lay your High Mightineſſes, in my Me- of the 30th of laſt Month, which ſtrated the Injuſtice of the Charge a- *France*, in relation to *Dunkirk*, they ſtantly labour to inſtil under-hand into 's Minds what they dare no longer de- above-board. At the ſame Time, your Mightineſſes ſee them in a perpetual A- , in concert with the Queen of *Hun-* 's Miniſters, in order to drive Things to laſt Extremities, with the vain Hopes, in this Manner they will gain by Vi- what they cannot bring about by Per- ; I mean, rendering the Flame of general, and drawing your High Migh- into it. To prove the Truth of what ſince, I need but remind you of the rial of thoſe Miniſters, eſpecially the of the 18th inſtant. (See p. 405.)

High and Mighty Lords,

After producing ſuch a Memorial, that Britiſh Miniſters ſtill flatter themſelves able to prevail upon you to join with in ſending Commiſſaries to *Dunkirk*, the Pretext of examining the Situation things there, with reſpect to the Obſer- of what has been ſtipulated by Trea- Your High Mightineſſes will not doubt Eagerneſs and Confidence with which Republick's Commiſſaries would be re- there; but a Nation, who, by Memo- which her Miniſters deliver in a ſolemn , plainly tells that ſhe is reſolved to ſtrenuouſly, can ſhe ſtill believe herſelf in ame Caſe with your High Mightineſſes, ed to the Liberty of ſending to ex- the Nature of the Precautions which is taking at *Dunkirk*, when they are but with Reluctance, and in order to the *Engliſh*, by Means of the Troops have landed in *Flanders*, from ſeizing that Town, and making a Settlement which would not be leſs prejudicial to High Mightineſſes, and to all Remains *Trade and Navigation*, than to herſelf?

without entering into further Details Head, I conclude with what puts to all this Diſpute about *Dunkirk*. I empower'd to offer the Conſent of my to the putting the Town of *Dunkirk* the Hands of your High Mightineſſes, to be garriſon'd by your Troops until the Concluſion of a Peace; ſo that if the Queen of *Hungary*, ſeconded by *England*, ſhould attack *France* in her Frontier in the *Netherlands*, none of the Powers at War ſhall make uſe of *Dunkirk*, nor march their Troops on the Territory of that Town, nor on the Territory of *Mardyke*; but that a perfect Neutrality ſhall be obſerved there, and maintain'd by the Garriſon thereof, which ſhall remain your High Mightineſſes all the Time the War laſts.

After ſuch an Offer as I have the Honour to make to your High Mightineſſes, I leave the Earl of *Stair* to ſeek again in the Proceedings of *France*, ſomewhat to render her ſuſpicious to you.

Sign'd,

The Marquis DE FENELON.

But the States General were too wiſe not to ſee through the Deſign of offering them the Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, and therefore they have rejected the Offer with Diſdain.

The 8th Inſtant their High Mightineſſes made a great Promotion among the Generals and Officers of their Army; and it was expected, that the Prince of *Orange* would have been declared Chief General of their Foot; but this has not as yet been done. However, this Promotion, with their rejecting the Offer of *Dunkirk*, looks as if they intended to have a Share in the War, in Caſe it ſhould break out in *Flanders*.

Aug. 11. The *French* in *Prague* made another vigorous Sally with 6000 Men, and at firſt beat the *Auſtrians* from ſome of their advanced Works; but a Battalion of *Merci*'s Regiment, and the Picquets of the *Auſtrian* Army, both Cavalry and Infantry, marching up, the *French* were again beat out of the Works, and purſued to the very Foſſy of the Town; ſo that all the Damage they had Time to do, was to nail four half Mortars and burn a few Faſcines. The Action was, however, very bloody and obſtinate, having laſted from Five till after Seven in the Afternoon. From this Time the Beſieged did not venture to make any conſiderable Sally, and the Beſiegers continued their Approaches with the utmoſt Diligence; but an Expreſs from *Vienna* having arrived in the Camp on the 27th paſt, a Grand Council of War was held, wherein it was reſolved to turn the Siege into a Blockade, and to march with the greateſt Part of the Army towards the *Upper Palatinate*, in order to meet and give Battle to the Marſhal *Maillebois*. Upon this the Inhabitants, for two *German* Leagues round *Prague*, were all obliged to retire with their Cattle and Effects, to prevent the *French* in *Prague* from getting any Supply, the *Auſtrian* Artillery and Ammunition were ſent to Places of Security, and the Army marched out of the Trenches upon the 3d Inſtant, leaving General *Feſ-*

Linz with 16,000 Men to carry on the Blockade.

Aug. 31. The *French* and *Bavarian* Army under the Counts *Seckendorff* and *Saxe* quitted their Camp near *Straubingen* in *Bavaria*, and arrived the 1ſt Inſtant near *Ratiſbon*, from whence they decamped ſoon after, in order to join the Marſhal *Maillebois* in the *Upper Palatinate*. Upon this Count *Kreuenbuller*, with the *Auſtrian* Army under his Command, likewiſe quitted his Camp, and began his March towards *Bohemia*, in order to join Prince *Charles*'s Army from *Prague*; but before he began his March, he diſpatched ſome of his Huſſars, *&c.* to attend the Rear of the *French* and *Bavarian* Army, in order to harraſs them in their March. And he likewiſe ſent the Baron *Trenck* with a Body of Troops to make themſelves Maſters of the Town of *Chamb*, in the *Upper Palatinate*, of which Expedition we have the following particular and very remarkable Account.

On the 27th ult. the Baron arrived before *Chamb* with about 1000 Men, conſiſting of Pandours, Talpatches and Croatians. They ſummon'd the Town to ſurrender in the uſual Manner; to which the Inhabitants anſwer'd, That they having taken an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, they would act agreeably thereto, The next Day nothing was done, nor would the Garriſon ſurrender. On the 29th the Town was attack'd with extraordinary Vigour, and at the ſame Time Means was found to ſet fire thereto, which did great Damage, and occaſion'd the utmoſt Confuſion. The Inhabitants being unable to defend themſelves in this deplorable Condition, opened the Gates. The Pandours, *&c.* were ſo animated upon their Entrance into the City, that they put all they met with to the Sword. The reſt of the Day, and the following Night, were taken up by plundering of the Place, which ceaſed not till there was nothing left. There were no other Troops in *Chamb* than a Battalion of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, conſiſting of 540 Men, 200 of which were killed either in the general Attack, or when the Pandours took the Place: The reſt of the Battalion were taken Priſoners, beſides Count *Conigi* who commanded them, a Captain, ſeven Lieutenants, and ſome Enſigns. Baron *Trenck* gives out, that this Body was Part of the Troops in Garriſon at *Linz*, and that they have violated the Capitulation enter'd into, by which they agreed not to act againſt the Queen of *Hungary* during a Year: So that it has been reſolv'd to ſend both Officers and Soldiers to *Vienna*, in order to be tried there on that Account. Major General *Campoſili* is ordered to conduct them thither, and to carry with him ſeveral Colours taken at *Chamb*. There were alſo taken eleven Pieces of Cannon, which Baron *Trenck* has ſent to the Head Quarters, and the whole Booty found is immenſe. The City was fill'd with great Q[uan]tities of Effects, ſav'd and ſent thither f[rom] ſeveral Parts of the *Upper Palatinate*. B[aron] *Trenck* has for his own Share of the Pl[under] only, in Money, Plate, *&c.* upwards 300,000 Florins in Value, and each of Officers in Proportion. The loweſt Pa[ndour] or Talpatch has not leſs than two or t[hree] Thouſand Florins.

The following is a Copy of what B[aron] *Trenck* wrote to Marſhal *Berwick* on this occaſion.

I write to you in a Hurry, to acquaint that Yeſterday, being the 29th ult. we came Maſters of *Chamb*, after having the evening before in vain endeavour'd to e[n]gage the Garriſon to ſurrender to us. We have taken Priſoners an entire *Bavarian* Batt[alion]. My Pandours and Croats behaved extraordinarily well. We have beſides taken a prodigious Treaſure, which does not amount to ſome Hundred Thouſand, but to Mi[llions] of Florins. We are buſy in ſending the W[ounded] to our neareſt Quarters.

At *Chamb*, *Aug.* 30, 1742.

Sign'd, TRE[NCK]

In our laſt, we left the *Auſtrian* and *Sardinian* Army in *Italy*, in Purſuit of the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* Army. The former continued the Purſuit to *Ceſena*, where they arrived the 25th of *July*, and advanced Picquet as far as *Savignano*; but on the laſt Month the Picquet returned back, the Army unexpectedly began its March towards *Piedmont*. This ſudden Alteration Counſels at firſt occaſioned a general S[urprize] but the Reaſon of it was ſoon explained. Accounts that Don *Philip*, with the Army from *France*, had entered *Savoy* the 30th of *Auguſt*, that Prince arrived his Army at *Chamberry*, where he p[ub]liſh a Manifeſto, enjoining the Deputies Provinces within that Duchy, to c[ome] and take the Oaths to him, and to bri[ng] Arms and Amunition to his Quarters, the Space of five Days at farthest; a[nd] hibiting them to pay any more Taxes King of *Sardinia*, or to have any Co[rre]dence with him, under the Pain of But as his *Sardinian* Majeſty arrived the 8th Inſt. and his Army was ſ[oon] him by long Marches, the Don's *Savoy* may, perhaps, be but of ſhort nuance.

The Account of the *Swediſh* Army ving entirely abandoned *Finland* is c[on]for that whole Army being ſhut up in *fors*, the *Ruſſian* General, Velt Mar[ſhal] granted them a Capitulation, by wh[ich] Infantry were immediately to transp[ort] ſelves to *Sweden*, and the Cavalry to ported thither in three Weeks, or ſ[ooner] to march round the Gulph. This ha[s] is like to produce a conſiderable Cha[nge]

...g of *Sweden*; for in the Diet, which is ...ening, the Party of the former Miniſtry ...s to get the better; and conſidering how ...Kingdom has been duped by *France*, it ...now, perhaps, be no difficult Matter to ...them into an Alliance with this King... and the Queen of *Hungary*.

...'the *Ruſſian* Empire has been brought ...glorious and flouriſhing State in which ...at preſent, chiefly by the Counſel and ...aſt of Foreigners, yet there are ſtill ...Murmurings among the Populace of that ...try, againſt the Number of Foreigners ...oyed in their Service, which have obliged ...*Czarina* to publiſh the following Mani...

...We *Elizabeth*, &c. We have heard, with ...ſe, the Reports ſpread in foreign Coun... as if we were determin'd not to employ ...the future any Foreigners in our Service, ...in Civil or in Military Affairs. We ...that theſe Reports are directly con... to our Intentions; for we are not only ...ed to keep in our Service the Foreigners ...ady engag'd in it, but we will alſo take ...to promote them according to their Ca... and Merit: We moreover declare, that ...who may hereafter be willing to engage ...Service, may freely come into our ..., and addreſs themſelves to his Royal ...ſs the Duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp*, to the ..., on the Report he ſhall make us of ...Talents, we may employ them in ſuch ...as they are fit for. Such are our real ..., which we have thought proper ...ſh to the World, in order to diſſipate ...trary Notions which ignorant or evil... People may have propagated."

...Cardinal *de Fleuri* has taken two Co... in to aſſiſt him in the Adminiſtration ...Affairs of *France*, viz. the Cardinal *de* ... and Mr. *D'argenſon*, who took their ...in his Majeſty's Council the 7th Inſt. ...his Eminence has ſtill the Ear of the ..., we may ſuppoſe, that he will continue, ..., to have the chief Direction of Af... tho' their late ill Succeſs ſeems to be a ...Argument for a total and real Change ...Adminiſtration.

...late, indeed, both Fortune and Conduct ...to have forſaken the *French* military ...; for from *Tunis* we have the follow... ...count, of *July* 19.

...teen Feluccas eſcorted by two Frigates ...French Colours, appear'd not long a... the Coaſts of the Iſland *Tabarca*, where ...ops on board made a Deſcent, and ...made themſelves Maſters of the ... Our Dey having Intelligence of ...mated them to be attack'd by a con... Body of *Turks* and *Moors*; who, af... obſtinate Reſiſtance, forced them to ...precipitately, after the Loſs of 45 ...ſo wounded, and 220 made Priſon...

ers; among the latter are nine Officers, a Grand Croſs, and two other Knights of *Malta*; and among the Dead there were alſo two Knights of that Order. Fifty of the Priſoners paſſed before our Dey with Chains about their Necks, 25 of them were immediately by his Order beheaded, and the reſt have no Way of eſcaping the like Fate but by becoming Renegadoes.

By our laſt Advices we have the following remarkable Article from *Madrid*, dated *Auguſt* 23. Some Scheme of the laſt Importance has employed for a Week paſt the Attention of our Court. At laſt a Diſpatch was delivered to a Courier, who was told at his Departure, that for every Hour he arrived ſooner than uſual, with the Duke *de Montemar*, he ſhould receive 25 Piſtoles. Her Majeſty ſeems to be conſol'd for all her Diſappointments by *Don Philip*'s taking Quarters in *Savoy*, of which, and of attacking the *Engliſh* Colonies in *America*, ſhe talks continually, which being not her Cuſtom ſurpriſes every Body. His Majeſty, on the other hand, is extremely melancholy, on repeated Advices from the Sea-Coaſts, that *Engliſh* Frigates and Privateers have put an End to all Commerce, and now land continually, and lay all the Country under Contribution.

Notwithſtanding theſe repeated Advices, the *Spaniſh* Court has reſolved to ſend another large Body of their Troops through *France* into *Italy*; and as this muſt leave many Parts of their Sea-Coaſt deſtitute of Troops, it is to be hoped, that we may begin to think of more important Attempts upon that Kingdom, than have hitherto been undertaken.

We had the following Advice from *Smyrna*, dated *July* 22. On the 19th a Fire broke out in the Houſe of a *Jew*, which not only burnt it to the Ground, but ſeveral of the Edifices adjacent. The Flames at laſt took hold of the *Turkiſh* Tribunal, ſo that in a ſhort Time the whole Weſtern Side of the City was in Flames; but they were at laſt extinguiſh'd. In the mean Time the Wind ſhifting, drove the Fire with ſuch Violence towards the N. N. E. that on the 20th the *Jewiſh* Quarter was again in Flames, and every Houſe of it deſtroy'd. From thence the Fire communicated itſelf to the *Greek* Quarter, and deſtroy'd all to the Magazines of the *Alexandrian* Traders, and even puſh'd its Conqueſt to the *Dutch* Burying-Ground. It run alſo along the Corn and Wood Markets, till it came to that which is called *Menaſſoli-Ghan*, and even Half of that was conſumed before the *Dutch* could bring their Engine to play, which preſerv'd their Factory. The *French* alſo plied theirs with ſo great Diligence that they ſav'd their Quarters. The Diſtreſs brought upon us hereby is inexpreſſible. The *European* Chriſtians had the good Luck to carry off their beſt Effects in Time on board the Ships in the Harbour.

En-

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

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THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

OCTOBER, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 435.

The Debate begun in our laſt, p. 432, the next that ſpoke was L. Piſo, *whoſe Speech was to this Purpoſe.*

My Lords,

FROM our Hiſtory we may learn, that the bad Conduct of Miniſters has been the chief Cauſe of all the Animoſities and Diviſions that have ever aroſe in this Nation; and that they generally recommended Concord and Unanimity with the greateſt Earneſtneſs, when they had done, or were about to do ſomething, they foreſaw would neceſſarily occaſion Diſcord and Diviſion. Like a Gang of Sharpers at a gaming-table, they cry for Calmneſs and Moderation, at the very time they are cheating the Company of their Money.

I hope, this is not the Caſe at preſent; but whether it be or no, will beſt appear from an impartial examination of our late Conduct: I know, my Lords, what Miniſters mean by Concord and Unanimity: By theſe Words they always mean an intire Submiſſion to their Will and Pleaſure, and a hearty Concurrence in all their Meaſures; but, I hope, this Houſe will never put ſuch a Meaning upon theſe Words: When we think the Meaſures wrong, I hope, we ſhall always ſhew Concord and Unanimity, not in approving, but in condemning them. By ſo doing, we may reſcue our Country from the Diſgrace or Difficulties it has been thrown into by wicked or weak Meaſures; whereas, if by a miſtaken Notion of Concord and Unanimity, we ſhould allow ourſelves to be led into but a ſeeming Approbation of ſuch Meaſures, we may render its Condition irretrievable.

I ſhall admit, my Lords, that both the Speech, and the Motion now made to us for an Addreſs by Way of Anſwer to it, are conceived in Terms more modeſt than uſual; but conſidering their former Behaviour, I cannot ſuppoſe that this Modeſty proceeds from the natural Modeſty of thoſe, who are always

ways in Parliament conſidered as the Authors of the Speech, and who are generally not unacquainted with the Motion that is to be made in Conſequence of it: No, my Lords, I muſt ſuppoſe, that this Modeſty proceeds from their being conſcious, that the evil Tendency of their paſt Meaſures now begins to appear evident from the fatal Effects they have produced; and therefore, tho' they have aſked but little, I ſhall be for with-holding even that ſmall Pittance of Praiſe they have aſked.

The noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, has made uſe of an Argument for Concord and Unanimity, or at leaſt for what Miniſters call ſo, which at firſt View may, perhaps, ſeem plauſible; but as I differ widely from him in one of his Premiſes, the Concluſion I draw muſt of courſe be widely different. In order, my Lords, to ſet his Argument in its proper Light, and to give it its full Weight, I ſhall put it in the Form of a Syllogiſm; in which Form it will ſtand thus: The Honour of this Nation has ſuffered by the haughty Inſults of *Spain*, and the Liberties of *Europe* are threatned by the ambitious Projects of *France*; but as the Inſults and Obſtinacy of *Spain*, and the Projects of *France*, have all flow'd from the Oppoſition our Miniſters have met with here at home, therefore we ought to give over that Oppoſition, and concur unanimouſly in approving all the Meaſures our Miniſters have purſued, or may purſue. This, my Lords, is the Argument in its moſt proper and conciſe Form, and the major Propoſition is what I ſhall moſt readily agree to: I ſhall admit, that the Honour of the Nation has ſuffered, moſt infamouſly ſuffered, from the haughty Inſults of *Spain*; and that we ought long ago to have taken proper Methods for reſenting them: I ſhall admit, that the Liberties of *Europe* are threatned, nay, are in the utmoſt Danger, from the ambitious Proje of *France*; and that we ought take the moſt proper, the moſt gorous, and the moſt ſpeedy M ſures for defeating them. So his Lordſhip and I agree; but minor Propoſition is what I can agree to: I cannot admit, that ther the former Inſults or pref Obſtinacy of *Spain*, or the amb ous Projects of *France*, proceed fr the Oppoſition, or from the Di tisfaction that has been ſhewed to Meaſures purſued by our Miniſte On the contrary, my Lords, b the one and the other are, I convinced, intirely owing to th Meaſures, and the Approbation th Meaſures have met with from a M jority in both Houſes of Parliame for as the Character of an Aſſem muſt always depend upon the M rity, with regard to the other Ho I may venture to ſay, that for tw ty Years paſt, we have had a m ſterial and not a national Houſ Commons. Thank God! we h now got a new one, and I hop will ſoon appear to be a nati one; if it ſhould, I may bef hand congratulate *Europe*, as as my Country, upon the ha Changes it will produce.

Your Lordſhips will now ſee, according to my Way of thinl the Argument muſt ſtand thus: Honour of this Nation has been ſulted, and Reparation obſtinately nied by *Spain*; and the Liberti *Europe* are brought into the moſt minent Danger by the preſent bitious Deſigns of *France*: But Inſults and Obſtinacy of the for and the Deſigns of the latter, entirely owing to the Parliam having for ſo long approved of weak and puſillanimous Mea purſued by our Miniſters; there we ought never for the futur give ſo much as a ſeeming Appr tion to any Meaſures, but ſuc ſhall, upon due Inquiry and p

formation, appear worthy of the
Nation. This, my Lords, is
true State of the Argument,
after having proved my ſecond
poſition, the firſt being admitted
all Sides, I ſhall ſhew that our
ing upon this Occaſion to be ſo
plaiſant as uſual, will be a Step
ards overcoming the Obſtinacy
Spain, and defeating the preſent
itious Projects of *France*.

With regard, my Lords, to the
ſts of *Spain*, they may be juſtly
to owe their Original to the
ous Treaty of *Hanover*. That
aty convinced the Court of *Spain*,
indeed all the Courts of *Eu-*
, that our Miniſters either did
underſtand the true Intereſt of
r Country, or were from ſome
h End engaged not to purſue it;
the Inſtructions given to our
drons ſent out upon that Occa-
, ſhewed, that our Miniſters nei-
knew how to make Peace, nor
Courage to make War. If ſuch
and ridiculous Meaſures had
with the Treatment they de-
ed in Parliament, they would
had no great Effect upon the
t of *Spain*: They could not
encouraged that Court to inſult
becauſe it would ſoon have ſeen
Management of our Affairs put
other Hands, by the Advice or
hority of our Parliament. But
d of cenſuring, our Parliament
ved of every one of thoſe
ures; and this convinced the
t of *Spain*, that the Majority
r Parliament were as weak as
Miniſters, or had ſomething elſe
ew than the Honour or Intereſt
eir Country.

om hence, my Lords, the *Spa-*
preſumed, that they might
begin to inſult us. The Squa-
we ſent upon their Coaſts gave
a Pretence for ſo doing, and
ſtructions given to thoſe Squa-
gave them Reaſon to think,
might do it with Impunity.

A Accordingly they ſoon after began all Sorts of Hoſtilities againſt us. They ſeized upon our Ships and Effects in their Dominions: They fitted out Privateers, and took our Merchant Ships wherever they could meet with them at Sea; and they laid Siege to our Fortreſs of *Gibraltar*. Did we reſent any of theſe Inſults? Did we alter the pacifick Inſtructions to our Admirals? No, my Lords: Our Miniſter continued negotiating, or rather begging for B ſome Sort of Treaty at *Madrid*; and our Squadrons continued inactive upon their Coaſts. This was a full Proof to them, that they might treat us as they had a Mind; and that they might ſet up what Pretenſions they pleaſed againſt us. Accordingly towards the End of the Year C 1726, they for the firſt Time avowedly ſet up a Right to ſearch our Ships in the *American* Seas, and to ſeize and confiſcate them, if found ſailing in what they were pleaſed to call an improper Place, or if any D Goods were found on board which they were pleaſed to call contraband.

This, my Lords, was a Pretenſion directly contrary to the Law of Nations, as well as the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns; and E yet ſo wretchedly ſtupid were our Miniſters, or ſo criminally negligent of the Trade and Navigation of their Country, that they concluded a Convention with *Spain* in 1728, and the Treaty of *Seville* in 1729, without once deſiring them F to give up this unjuſt Pretenſion; from whence the *Spaniards* moſt reaſonably concluded, they had now got a better Right to it than they ever had before; and as they ſaw, the Parliament had approved of every Thing our Miniſters had done, they G concluded, that for the future they might exerciſe this Right without Controul. From that Time, my Lords, they continued not only to

ſearch but ſeize almoſt every *Britiſh* Ship they met with in the *American* Seas, and we continued to negotiate, not about their expreſsly receding from the unjuſt Pretenſion they had ſet up; for there is no ſuch Demand in any one of the Memorials we delivered to the *Spaniſh* Court; but about having that Pretenſion explained and regulated; and at laſt we obtained the late famous Convention, by which it was ſtipulated, that this Right of ſearching and ſeizing our Ships, pretended to by *Spain*, ſhould be regulated by Plenipotentiaries in eight Months Time. This Treaty, diſhonourable and pernicious as it was, the Parliament was ſo complaiſant as to give a ſeeming Approbation to, but the Nation was not ſo complaiſant: It was generally exclaimed againſt, and with ſuch Violence, that the Miniſter found it would not be ſafe for him to carry it into Execution; and the Court of *Spain* finding he durſt not venture to grant them their favourite Point, which was that of having their pretended Right regulated and thereby of courſe eſtabliſhed, they refuſed to pay the 95,000*l.* they had promiſed by the Convention, which made it abſolutely neceſſary for our Miniſter to begin Hoſtilities of ſome Kind or other againſt *Spain*, leſt his Countrymen ſhould begin Hoſtilities againſt him.

Thus, my Lords, I have brought our Affairs down from the Beginning of our late Diſputes with *Spain* to the breaking out of the preſent War, and, I hope, I have made it evident, that all the many Inſults we met with during that Time, were owing to the weak Conduct of our Miniſters, and that Conduct's being every Year approved of by Parliament; for if the Parliament had ever once exerted the true Spirit of the *Britiſh* Nation, it would have convinced the *Spaniards*, that they were no longer to have a we puſillanimous Adminiſtration, but wiſe and vigorous *Britiſh* Parliam to deal with; and this would ſo have made them alter their Cond towards this Nation.

I now come, my Lords, to ſh how the *Spaniſh* Obſtinacy in re ving to run the Hazard of a W rather than comply with our Demands, is to be imputed to ſame Cauſe. From an Experie of fourteen or fifteen Years, Court of *Spain* were fully appri of the Perplexity, Puſillanimity Weakneſs of our Miniſters, and that whole Time they had ſeen even the moſt ridiculous of our p lick Meaſures, approved of by P liament. Could they ſuppoſe, Lords, that the War would be c ducted with Wiſdom, or proſecu with Vigour by ſuch Miniſters? Co they ſuppoſe, that the Conduct our Miniſters would be corrected, the Miniſters removed by ſuc Parliament? This gave them C rage: This occaſioned their Ob nacy: This made them reſolve run the Riſk of a War rather t comply with our juſt Demands; can we ſay, they have been di pointed by the Event? Has the been proſecuted with Vigour in one Part of the World? Has one of our Schemes been conce with Wiſdom, or executed with dence? On the contrary, have our Merchants been moſt ignom ouſly left a Prey to *Spaniſh* Pr teers, and *French* fiſhing Boats, in our own Channel, and in V of our own Ports, whilſt our S drons were rotting in their H bours, or employed in defendin againſt imaginary Dangers? Ye Parliaments have twice ſince War began made Compliment our Miniſters, and have ſpent long Seſſions without making leaſt Inquiry into their Conduct that the Enemy can as yet hav

Re

ſon to dread any Change in our
duct; and whilſt our publick
airs are conducted in ſuch a
ner, can we expect to over-
e the Obſtinacy of *Spain?* Can
expect to obtain a ſpeedy or an
ourable Peace?

Thus, my Lords, it is evident,
the former Inſults, as well as
ent Obſtinacy of *Spain*, are en-
y owing to the weak and puſil-
nous Conduct of our Miniſters,
the Approbation their Conduct
hitherto met with from Parlia-
t; and as to the ambitious Pro-
s of *France*, have we not for
ty Years paſt rather aſſiſted
oppoſed that aſpiring Crown
l her ambitious Projects? Was
this the very Deſign of the
aty of *Hanover*, and of all the
ſures we took in Purſuance of
Treaty? The *French* were moſt
y alarmed at the Alliance con-
ed between the Courts of *Vienna*
Madrid in the Year 1725. They
red to break that Alliance, if
ble, to puniſh *Spain* for enter-
into ſuch an Alliance, and to
e a new Quarrel between *Spain*
the *Emperor*; and for all theſe
e Purpoſes they made uſe of us
the Cat's Paw, without putting
ſelves to any Expence, or ex-
g themſelves to any Danger.
en the late King of *Poland* be-
to approach towards his latter
, the *French* reſolved to have
r King's Father-in-law choſen
g of *Poland:* In this Project too,
we are not very much belyed,
aſſiſted them with our Intereſt in
e Kingdom; and as the Inſtruc-
s to our Miniſter then in *Poland*
e refuſed to be laid before Par-
ent, it in ſome Meaſure con-
ed the Suſpicion; but as no
f of this Fact has hitherto ap-
ed, I ſhall not pretend to be po-
ve upon this Head. One Thing,
ever, I am certain of, that
en the *French* declared War a-
gainſt the *Emperor*, for oppoſing them in this Project, we gave no Aſſiſtance to our antient and moſt natural Ally, nor took any proper Meaſures for oppoſing the ambitious Projects then ſet on Foot by *France*, A by which Means a very great Addition was made to the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* was very much diminiſhed, and that Alliance diſſolved (I mean that between the Emperor and us) which had long B been the Scourge and the Terror of *France*.

But this, my Lords, was not all; for from this Miſconduct of our Miniſters, the *French* ſaw, they had nothing to fear from us in any ambitious Project they might after- C wards undertake; and the other Powers of *Europe* had the Mortification to ſee, that no Confederacy could be formed againſt *France* and her Allies, becauſe they deſpaired of getting this Nation to join in that Confederacy, as long as it was D governed by ſuch Miniſters, and thoſe Miniſters ſupported by ſuch a Parliament.

At this Criſis, my Lords, to the Misfortune of *Europe*, the Emperor happened to die, and *France* being thus in no Dread of any Hindrance E from us, ſhe began to form thoſe ambitious Deſigns, which ſhe is now carrying into Execution; from whence it is apparent, that the preſent ambitious Projects of *France* are not owing to our domeſtick Diviſions, but to the weak Meaſures purF ſued by our Miniſters, and the Approbation thoſe Meaſures have always met with from Parliament. If the Parliament had but two Years ago reſumed its antient Spirit, and made a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry into the late Conduct of our Miniſters, G the Conſequence might perhaps have been fatal to ſome of them, but it would have been happy for this Nation and for *Europe*, becauſe it would

have

have produced a thorough Change in the Management of our publick Affairs: This would have reconcil'd to us the Confidence of our antient and natural Allies, and revived the drooping Spirits of thoſe Princes and States, whoſe Intereſt it is, as much as ours, to oppoſe the ambitious Projects of *France*; and this would have prevented that aſpiring Nation from diſturbing the Tranquillity of *Europe*, or attempting to preſcribe Limits to our warlike Operations againſt our declared Enemy; and the Court of *Spain* being deprived of the Hopes they had from our Miſconduct, as well as the Protection they depended on from *France*, their Obſtinacy would, before this Time, have been converted into the moſt humble Submiſſion.

Theſe, I ſay, my Lords, would have been the Conſequences, had the Parliament but two Years ago reſumed its antient Spirit: We ſhould probably have had an honourable Peace with *Spain* before this Time: The Queen of *Hungary* would have been in peaceable Poſſeſſion of all the Dominions properly belonging to her Father; and the Electors of the *German* Empire would freely, and without being over aw'd by *French* Armies, have proceeded to the Choice of an Emperor. Theſe Advantages cannot now, it is true, be recovered: An Emperor of *Germany* is now choſen, I ſhall not ſay legally choſen, by the Influence of *France*; the Empire is now full of *French* or *Frenchified* Armies; and the Queen of *Hungary* has been ſtript of a great Part of her Father's Dominions. But the Affairs of *Europe* are not yet become irretrievable: The Queen of *Hungary* has done Wonders in her own Defence: There are ſome Princes now engaged in Alliance with *France*, who might, I believe, be eaſily drawn to the other Side; and ſeveral Princes, who now ſtand neuter, would readily engage againſt her, if they ſaw a

per Spirit begin to exert itſelf

the Councils of this Nation.

we, can *Europe* expect, that

Spirit will begin to ſhew itſelf

our inferior Councils, whilſt

A are under the ſame puſillanim

and perplext Direction they h

been for twenty Years paſt?

my Lords; it muſt begin to

itſelf in our Great Council: I

once gets in there, it will ſoon

its Way into our inferior Coun

B For this Reaſon, the Eyes of all

rope are fixt upon the Behaviour

this new Parliament: The Liber

of *Europe* expect their Doom

our Reſolves, perhaps from this

Day's Debate. If this Parliam

ſhould appear to be govern'd by

C ſame Spirit that has prevail'd in

Parliaments, the Powers of *Eu*

will give over all Thoughts of

ing free and independent of *Fra*

The only Competition will be, wh

ſhall be the richeſt and moſt pow

ful Vaſſal of that all-powerful

D narch; and can we expect to

in Freedom, after the other Po

of *Europe* are brought under Subj

tion?

My Lords, the preſent Conjun

ture is ſo critical, that a few D

Delay may render the Affairs

E *Europe*, and conſequently our o

Affairs irretrievable; therefore,

ought to take the very firſt Opp

tunity of ſhewing, that this Par

ment will not be governed by ſu

a Spirit as our late Parliaments h

been, and this we can no Way m

F properly do, than by returning u

this Occaſion to our antient Fo

of addreſſing. This will be

Step towards overcoming the Ob

nacy of *Spain*, as well as defeati

the preſent ambitious Projects

France; and it will be the m

G important, becauſe all *Europe*

expect that Step to be followed

every Step neceſſary for attain

the ſame End.

T

The noble Lord who made this
ion was pleaſed to tell us, that
Motion was to give no Sanction
ny paſt Meaſure: It is true,
Lords, it gives no Sanction to
particular paſt Meaſure, but it
a Sanction to them all in ge-
l; for as the Speech from the
one is always in Parliament ſup-
d to be the Speech of the Mi-
, every Thing we ſay in our
ſes, that bears a Relation to
Expreſſion in the Speech, muſt
will be applied to the Miniſter.
we, my Lords, declare ourſelves
kful to the Miniſter for the
Care he has expreſſed for car-
on the War againſt *Spain*,
we are convinced, when it is
rent to the whole World, that
has taken no Care to carry on
War in any proper or vigorous
ner? If a Servant ſhould in his
er's Abſence neglect or miſma-
every Thing committed to his
ge, and yet upon his Maſter's
rn ſhould make great Profeſ-
of his Care, would it not be
, would it not be ridiculous in
Maſter, to thank him for the
he profeſſed, eſpecially if he
w thoſe Profeſſions to be falſe?
in the preſent Caſe, we are go-
to do ſomething ſtill more ridi-
us; for I do not find, that the
iſter has in the Speech expreſſed
great Care for carrying on the
: He ſays, his principal Care
been to carry it on in *America*,
ſo it ſeems indeed, for he has
ied it on no where elſe.
, my Lords, can it be ſaid,
the War has been carried on
merica either with Care or Pru-
ce? We have, indeed, at laſt
thither a powerful Fleet, and a
Number of Troops; but we
ſuch Troops, and thoſe Troops
the Command of ſuch Offi-
and ſo ill provided of every
neceſſary, that no Succeſs
be expected, eſpecially after
had given the Enemy ſo much
Time, ſuch ſufficient Notice, and
ſo many Opportunities to provide
for their Defence. The Event has
happened accordingly; we have
been baffled and diſgraced in every
Attempt made at Land, not for
Want of Bravery in our Troops,
new rais'd as they are, but mere-
ly for Want of a ſufficient Num-
ber of experienced Officers and
Engineers, and for Want of thoſe
other Things that are neceſſary for
the Succeſs of any Attempt at Land.
I ſhall not at preſent inquire into
the Neceſſity or Propriety of our at-
tacking *Cartagena*, after the *Spaniſh*
Squadron was ſailed from thence;
but conſidering the Reports we have
from thence, we ought to inquire
into the Conduct of that Affair, be-
fore we ſo much as inſinuate in an
Addreſs, that any Care has been ta-
ken for carrying on the War in *A-
merica*; and I am ſure no Man can
pretend, there has been the leaſt
Care taken to carry it on in any
other Part of the World.

With regard therefore, my Lords,
to the Conduct of the War againſt
Spain, our Miniſter may make what
Profeſſions he pleaſes, but I am ſure
we ought not to thank him for thoſe
Profeſſions, when we have all the
Reaſon in the World to think there
is no Truth or Sincerity in them;
and now with regard to the im-
pending Dangers to which *Europe* is
expoſed in the preſent Conjuncture,
no Man, I believe, can now doubt
of them, and every true *Briton* muſt
have a true Senſe of them; but our
mentioning them upon the preſent
Occaſion, without ſome Reflection
upon the Conduct of our Miniſter,
will be a tacit Sort of Acknowledg-
ment, that none of them are to be
imputed to his Conduct, and will
therefore be a Sort of Sanction to
all his paſt Meaſures relating to fo-
reign Affairs. My Lords, I have
already ſhewn, that all the Dangers
with which *Europe* is now threatned,

are

are originally owing to the weak or wicked Meaſures purſued by him; but in order to fill up his Meaſure of Iniquity, he has lately, I mean ſince the Death of the Emperor, and particularly this laſt Summer, purſued ſuch Meaſures as are really amazing.

As the Claims of the King of *Pruſſia* in *Sileſia* were well known at the Time we entered into the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, ſome Care ſhould then have been taken to ſtipulate Satisfaction for his *Pruſſian* Majeſty; and this we ought the rather to have inſiſted on, becauſe it would have tended to reſtore a good Correſpondence between us and *Pruſſia*, which is at all Times ſo neceſſary for the Support of the Proteſtant Religion, as well as the Liberties of *Europe*. This our Miniſter neglected at that Time, and we know for what Reaſon; but ſurely upon the Emperor's Death, we ſhould have renewed, or rather begun a Negotiation for this Purpoſe: We ſhould have immediately endeavoured to remove the Miſunderſtanding that had ſo long ſubſiſted between us and *Pruſſia*; and we ſhould have made giving Satisfaction to *Pruſſia*, with regard to his Claims in *Sileſia*, an expreſs Condition of our entering into any new Engagements with the Court of *Vienna*. Did we do this, my Lords, or any Thing like it? If Reports be true, and upon Inquiry they will, I believe, appear to be true, we took the direct contrary Method. We fooliſhly believed, *France* was ſincere in the Declarations ſhe made upon the late Emperor's Death, of abiding by her Engagements in Favour of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and as the Queen of *Hungary*, with a little Aſſiſtance from us, would have been more than a Match for the King of *Pruſſia*, we thought we had got an Opportunity of revenging the Neglect the *Pruſſian* Court had long ſhewn of our Miniſter. Upon this fooliſh Preſumption, we gave the Queen of *Hungary*, on the one hand the moſt expreſs and unconditional Aſſurances of aſſiſting her against the King of *Pruſſia*, and on the other hand, we began to bully the King of *Pruſſia*, and to threaten him with our declaring againſt him, if he did not immediately give up his Pretenſions, and withdraw his Army from *Sileſia*.

My Lords,——

—*Quod optanti divum promittere nemo*
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit

By this Conduct of ours, *France* gained Advantage ſhe could not otherwiſe have expected. The King of *Prussia*, by our ridiculous Conduct, was driven into her Arms, and then, and not till then, ſhe began to think ſeriouſly of giving an Emperor to *Germany* and dividing the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. It may therefore be moſt juſtly concluded, that the ambitious Projects which *France* is now carrying on in *Germany* owing chiefly to the Miſconduct of our Miniſter; and as to the ambitious Projects which ſhe is now carrying on by the Means of *Spain*, carrying on in *Italy*, they are more apparently owing to the ſame Cauſe. From the Death of the late Emperor the *Spaniards* began to prepare for an Embarkation at *Barcelona*, and it was known all over *Europe*, that was deſigned for attacking the Queen of *Hungary* in *Italy*. We were engaged by the moſt ſolemn Treaties to aſſiſt and protect the Queen of *Hungary*; we were then in a War with *Spain*, and by Means the Squadron we had then in the Seas we were Maſters of the *Mediterranean*; and yet we allowed the *Spaniſh* Fleet to ſail openly and avowedly from *Barcelona* to *Italy* without attempting to give it the leaſt Interruption, tho' it be well known, that three or four of our Cruiſers only might have deſtroyed

e whole Fleet. This, my Lords, is impoſſible to impute to Miſcon-ct alone: We muſt impute it to Deſign in our Miniſter, and the y Deſign we can ſuppoſe he had it, was that of contributing to e Succeſs of *France* in all her am- A ious Projects, as far as he thought nſiſtent with his Safety here at me.

Shall we then, my Lords, ſay y Thing in our Addreſs, that y ſeem to inſinuate as if we ought, that the Dangers *Europe* B n expoſed to are no Way owing to e Conduct of our Miniſter? The ntrary is ſo evident, and has been ately manifeſted, that ſuch an inuation would expoſe us to the dicule of the whole World, and ght at this Time be attended C h the moſt unhappy Conſequen-, with regard to thoſe Dangers which *Europe* is at preſent ex-ed; becauſe from thence all *Eu-* would ſuppoſe, that this new liament is to be directed by the e Spirit which has prevailed o- D our Councils for twenty Years ; and from a Parliament direct-by ſuch a Spirit, no Change or eration could be expected either our Councils or Conduct; which ld encourage *France* to proceed her ambitious Schemes, and the E en of *Hungary* being reduced to pair, would, perhaps immedi-y, ſubmit to *France*, and accept ſuch a Share of her Father's Do-ions as *France* might deign to her.

This, my Lords, would render F Affairs of *Europe* irretrievable; as this may be the Conſequence our Lordſhips ſhewing, upon this caſion, ſuch a blind Complaiſance Miniſters as has of late been , I hope, you will now reſume antient Method of addreſſing G general Terms. From ſuch a ge in our Method of addreſſ-the Queen of *Hungary* will ex-pect an immediate Alteration in our Conduct: She will from thence ſuppoſe, we have at laſt got a true *Britiſh* Parliament; and from ſuch a Parliament, ſhe knows, ſhe may expect, not only verbal Declarations in her Favour, but the moſt real and effectual Aſſiſtance. This will encourage her to ſtand out till we can put our Affairs in ſuch Order as to exert ourſelves in a proper Manner; and when it is known abroad, that the Councils of *Great Britain* are directed by a wiſe, a vigorous, and a true *Britiſh* Spirit, I make no Doubt of our being able to form ſuch a Confederacy as will protect the Liberties of *Europe*, and reſcue them from the Dangers they are expoſed to in the preſent Conjuncture. Let us therefore, my Lords, be unanimous in our Proceedings, but let that Unanimity be a national and not a miniſterial Unanimity. The whole Nation will join with us in acknowledging our Thankfulneſs to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne; in congratulating him upon his ſafe Return to his *Britiſh* Dominions; and in giving his Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of our inviolable Duty, Fidelity, and Affection to his Perſon and Government: But none but a few Exciſemen, or ſuch like, will join with us in complimenting our Miniſters upon their Care or Conduct; and as it may at this Time be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequence, I hope your Lordſhips will wave it upon the preſent Occaſion.

The next Speech I ſhall give was that made by C. Cicerejus, *which was to this Effect.*

My Lords,

THE Motion made by my noble Friend is ſo general, and every Paragraph in it ſo proper, and, in my Opinion, ſo neceſſary

upon the preſent Occaſion, that I little expected to have heard any Oppoſition made to it; nor could an Argument have been found againſt it, if the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, had not, with his uſual Ingenuity, diſcovered a Meaning in ſome of the Expreſſions, which, I am perſuaded, the noble Lord who made the Motion neither intended nor dreamt of. Tho' our Language be as good and as diſtinct as any in *Europe*, yet I have always thought it impoſſible to contrive Words or Expreſſions, in which an ingenious Critick may not find out a latent Meaning; and I am confirmed in this Opinion by the Objections made to this Motion. As his Majeſty has in his Speech declared, that his principal Care has been to puſh the War in *America*, and as the puſhing of it in that Part of the World has always been recommended by Parliament, I think we can in Duty do no leſs than thank his Majeſty for the Care he thus expreſſes; nor can I ſee how an Expreſſion of Duty to his Majeſty can be tortured into a Compliment to his Miniſters, or ſuppoſed to be a tacit Confeſſion, that they have taken proper Care to puſh the War in that or any other Part of the World.

The only other Expreſſion found fault with in this Motion, is that of our declaring, that we have a true Senſe of the impending Dangers to which *Europe* is expoſed in the preſent Conjuncture: That we have, that we ought to have a true Senſe of theſe Dangers, the noble Lord has himſelf acknowledged; but ſays he, we cannot in our Addreſs expreſs our having a true Senſe of theſe Dangers, without declaring them to be chiefly owing to the Conduct of our own Miniſters; becauſe otherwiſe it will be ſuppoſed to be our Opinion, that none of theſe Dangers are to be imputed to any Neglect or Miſconduct in our Adminiſtration. This, my Lord, is, I confeſs, a little too ſubtile for my Comprehenſion, and if ſuch a Suppoſition be made by none but thoſe, who have an equal Penetration with his Lordſhip, I believe, we need not be afraid of its ſpreading very far. But to be ſerious; is really the Subject, and the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe* require the utmoſt Seriouſneſs and Attention, let us ſee how my noble Friend was induced to put this Expreſſion in his Motion: His Majeſty in his Speech takes Notice of the impending Dangers that threaten *Europe*, and ſays, we cannot but have obſerved them with an Attention ſuitable to the Occaſion. Could any one that has a Senſe of his Duty to his Majeſty, could any one that has a true Senſe of theſe Dangers think of an Addreſs by way of Anſwer to that Speech, without mentioning what his Majeſty ſo expreſſly recommends to us, and what the common Safety requires our attending to with the cloſeſt Application and providing againſt with the moſt Diſpatch? My Lords, I do not know any Thing that would more tend to encourage the *French* in their ambitious Projects, or to reduce the Queen of *Hungary* to deſpair, than our neglecting to declare in our Addreſs the true Senſe we have of the preſent Dangers; for it would from thence be ſuppos'd, that we thought the Liberties of *Europe* no Way concerned in the Subverſion or Reduction of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that therefore we would give ourſelves no Concern about the Preſervation of that Houſe; which this, I am ſure, would be a much more natural Suppoſition, than to ſuppoſe, that by our declaring the Senſe we have of the preſent Dangers, without ſaying any Thing about their Cauſe, we thereby mean to declare our Opinion, that they ought not to be imputed to any

con-

nduct in our Miniſters; for it uld not be ſuppoſed, that in ſuch intricate Caſe we would be ſo ſh, as to declare our Opinion, ei-er upon one Side or other, with-t ſome previous Inquiry.

I muſt therefore think, my Lords, A ere is nothing in this Motion that be ſuppoſed to give a Sanction our paſt Meaſures, either in ge-eral or particular; and for this eaſon I do not think myſelf obli-ed, upon this Occaſion, to enter to a Juſtification of any Part of B r former Conduct; but as the no-le Lord who ſpoke laſt has endea-oured to ſhew, that the preſent ngers are all owing to the weak eaſures lately purſued by our Mi-iſters, and as I have generally been e of the many that have approved C thoſe Meaſures, I hope, your rdſhips will give me Leave, in y own Juſtification, to ſay ſome-ng in Anſwer to the Objections thoſe Meaſures, which I have, ll ſtill do approve of. Whatever ers may think, my Lords, of the D cret Articles ſaid to have been tained in the Treaty concluded *Vienna* in the Year 1725, between *Emperor* and *Spain*, I am ſtill vinced there were ſome ſuch Ar-cles, and if there were any ſuch, y rendered the Treaty of *Hano-* E abſolutely neceſſary; but ſup-e there were no ſuch ſecret Arti-, there is an Article in the pub-Treaty which ſhewed, that the rts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* had a ſign to diſturb the Tranquillity of , and which made it neceſ- F at that Time both for the *Dutch* us to join in an Alliance with ce. When I ſay this, your rdſhips muſt ſuppoſe, I mean the icle by which the King of *Spain* ged, that if any of the Empe-Ships ſhould be attacked on ei- G Side of the Line, his Catho-Majeſty would in ſuch Caſe e it a common Cauſe with his Imperial Majeſty, to revenge and redreſs the Injuries and Damages ſuſtained.

This, my Lords, was as plain a Guaranty of the *Oſtend Eaſt-India* Company, as if that Company had been expreſsly named in the Arti-cle; and as neither the *Dutch* nor we could permit that Company to carry on its Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, this Article was a direct and a pub-lick Proof, that the Treaty was de-ſigned againſt us; and that if the *Dutch* or we ſhould attack the Ships of that Company in the *Eaſt-Indies*, both the *Emperor* and *Spain* would immediately declare War againſt us. This, my Lords, made it neceſſary for us to enter into an Alliance with *France*; and in order to preſerve the Tranquillity of *Europe*, it became neceſſary for us to prevent the *Spaniards* getting their Treaſure home from the *Weſt-Indies*, as well as to prevent their attempting to make any Invaſion upon us, till ſuch Time as we prevailed with the Court of *Vienna* to give up their favourite *Oſtend* Company. For theſe Purpo-ſes, we had no Occaſion to commit any Hoſtilities upon the *Spaniards*; nor was it our Intereſt ſo to do; and therefore our Squadrons were, I ſtill think, moſt wiſely inſtructed not to begin Hoſtilities: Theſe Meaſures had accordingly the deſired Effect; for the *Emperor* being thus convin-ced, that *Spain* could no Way aſſiſt him in protecting his *Eaſt-India* Company, he gave it up by a ſo-lemn Treaty in the Year 1727; and *Spain* being convinced, that the *Em-peror* could no Way aſſiſt her in her Projects againſt us, ſhe about the ſame Time agreed to Preliminaries for accommodating all Differences with us, which Preliminaries were afterwards compleated by the Con-cluſion of the Treaty of *Seville* in 1729.

Thus your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that the Treaty of *Hanover* did not

proceed from any Impoſition put upon us by *France*, or from any blind Complaiſance in us for the *French* Court, but from a ſolid and well-concerted Scheme for preſerving the Tranquillity of *Europe*, and for preventing our being attack'd by the united Forces of the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and our not committing actual Hoſtilities againſt *Spain* could give them no Occaſion to think they might inſult us with Impunity; becauſe the very Squadrons we then ſent upon their Coaſts, could not but convince them, that we had it in our Power to puniſh them in what Manner, and in what Place we pleaſed. But I cannot leave this Head, my Lords, without obſerving, that if any Wound was ever given to that mutual Confidence, which had long, and might ſtill have ſubſiſted between the *Emperor*, the *Dutch* and us, it was firſt given by the Court of *Vienna* itſelf. By the Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend* Company, that Court ſhewed, that it had a greater Regard for a little, petty Self-Intereſt of its own, than it had for either or both its antient Allies: This was what firſt created a Coolneſs between the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*; and this Coolneſs has ſince manifeſted itſelf upon ſeveral Occaſions, eſpecially in the Year 1733, when the *Emperor* was attack'd by the united Forces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*.

It was this, my Lords, that made the *Dutch* abſolutely refuſe, at that Time, to join in any Meaſures with us for giving Aſſiſtance to the *Emperor*: Our Miniſters cannot, I am ſure, be accuſed of any Neglect or Miſconduct upon that Occaſion; they made Preparations both by Sea and Land, and they made all poſſible Applications to the *Dutch*; but their Anſwer was, that they did not think themſelves obliged to aſſiſt the *Emperor* in a War, which he had brought upon himſelf; and as they were not engaged in Honour, they could n[ot] be engaged in Intereſt, unleſs *Fran[ce]* and her Allies ſhould puſh the Conqueſts farther than was conſiſte[nt] with the Preſervation of the Balan[ce] of Power. This was their conſta[nt] Anſwer, and it would have been the moſt pernicious Conſequence to our Trade, had we engaged ou[r]ſelves in a heavy, and perhaps a t[e]dious War, whilſt the *Dutch* had Opportunity to purſue their Tra[de] in all Parts of the World witho[ut] Interruption. Therefore, if the *Fre[nch]* gained any Advantage by that W[ar] it was not owing to the Conduct of our Miniſters, but to the Conduct of the *Dutch*; and the Conduct of t[he] *Dutch* was owing, as I have ſaid, to a Coolneſs which had been firſt o[c]caſioned by the ſelfiſh Behaviour of the Court of *Vienna*.

From what I have ſaid, [my] Lords, it is manifeſt, that upon the Death of the late *Emperor*, the *French* could not hope for any E[n]couragement in the Purſuit of th[eir] ambitious Schemes, either from [the] Friendſhip or Puſillanimity of our Miniſters: Their ſole Encouragement proceeded from the Contention that aroſe among the Princes of *Germany*, and that Contention w[as], I believe, upon a proper Inqu[iry] appear to have been chiefly owi[ng] to the Obſtinacy of the Court of *Vienna*. It is eaſy, my Lords, to ſay, we might have done this or t'other Thing, but thoſe who kn[ow] any Thing of that Court, kn[ow] that for Ages its diſtinguiſhing C[ha]racteriſtick has been, To do no Right, nor ſuffer any Wrong: T[his] has often armed the Princes of *Ger[-]many* againſt it: From ſuch a C[ha]racter can it be ſuppoſed, that before the late Emperor's Death [it] could prevail with that Court to [do] or promiſe Satisfaction to the K[ing] of *Pruſſia*? And that Prince's I[n]vaſion of *Sileſia* was ſo ſudden after the Emperor's Death, that there was

T

e to prevent it by any Negotia-
What Meaſures we afterwards
for bringing about a Reconci-
on between him and the Queen
Hungary, I do not pretend to
; but, I believe, I have as
Authority for ſaying, that the
proper Meaſures were taken,
he noble Lord who ſpoke laſt,
for ſaying, that we encouraged
latter in her Obſtinacy, or bul-
the former into the Arms of
ce. For my own Part, my
, I do not believe the King of
ia has as yet thrown himſelf
ly into the Arms of *France:* I
ve, that if we in this Nation
d appear to be unanimous a-
ſt ourſelves, and the Queen of
gary ſhould depart a little from
uſual Obſtinacy of her Prede-
or, it is ſtill practicable to get
King of *Pruſſia* to join with us
tabliſhing and ſupporting a pro-
Balance of Power in *Europe*;
if he ſhould at laſt be obliged
row himſelf intirely into the
s of *France*, I am convinced, it
be owing to the Obſtinacy of
Court of *Vienna*, or to the Party
ions that may be raiſed or con-
d in this Kingdom.

hope, I have now ſhewn, my
, that the ambitious Projects
rance in *Germany* are not owing
y Miſconduct in our Miniſters;
as to the Schemes ſhe is now
ying on in *Italy*, by the Means
ain, they are as yet but in Em-
, and may eaſily be ſtifled in
Birth. But let the Conſequence
what it will, our Miniſters are
to be blamed: They took Care
ave a ſuperior Fleet in the *Me-*
diterranean; and if a few *Spaniſh*
ſports eſcaped that Fleet, can
Accident be any Way imputed
e Miſconduct of our Miniſters?
not think, that even our Ad-
l is to blame; for he could not
the *Mediterranean* with his
adron; and therefore a Fleet of
Tranſports might ſail from *Barcelona* to *Italy*, which is but a ſhort Trip, without any Fault or Neglect in him.

I come next to conſider the Inſults and Obſtinacy of *Spain*, and as I have before ſhewn, that the Inſults of *Spain* could not be owing to the Squadrons we ſent out in Purſuance of the Treaty of *Hanover*, which were ſo powerful that they muſt be ſuppoſed to have given the *Spaniards* a great and even terrible Opinion of our naval Force, I ſhall now only conſider our Conduct about the Time of, and ſince the Treaty of *Seville*. From the Year 1725 till 1728, the *Spaniards* conſidered themſelves as at War with us, and therefore we could not judge what their Behaviour towards us in Time of Peace would be, from their Behaviour during that Interval. They may perhaps have mentioned in ſome of their Memorials a Right to ſearch our Ships in the *American* Seas, and to ſeize them on Account of their having contraband Goods on board; but as this was contrary to the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Nations, and as all former Treaties were renewed and confirmed by the Treaty of *Seville*, this Right was thereby as plainly given up as if it had been expreſsly mentioned in the Treaty; and till we had Experience of it, no reaſonable Man could ſuppoſe they would be guilty of ſuch a Breach of Faith as to act directly contrary to a Treaty ſo lately concluded. As ſoon as we found they did ſo, we made proper Application in a peaceable Manner for Redreſs, which was certainly the firſt Thing to be done, and the Court of *Spain* were ſo far from refuſing our juſt Demand, that in the Year 1732, expreſs Orders were ſent by the *Spaniſh* Court to their Governors in the *Weſt-Indies*, not to moleſt or abuſe the *Engliſh*, or any of their Ships ſailing in thoſe Seas, and not concerned

cerned in any illicit Trade; and an Agreement was made, that the Commanders of the *Guarda Coſta's* ſhould give Security to be anſwerable for all Damages they might unjuſtly occaſion. This our Miniſters thought, and they had Reaſon to think it would be ſufficient for preventing any Depredations for the future; ſo that the *Spaniſh* Depredations are to be imputed ſolely to their Breach of Faith, and not to any Miſconduct in our Miniſters; for when it was found, that even theſe laſt Stipulations were no ſufficient Reſtraint upon their *Guarda Coſta's*, the Negotiation which ended in the late Convention was ſet on foot; and whatever has been, or may be ſaid of that Convention, I am ſtill of Opinion, it was a good Foundation for a definitive Treaty. By that Preliminary the *Spaniſh* Court owned themſelves in the wrong: They acknowledged the Injuries they had done us, and upon ſettling Accounts allowed us the Sum of 200,000*l.* by Way of Reparation. It is, my Lords, a Miſtake to ſay, that the *Spaniſh* Claim of a Right to ſearch and ſeize our Ships in the open Seas, was to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries: It was only their Right to prevent an illicit Trade, and the Methods they were to make uſe of for that Purpoſe, that was to be regulated by the Plenipotentiaries; and our agreeing to refer this to Plenipotentiaries will not, I hope, be ſaid to be a betraying the Rights of our Country.

My Lords, if the *Spaniards* had paid the Sum ſtipulated by the Convention, it would have been a good Earneſt of their Sincerity in any future Negotiation; and their not paying it was entirely owing to the Diviſions they ſaw ariſing in this Country. Theſe Diviſions, and the popular Animoſity ſtirred up againſt our Adminiſtration, were the true Cauſe of their Obſtinacy at that Time, and of the Continuance of that Obſtinacy ever ſince. They know the Weight of a popular Intereſt in our Government: They knew the Parliament then in Being was drawing near an End, and that there muſt ſoon be a new Election. From this new Election they expected, that there would be a Breach between the King and his Parliament; and this Breach they thought would render it impoſſible for us to proſecute the War againſt them, or to defend our own Dominions againſt their Attacks. It is upon this their Hopes depend: It is from hence only their preſent Obſtinacy proceeds: If in this new Parliament we begin with ſhewing an Unanimity in all our Proceedings, a firm Reſolution to ſupport his Majeſty, the *Spaniſh* Court being convinced in that upon which they ground all their Hopes, will then give Ear to reaſonable Terms; for it will give ſuch a Weight to his Majeſty's Negotiations abroad, that he may ſtill be enabled to eſtabliſh the Balance of Power upon a ſafe Baſis, even without involving the Nation in any new War.

I do not well know what the noble Lord means by a miniſterial or a national Unanimity. There never was, I believe, any Diviſion in the Kingdom, when our Miniſters were not concerned on one Side or other, and the moſt fatal Diviſions we ever had, or can have, are when the King and his Miniſters are on one Side, and a Majority in Parliament on the other. This puts a fatal Stop to the Wheels of our Government, and generally has, ſooner or later, ended in Civil War. *Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atreidæ.*

This, my Lords, is what our Enemies hope for, this is what *France* impatiently deſires to ſee; and upon them alone the Obſtinacy of the *Spaniards*, and the ambitious Projects of the latter are founded. I ſhall

ords, that our Miniſters have ally been in Fault when a Ma- of Parliament has declared a- them; but, I believe, it will owed that this Majority have imes puſhed their Reſentment ar. Miniſters are but Men, re liable to human Weakneſſes ll as other Men. Their Er- herefore ought to be forgiven: Crimes only ſhould be pu- ; and even when they have guilty of Crimes, an Oppor- ſhould be taken to try and them when the publick Safety in Danger; for when the Na- engaged, or upon the Brink ing engaged in a heavy and rous War; when our very be- a free and independent Na- at Stake, I do not think it be prudent to waſte our and ſtir up Heats and Ani- es among the People, by an y into our paſt Conduct. If ouſe were on fire, I ſhould it would be very fooliſh in apply myſelf only towards ering who had ſet it on fire, of applying myſelf towards uiſhing the Flames.

, my Lords, is our very Caſe ent. There is a Flame light- in *Europe*, in which we ſhall ly be conſumed, if we do not Care to have it extinguiſhed it gets to a Head. I ſhall be y as any of your Lordſhips to a thorough Inquiry into our onduct, and if upon that In- any Man ſhould appear to be al, I ſhall be for puniſhing in proportion to his Crime; us firſt think of extricating and ourſelves from the pre- anger. *Quod differtur non au-* A Month or a Year hence, ll be as able to inquire into Conduct, and to puniſh thoſe all appear guilty, as we are Hour; but a few Days De- y render it impoſſible for us to obviate, or to provide againſt the Danger we are now expoſed to; and our ſplitting into Parties, and raiſing Heats and Animoſities among ourſelves, which is always the Conſequence of an Inquiry into the Conduct of publick Affairs, will increaſe the Danger that threatens us, and may ſoon render it unavoidable; for when the Powers of *Europe* ſee, that we are amuſing ourſelves with domeſtick Inquiries, inſtead of enabling his Majeſty to give them effectual Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy, Deſpair will be the natural Conſequence: They will all ſubmit to that Power which they find themſelves unable to withſtand, and the only Boon we can expect, will be that of being the laſt to be ſwallowed up.

To prevent this fatal Conſequence, the beſt Method we can take, is, I think, my Lords, to agree unanimouſly to the Addreſs propoſed; and as there is nothing in it that can give a Sanction to paſt Meaſures, or prevent a future Inquiry, were I fully convinced of the Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of our paſt Conduct, I ſhould nevertheleſs be for agreeing to what my noble Friend has propoſed; for which Reaſon I hope, and, indeed, I earneſtly wiſh, that it may meet with your Lordſhips unanimous Approbation, for I dread the Conſequence, even of the Queſtion's being carried by a ſmall Majority.

The laſt Speech I ſhall give upon this Occaſion, was that made by L. Æmilius Paullus, *which was in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

YOUR Lordſhips muſt all by this Time be convinced, that the whole Streſs of the Argument in this Debate, reſts upon the Opinion foreign Powers may be ſuppoſed to have of our preſent Miniſters, or

or rather of our preſent ſole Miniſter. He had for a long Time an Opportunity to diſplay his Talents in the directing of Negotiations, and it muſt be allowed he made great uſe of his Talent in that Way: He has now at laſt had an Opportunity to diſplay his Talents in directing the Conduct of a War; ſo that the Powers abroad, as well as we at home, have had a Taſte of his Talents in both theſe Capacities. If we can ſuppoſe, that the Powers abroad have a great Opinion of him in both: If they look upon him as a prudent, a clear-headed, and an able Negotiator: If they look upon him as an active, a wiſe, and a vigorous Proſecutor of a War: If they think, that he has always choſen the moſt knowing and ſkilful Miniſters for managing his Negotiations of Peace, and the moſt expert Commanders for carrying on his Operations of War: And finally, if they think, that he has always ſhewn a true *Britiſh* Spirit, and, conſequently, a conſtant Jealouſy of every Project ſet on Foot by *France:* I ſay, my Lords, if we think, we have Reaſon to believe this to be the Character of our Miniſter amongſt foreign Powers, we ought then to begin this Seſſion with more Complaiſance to him, and greater Encomiums upon his Conduct, than we ever began any former Seſſion with, in order to ſhew to all Nations, that our Affairs will continue to be directed, and abſolutely governed, by one of the greateſt, ableſt, and beſt Miniſters that ever preſided over the Councils of *Great Britain*.

But on the other hand, my Lords, if upon a curſory Examination into his paſt Conduct, we find Reaſon to believe, that foreign Powers have a direct contrary Opinion of him in every one of theſe Particulars, we ſhould then take the very firſt Opportunity to convince them, that though the King of *Great Britain* ſhould incline to continue ſuch Miniſter in the Direction of Affairs, the Parliament of *Britain* will not ſuffer it; and Reaſon for our reſolving to a this Manner is very evident; we can expect no Confidence thoſe, who would otherwiſe in to be our Friends, we can expe Condeſcenſion from thoſe who or incline to be our Enemies, as as they ſuppoſe, that our Co are to be governed by a Man Capacity or Integrity they have a deſpicable Opinion of. An mination of our paſt Conduct i therefore, ſo foreign to the pr Debate, as ſome Lords may gine; for without ſome Sort o amination of this Kind, it is i ſible for us to form a Judgm the Opinion foreign Powers have of our preſent Miniſter; without forming ſuch a Judg we cannot determine, whethe are upon this Occaſion to co the late Method of compliment the Miniſter, under Colour Addreſs to the Throne; or ſume our antient Method of ſenting an Addreſs in the mo neral Terms, without ſaying Thing that may, by the mo ced Implication, be ſuppoſed a Compliment to the Miniſter.

Having thus, my Lords, the Neceſſity of ſuch an Exa tion, I ſhall take the Liber make ſome Remarks upon ou niſter's paſt Conduct, both in and War; in the doing of I ſhall take proper Notice ingenious Gloſſes that have put upon it by a Friend of this Debate. If from the Re I am to make it ſhould appear this Miniſter has, in every his Conduct, been the Dupe Tool of *France*, I believe, be allowed, that the foreign whoſe Confidence we ought to can have no good Opinion

pacity, or a very bad one of his
egrity; and that in the preſent
cumſtances of *Europe*, he is of all
n the laſt we ſhould truſt with
chief Direction of our Affairs:
is, my Lords, is to be the chief
ject of my Remarks, and I declare
efore-hand, that your Lordſhips
y the more eaſily comprehend
Force of my Argument.

Having premiſed this, my Lords,
uſt obſerve, that it is and always
ſt be the Intereſt of *France* to
p up a good Correſpondence with
n, and to prevent any Corre-
dence or Confidence between
Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*;
on the other hand, it is the In-
ſt of this Nation to keep up a
Correſpondence between the
rts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, and
revent, if poſſible, any good Cor-
ndence between the Courts of
ce and *Spain*. In this, as well
in a great many other Reſpects,
Intereſt of this Nation and that
France muſt always be directly
poſite; and in the Year 1724 we
an excellent Opportunity for
ing our Intereſt, by the *French*
rt's ſending back the *Infanta* of
, who, in the Regent's Time,
been affianced to their young
arch. The *Spaniſh* Court look'd
this as ſuch an Indignity, that
broke off all Correſpondence
the Court of *France*, and were
ch inclined to reconcile them-
s to the Court of *Vienna*, that
offered us the ſole Mediation;
this our Miniſter refuſed, be-
it might have bred a Miſun-
anding between him and *France*,
oiding of which ſeems to have
his chief Maxim, ever ſince
Acceſſion to Power.

owever, *Spain* perſiſted in her
ition, and ſince ſhe could get
Mediator, ſhe ſent a Miniſter
ely to *Vienna*, where all Dif-
ces were accommodated, and
ties of Peace, Commerce, and
Alliance were concluded between
theſe two Courts in the Year 1725.
Give me Leave now to examine
what was the Intereſt of this Na-
tion, and what was the Intereſt of
France, upon this important Emer-
gency: In general, it was certainly
the Intereſt of this Nation to have
ſupported this Alliance, and even
to have acceded to it, upon getting
ſome Explanations, which, I am per-
ſuaded, might have been very eaſily
obtained. There is, it is true, an
Article in the defenſive Treaty, by
which the *Oſtend* Company ſeemed
to be guarantyed; but this the na-
tional Intereſt of theſe Kingdoms
had very little Concern in, nor had
we any Right to inſiſt upon the Diſ-
ſolution of that Company. The
Dutch, indeed, had a Right to inſiſt
upon it; but we find, they gave
themſelves very little Trouble about
it; and if the *Dutch* and we had
made the aboliſhing of that Com-
pany the Condition of our acceding
to that Alliance, I am convinced, it
would have required no great Skill
in Negotiation to have prevailed on
the Court of *Vienna* to agree to it.

Upon the Whole therefore, I may
juſtly ſay, that it was very much
the Intereſt of this Nation to have
cultivated and improved this good
Correſpondence, that was but juſt e-
ſtabliſhed between the Courts of *Vi-
enna* and *Madrid*: But was this the
Intereſt of *France*? No, my Lords,
it was diametrically oppoſite to the
Intereſt of *France*; nay, it is pro-
bable, the Court of *Spain* were by
this Alliance ſeeking for an Oppor-
tunity to be revenged for the Indig-
nity put upon them by *France*: It
was therefore the Buſineſs of the
Court of *France* to put an End to
this Alliance, or at leaſt to provide
againſt it; and accordingly they ſet
about it with the utmoſt Diſpatch.
But how did they ſet about it? They
contrived the Story of the ſecret
Articles; for that this was a *French*

Contrivance, is now, I think, clear to a Demonſtration; and tho' this Story was the moſt improbable one that was ever put upon any Min or any Nation, it was believed, or pretended to be believed by our Miniſter, and was made the Foundation of the Treaty of *Hanover*; for it is ridiculous to ſay, that the *Oſtend* Company was any Part of the Foundation of that Treaty, becauſe the *Dutch* were no Parties Contractors in it, nor acceded to it till near a Year after it was made.

Thus, my Lords, by a mere *French* Trick we were induced to ſacrifice the Intereſt of our Country to that of *France*; but whether in this our Miniſter was the Dupe or the Tool of *France*, I ſhall not pretend to determine; for as I have no better Opinion of his Integrity, than I have of his Capacity, he might, for what I know, be employed by the *French* Court to make his late Majeſty and the Nation believe a Story which he knew to be falſe. But the Treaty of *Hanover* was not the only Aim the *French* had in cooking up this Story: By this Treaty they ſecured themſelves againſt an Attack; but they then reſolved to go farther: They had a Mind to ſhew the *Spaniards*, that the *Emperor* was not in all Caſes a proper Ally for them. In Caſe of an Attack from *France* or *Holland*, the *Emperor* was a proper enough Ally for *Spain*; but in Caſe of an Attack from us, he could give them no Aſſiſtance; and therefore the *French* Court found it neceſſary to perſuade us to attack *Spain*, which they got us to do under Pretence of preſerving the Tranquillity of *Europe*, tho' it was not then in the leaſt Danger of being diſturbed; and what was moſt ſurpriſing, they got us to take this Attack intirely upon ourſelves, and to make the Attack in ſuch a Manner, that we could reap no Advantage to ourſelves, nor do any real Injury to *Spain*.

Accordingly we ſent out two po
erful Squadrons with peaceable I
ſtructions, one to inſult the Coaſts
Spain in *Europe*, and another in
merica: This Indignity not o
made *Spain* declare War againſt
but it did worſe, it made them f
get the Indignity put upon th
ſome Years before by *France*,
brought about a thorough Recon
liation between the Courts of *Fra*
and *Spain*; and then the former
came Mediator for making up
Differences ſhe had occaſioned
tween *Spain* and us. It is ridi
lous, my Lords, to alledge, that
we fitted out thoſe Squadrons o
with a View to prevent Hoſtilit
we had no Buſineſs to begin the
We were in no Danger of Hoſ
ties either from the *Emperor* or Sp
and if we were, or if the Fr
were, we ought to have made th
join us with ſome Ships, wh
would have involved them equ
with us in the War with *Spain*.
ſuppoſe we had at firſt no Deſig
commit Hoſtilities, ought not w
have begun them, after *Spain* be
Hoſtilities againſt us. It is th
fore plain, that thoſe Squad
were deſigned for nothing bu
force *Spain* into a Reconcilia
with *France*, and to make them
ſpiſe their Alliance with the
peror.

Thus, my Lords, the Cou
France, by its Influence upon
Miniſter, had wrought two
great Points, and both directly
trary to the Intereſt of this Na
but there was ſtill a third to b
tained, and that was a thor
Diſſolution of the Alliance bet
the *Emperor* and *Spain*, and a
Breach between theſe two P
tates. This was not very dif
becauſe *Italy* will always be a
of Contention between them,
one or t'other be entirely ban
out of that Country; but it is
ſurpriſing that in this likewiſ

uld allow ourſelves to be made Tools of *France*. By the Qua-ple Alliance, the eventual Suc-ion of the Duchies of *Tuſcany*, *rma*, and *Placentia*, was to be ſe-ed to the Sons of the Queen of *in*, by the Introduction of 6000 A ral Troops; and it is certain theſe neutral Troops would have en as good a Security as any e- Number of *Spaniſh* Troops; but Queen of *Spain* had farther ews, and, therefore, upon her Re-cilement with *France*, ſhe formed B Deſign of having *Spaniſh* Troops oduced into thoſe Duchies, in-d of neutral Troops. The very poſition was a manifeſt Proof, t ſhe had ſome ſecret Deſigns a-inſt the Emperor's Dominions in y, and ought therefore to have C us upon our Guard againſt it; it was the Intereſt of *France* to ourage her in thoſe Deſigns, and refore they got us to allow the een of *Spain* to bring this Propo-on into the Negotiation for a ce between *Spain* and us. My D ds, it was moſt prepoſterous in to allow ſuch a Propoſition to be much as mentioned in ſuch a Ne-iation; but ſuch was our Depen-ce upon *France*, that we not only wed it to be mentioned in the otiation, but agreed to its be- E made an expreſs Article in the aty of *Seville*, and thereby be-me bound, jointly with *France*, to thoſe Troops introduced. Thus new Breach was, by our Means, ated between the *Emperor* and in, and a Foundation laid for F leſs Quarrels between thoſe two ween; and all this, without ob-ing any one Advantage to our-es; for I ſhall preſently ſhew, t by that Treaty the Rights of Nation were in every Particu-moſt infamouſly abandoned, or reſly given up.

As the *Emperor*, foreſeeing the ſequences, moſt juſtly and wiſely poſed the Introduction of *Spaniſh* Troops into *Italy*, our Miniſter ſaw himſelf in great Danger of being involved in a War, in Conjunction with *France* and *Spain*, againſt the *Emperor*; and as this, he knew, the Nation would not bear; therefore, in order to get out of this Laby-rinth, he was forced to plunge the Nation into a plumb Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, without ſti-pulating the leaſt Satisfaction for the King of *Pruſſia*, or any of the Prin-ces of *Germany*. My Lords, can any one think, can any one believe, that the Court of *Vienna* would have put the yielding of two or three Lordſhips in *Sileſia* to *Pruſſia*, into the Balance againſt our guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*? Can we ſuppoſe, the Court of *Vienna* would have heſitated one Moment in giv-ing Satisfaction to *Pruſſia*, in this or any other reaſonable Demand, if we had made it the Condition of our entering into that Guaranty? And if we had any View of per-forming the Engagement we were to enter into, it was certainly ne-ceſſary for us to have, at leaſt, *Pruſ-ſia* united with us in that Engage-ment. But I am perſuaded, my Lords, our Miniſter had no View of performing it: *France*, I am perſua-ded, knew he had not: He entered into it only to ſerve a Turn, and that Turn being ſerved, the Conſe-quence ſoon ſhewed, he had no far-ther Thoughts about it; for in two Years after he deſerted the Empe-ror, when he was attacked in *Italy* by thoſe very *Spaniſh* Troops, which, upon our Sollicitation, and upon our Faith, he had allowed to be brought into that Country.

Upon that Occaſion, tis true, my Lords, our Miniſter raiſed Armies, fitted out Squadrons, and began new Negotiations; for he never let ſlip G any Opportunity he could lay hold of, for putting the Nation to Ex-pence. But did he make any Uſe of them? Did he give any Aſſiſ-

tance to the Emperor? It is a Jeſt, my Lords, to ſay, we could not aſſiſt the Emperor, becauſe the *Dutch* would not join with us. Are the Councils of *Great Britain* to be directed by the States General? If they ſhould put themſelves into *French* Leading-ſtrings, muſt we do the ſame? It is equally a Jeſt to ſay, the *Dutch* Neutrality at that Time proceeded from their Coolneſs towards the Court of *Vienna*, on Account of the *Oſtend* Company; for the Emperor had long before given them full Satisfaction upon that Head. No, my Lords, it proceeded from the Opinion they had of our Miniſter: His Preparations, they knew, were, what they had often before appeared to be, nothing but bluſtering: As our Councils were under a Direction in which they could put no Confidence, they reſolved to provide as well as they could for their immediate Safety, and truſt to Providence for their future. I wiſh, my Lords, the ſame Cauſe may not now again produce the ſame Effect; for if this Parliament ſhould appear to be as complaiſant to our Miniſters as the former, I am perſuaded, the ſame Cauſe will ſtill ſubſiſt.

I believe, my Lords, I have ſaid enough to ſhew, that with regard to foreign Affairs, our preſent Miniſter appears, thro' the whole Courſe of his Adminiſtration, to have been the Dupe or the Tool of the Court of *France*. But in order to compleat his Character in this Reſpect, your Lordſhips will, I hope, indulge me a few Words upon what has happened ſince the Death of the late Emperor; for I ſhall ſhew, not from private Intelligence, not from the Authority of any Whiſper, but from publick and known Events, that in every Step ſince that Time, our Miniſter has ſeconded the Views of *France*.

[*This* SPEECH *to be concluded, and the* JOURNAL *continued in our next.*]

Craftſman, Sept. 25. N° 848.

The Affectations and Fopperies of HEROES *and* KINGS.

SIR,

THERE is no Kind of Fo… that Satire hath faſten'd up… with a keener Tooth, than *Fopp*… There is ſcarce a Virtue, wh… hath been more highly extol'd th… *Magnificence*. It is natural, the… fore, to ſuppoſe, that the noble … ception allowed to the laſt, h… been the Bait to ſeduce ſuch Nu… bers into the firſt; and yet there … no more Similitude between the… than between Paint and Beauty.

The very Eſſence of the Ridi… lous is Affectation; nor would … *Owl* and *Aſs* be treated ſo ludicro… ly, as they always are, if, over th… natural Dulneſs, they did not w… the Maſk of Wiſdom. As *Sa*… ſagaciouſly declares, *we are all … God made us*; and, therefore, wh… we continue as we are made, are … Way obnoxious to Blame or Lau… ter, for not being what we were … ver deſign'd to be.

But this, forſooth, we can ne… ſubmit to; every Horſe T—d wo… be an Apple; and what is worſe, … ſpite of all Evidence, inſiſts on … ing received and treated acco… ingly.

Now, this is what even a Ro… Proclamation cannot bring the We… to allow: Common Senſe is not ſ… je&t to the Will of Kings, and ch… lenges a Prerogative ſuperior … theirs.

Hence it was, that even a D… dem could not cover the Aſs-Ear… *Midas*; thro' that dazzling Cir… they betray'd themſelves, and ev… Sycophant who approach'd hi… laugh'd in his Sleeve, if not in … Sovereign's Face.

Had his *Aſſinine* Majeſty ne… ſtept into the Judgment-Seat, … undertook to be a Man of Taſte, …

never fallen under the Diſplea-
of *Apollo*, or been *Ear-mark'd*
the Ridicule of all Ages.
have ever been particularly
'd with *Ovid*, for having play'd
his pleaſant Piece of Revenge
a King: It hath ſerved to il-
moſt effectually, that if Kings
Gods in Power, they are Men
gment; and if moſt of theſe
Idols had not been viſited, like
and *Agamemnon*, with a lying
, it might poſſibly have kept
from treſpaſſing on their own
ies, and aſpiring to be ridicu-

Power intoxicates, as well as
and the Phrenzy it creates,
evaporates, but in the Sleep
ith.
Alexander himſelf, tho' per-
the moſt magnanimous of Men,
ſtly enamour'd with the Cha-
of *Achilles*, ſet up the Poet's
as his Model in all Things.
thus became his *Patroclus*,
lodg'd in his Boſom, rather
thro' Affectation, pardon the
, than Affection. Thus, like-
he piqued himſelf on being
of Foot; as alſo on his own
Valour, and the giving a
oſe to the moſt violent of his
. And laſtly, ſuch Strength
vain-glorious Humour of his
by long Indulgence, that,
ſy'd with the real Glory he
quired by his Victories, he
ns to blaſt the Reputation
his Parents, in order to be
'd the Son of *Jupiter*.
all theſe Lights, as likewiſe in
eeping for more Worlds to
, as well as his Ambition to
all Men in all Things, even
der himſelf becomes as emi-
ridiculous, as, apart of theſe
, he was eminently worthy of
ation.
Affectations and Abſurdities
ander were, however, thoſe
ero; the *Achilles* he mimick'd
was the *Achilles* of *Homer*; the God he was deſirous to be deriv'd from, was the King and Father of the reſt. Glory was the Deity he worſhipped; and the Conteſt of Generoſity between him and *Porus* bears A Witneſs, that he deſired to have a Reputation founded on Virtue, as well as Victory.

Even *Cæſar*, the Man of Reaſon as well as Enterpriſe, could not help being dazzled with the glittering Figure of this human *Phœnix*, as is B evident by his burſting into Tears, on recollecting that he himſelf was ſcarce known to the World, at an Age when *Alexander* was both the Wonder and Maſter of it. *Cæſar*, however, did not ſuffer his Admiration to hurt his Diſcretion; and if C he emulated his Virtues, he carefully avoided his Extravagancies.

Charles XII. of *Sweden*, likewiſe, apparently copied the military Part of *Alexander*'s Character; in Conſequence of which, War became his Element, and to diſpoſe of King-D doms, not poſſeſs them, what he principally aim'd at, as the Fruit of his Victories: But as *Cæſar* ſtudy'd only the Excellencies of *Alexander*, *Charles* was enamour'd even with his Faults; and as all Defects in a fine Original are aggravated in a E ſervile Copy, ſo if *Alexander* was raſh, *Charles* was Raſhneſs itſelf; which he carried to ſuch an Extremity, that while in the Field, ſcarce any Thing leſs than a continual Series of Miracles could have preſerved him from Day to Day. He is F not, however, to be upbraided with *Alexander*'s Debaucheries; and if the *Greek* was continent once, the *Swede* was ſo always. *Alexander* again found Leiſure, in the Midſt of a Camp, to cultivate the Arts and Sciences, to be elegant, to be magG nificent, (let it be remember'd, I do not ſay, to be prodigal or oſtentatious) whereas *Charles* was ſo immers'd in the Drudgery of War, that

that he forgot the Dues of Decency, and in his Figure more reſembled our antient *Piſtol*, as dreſs'd for the Stage, than a great King and mighty Conqueror. The *Spartans* were never ſo ſpruce, as in the Day of Battle; nor can I ſee any Neceſſity that a great Hero ſhould be as great a Sloven. To finiſh with this Royal Succeſſor, as *Alexander* had his *Hephæſtion*, *Charles* had his Prince of *Wirtenberg*: A Circumſtance which I mention only to ſhew, that *Peter the Czar* had Authorities of all Sorts for calling him, tho' ſomewhat in Scorn, the *Alexander* of the North.

From what I have been led to ſay of this Glory of the *Greeks*, I cannot forbear making a Tranſition to that moſt elegant Compliment pay'd to our *Henry* V. by *Shakeſpear*, who introduces his gallant *Welchman*, *Fluellyn*, drawing a Parallel of quite a new Kind, between him and *Alexander*, which he thus makes out: "That as *Alexander*, in his Rages, ant his Furies, ant his Cholers, ant his Intignations, ant alſo being a little intoxicates in his Prains, tit, in his Ales, ant his Anceres, look you, kill his Frient *Clytus*: So alſo *Harry Monmouth*, being in his right Wits, ant his goot Jutgments, turn't away the *fat Knight!*"

A Hint which, perhaps, from a *ſimilar Circumſtance*, our *Laureat* may improve into a dextrous Compariſon between G—— of *H*——, and the ſaid *Harry* of *Monmouth*: On which Occaſion, I would farther recommend to his Conſideration, what the ſame *Fluellyn* ſays by way of Reply to the King, on being called *Countryman* by his Majeſty.—" By *Jeſhu*, I am your Majeſty's Countryman; I care not who know it; I will confeſs it to all the 'Orld. I need not be aſham'd of your Majeſty, praiſet be *Got*, ſo long as your Majeſty is an *honeſt Man!*"

King. "God *keep me ſo!*"

To return.

We have hitherto touch'd on the Fopperies or Affectation Heroes; we muſt now deſc thoſe of Kings. In the Fron whom ſtands *Xerxes*, who, b mighty Preparations, ſeem'd reſolved to ſwallow *Greece*, conquer it: All that he lays Occaſion is in the tumid Stile, all that he does extravagant, ſee him ſurrounded with Mill joining *Europe* and *Aſia* wit Bridge, ſcourging the Ocean, ſhaking off his Yoke; and aft this wondrous military Parade, to make his Eſcape from a Ha of Enemies in a ſingle Skiff.

The *Daniſh Knutt*, once a T of *Britain*, we are told, w puff'd up with Royal Vani to entert in a Notion, that his mighty Mandate he could troul the Tides. But if he w diculous enough to try the E ment, he had, likewiſe, Sen nough to make a proper Uſe and to exert his Power in a more conſonant to Reaſon ex ter.

The Expedition of *Caligula* Sea-Side, the Pomp and Spl it was ſet out with, the Inter between him and his ſlaviſh S in the Interval, his obliging h gions to garniſh their Arms Cockle Shells, and his calling the Spoils of the Ocean, ar cumſtances ſo thoroughly ridi that the plaineſt Narration a the End of Burleſque, and th Hiſtorian becomes a Satiriſt.

Our own *Edward* IV. raiſed a vaſt Sum of Money People, by Way of Benev which he condeſcended to in Perſon, paſs'd over to *Cala* a mighty Army, moſt gallan forth, and with almoſt all th bility and Gentry of the Ki in his Train, to aſſiſt the D *Burgundy*, and Count *de St. P* making War upon *France*;

of in a pompous Interview of
two Kings, and a Treaty of
ity, by which the King and
Courtiers got much, and the
ple, as uſual, nothing at all.
ry VIII. was another of theſe
Magnifico's, who carry'd the A
lumber of his Court into the
and who glory'd more in giv-
ſhy to an Emperor, (*Maximi-*
than in gaining a Victory.
ſes, beſide, the incredible Sums
in that oſtentatious Interview
een him and *Francis*, in the B
bourhood of *Guiſnes* and *Ar-*
the Tilts and Tournaments, the
nals, Maſks, Riotings, and all
other Variety of Ways and
to confound Money, then
ded to flatter the gaudy Diſ-
on of the King, and which C
ced no one good Conſequence,
r to him or his Subjects.
is, indeed, obſervable, that all
eedings of this taudry Nature,
ble *Caligula*'s Cockle-Shell Tri-
, they are to be eſteem'd royal
ries, and anſwer no more in D
cks, than Reviews, as to the
Buſineſs of a Campaign. The
ain in Labour will ſerve as a
Emblem for them all.
who is fond of a Feather on
Outſide of his Head, will have
olid within; and *Edward* III. E
ry V. who made, by far,
greateſt Figure of any of our
, in their Attempts on *France*,
ſcarce furniſh'd the Hiſtorian
a ſingle Paragraph, concerning
ſplendour of their Equipages,
ch ſerves to no other End, than, F
Phillips expreſſes it, to
the crowd, and ſet them all a-gape.

forming Confederacies, and
Battles, are very ſerious
; the very Foundations of
dom are affected by them; G
en our whole remaining Stock
neceſſary to render all ſafe
it doth not ſeem over wiſe
to laviſh vaſt Sums in uſeleſs, perhaps ridiculous Ornaments above.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

Univerſal Spectator, Oct. 2. N° 730.

The Unreaſonableneſs of Perſecution, and true Religion an Enemy to it.

RELIGION, without the Corruption of Impoſture, never baniſhes Reaſon, or imbitters the Heart; on the contrary, it improves and enlarges the Faculties of Men, exalts their Spirits, inſpires them with generous and beneficent Affections towards one another, and with univerſal Love and Benevolence to the whole Creation: Nor can we better ſhew our Love to God than by our Love to our Neighbour; that is, all Mankind in general.

Almighty God inſtituted Religion for the Sake of Men; their frail Power of acting could no farther be intereſting to him than to ſee his Creatures encreaſing their own Happineſs, by making Happineſs mutual among themſelves: Religion therefore teaches and animates them to be aſſiſting, forgiving, kind and merciful to one another. But when the Spirit of *falſe Zeal* agitates them to revile, calumniate, hate and deſtroy one another, it is contradictory to Religion, and a Defiance to the Author of it. To quarrel alſo about Belief and Opinions, which do not immediately produce practical Virtue and ſocial Duties, is wicked and abſurd; it is to be wicked in Behalf of Righteouſneſs, and to be cruel out of Piety.

But the Spirit and Precepts of the true Religion are Love and Charity, given to inſpire Men with every ſocial Virtue. *Impoſture*, indeed, among People and Nations who call themſelves Chriſtians, hath introduced Gallies, Racks, and Dungeons, to propag te her Tenets; and Chriſtianity prov'd as brutal, bloody and inhuman as Mahometaniſm.

The Heathen Tyrants in perſecuting Chriſtianity did only deſtroy Chriſtians; but when Chriſtian Tyrants were for protecting none but *true Chriſtians*, that is, thoſe who were as vicious, as ignorant, or miſled as themſelves; when they were for puniſhing all who were not *true Chriſtians*, that is, all that were better and wiſer than themſelves, who would take Religion from no Man's Word, but from the Word of God alone; then Chriſtians liſted againſt Chriſtians, and baniſh'd Chriſtianity by a falſe Friendſhip to the Profeſſors, who, at the ſame Time, were ſtruggling for ſecular Power, not religious Advantages: *Thus Zealots ly'd for the Truth, and kill'd one another for God's Sake.*

To encourage all the Members of a Society to perform the practical Duties of Religion, is of general Intereſt: To enforce all to conſent to the Opinions of Men, which are merely ſpeculative, is a ſure Method to deſtroy any Society: No Man's Belief is in his own Power, much leſs can it be in the Power of another. Men may be forc'd into Hypocrites; they may be compell'd to belye their Conſciences, or to act againſt them; they may be driven into Infidels; for if they ſuſpect Religion is an Impoſture, Infidelity is the next Conſequence, from a Belief, that Religion countenances and impoſes Bitterneſs, Outrage, Inhumanity: People cannot be made religious by Force, nor all the Powers in the World make a Man embrace truly what his Reaſon tells him is abſurd: Convict his Errors, if ſuch they are, by Reaſon, and it will ſeldom fail of Effect. Power can do nothing: Kindneſs, Example, Argument, have all a prevailing Efficacy.

As arbitrary Princes want a Religion ſuited to the Genius of their Power, they perſecute all Religion which is againſt Tyranny, as all true Religion is; for this Reaſ[on] one of the great abſolute Prin[ces] *Europe* embrac'd the Reform[ation] nor would ſuffer their People t[o] brace it, but were all bitter profeſs'd Enemies to it. Wh[ere] all the great free States, e[x]*Poland*, and moſt of the ſmall States became Proteſtants. Th[e] *Engliſh*, the *Scotch*, the *Dutch*, *Bohemians*, and *Sweden* and *Den*[mark] (which were then free King[doms] the greateſt Part of *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, with all the *Hans T*[owns] which were not aw'd by the peror, flung off the Popiſh Yo[ke]

Montezuma, and other He[a]Tyrants, who worſhipped God human Sacrifices, we look o[n] ſo many Monſters, and congra[tu]ourſelves that we have no ſuch of *Moloch* in *Europe*; not con[ſi]ing, that every Man put to [D]for his Religion by the *Inq*[ui]or elſewhere, is a real *human* [Sa]*fice*, as it is *burning* and *but*[ch]Men for *God's Sake*.

Such as the Government Country is, ſuch will be its gion: If by arbitrary Princes rul'd, it need not again be p[ro]out what Species of Religion would have inculcated; a Re[ſ]of Power, to do as little Goo[d] as much Miſchief as they p[leaſe] It is even obſervable, nay, it torious, that where *Churchmen* had Power to rule States, they acted on the ſame Principles having double Authority, had rally double Inſolence, and re[al]ably leſs Mercy and Regard t[o] perty, than others who had Ties to be merciful and juſt: T[he]fore the worſt Sort of Tyrants been thoſe in whom the *Royal* *Prieſthood* at once united: The Yoke is the moſt grievous o[f] Chriſtian Prince in the World in all the Dominion of this [Kind] of *Chriſtendom* is there any G[reat] of Property, Felicity, or the

of *Jesus Christ*: Bigotry, Ido-
, Barbarity, Hunger, Chains,
every Species of Misery, are
only Prospects you see thro' the
mains that are govern'd by his *In-*
bility. Every one must remem-
the tyrannical Behaviour of the
op of *Saltzburgh*, over his mise-
e People, for having more Sense
more Piety than himself: In-
ces have been, within *Christen-*
of greater, or as great, Acts of
manity, Barbarity, and Thirst af-
human Blood from Priestly Coun-
as ever were acted or advis'd
a Mahometan *Mufti*.

Liberty is the Preservation of Re-
n; it certainly has been so in
e Kingdoms; for no one will
that in King *James*'s Time we
the Preservation of our Reli-
to our Liberties, which both
Clergy and People almost una-
ously concurr'd to defend with a
lation and Boldness worthy *Bri-*
and Freemen.

the Cause and Blessings of Li-
are better understood, its Spi-
and Interest daily encrease; and
here cannot be a better Defence
Religion, it is our own Faults
that we are not religious.

The whole Scope of this Letter
shew my Countrymen, how su-
r in Happiness they are to the
test Part of the World. From
e I would inculcate a Principle
Christianity, Brotherly Love and
rity; that no Difference in par-
ar Modes of thinking, should
e them into a false Zeal, which
hurry them into Intemperance,
haritableness, and all the Evils
bigotted Mind.

EUSEBIUS.

Craftsman, Oct. 2. N° 850.

Prevalence and Mischiefs of
LUXURY, *with a pleasant Story*
a Dutch Burgomaster, &c.

I R,

THE erect Figure of a Man
hath given the Hint to our
Poets to say a great many fine
Things in Honour of the Species;
which even our *Philomaths* have had
the Address to turn to their own
Advantage.

A God gave to man an upright face, that he
Might view the stars, adore his majesty.
Sheet Almanack.

But if GOD made Man *upright*,
he hath sought out to himself many
Inventions; that is, he hath acted
perversely, and prostituted his no-
ble Talents to vile and sordid Pur-
B poses. Though we sinn'd with the
Serpent, we do not grovel on our
Bellies like him; our erect Figure
we still retain, and every Man's Eye
almost is lifted up, not to Heaven
indeed, that seems to be out of our
Thoughts as well as our Reach, but
C in Emulation of that Fellow-Crea-
ture, whom *Fortune* hath placed in
the next Stage above us; and if we
cannot in Fact attain to the same
Level, we put the best Side out-
ward, and endeavour to cheat the
World into such an Opinion of us,
D as we are conscious hath no Foun-
dation.

It is, moreover, somewhat remark-
able, that in this almost universal Vy-
ing with one another, the Contest is
principally confin'd either to Wealth,
Grandeur, or some other worldly
E Circumstance: Who hath the most
finish'd Head, or enlarged Heart, is
rarely a Matter of Dispute; and our
very Ambition is low, sensual, and
savouring of the Dust from whence
we were taken.

To consider therefore this sordid
F Emulation, as a Philosopher only, it
is productive of no one Good, as
serving rather to debase, than exalt
the Species; and to consider it as a
Politician, we find it teeming with
all Manner of Mischiefs; cramping
Industry, introducing Idleness, fos-
G tering a most pernicious Pride, opening
the Door to Extravagance, and in
the End, entailing Poverty and Beg-
gary

gary upon every Nation where it is countenanced.

Almoſt every Man who can read, hath read that Collection of Fables aſcribed to *Æſop*, and every Reader can apply them to the Caſe of his Friend or Acquaintance, tho' they remain as blank Paper with reſpect to his own.

Thus the familiar Image of the *Ox* and *Frog*, which ſo happily illuſtrates and expoſes the ruinous Ambition we are now ſpeaking of, is in every body's Mouth; and yet, who doth Honour to what he affects to admire, by making it the Rule of his own Conduct?

The Rich diſſipate their Treaſures in Gauds and Vanities, which likewiſe the Greedy covet, the Ill-natured envy, and the Proud will purchaſe, tho' with their own Ruin. The Tide of real Wealth, which roll'd in upon ſome in the *South-Sea* Year, and the golden Dreams which poiſoned the Imaginations of all, broke up every Source of Luxury at once; and the Examples of Prodigality then ſet, have become the Standard ever ſince; inſomuch, that the Furniture and Expences of every Tradeſman now equal thoſe of the Merchant formerly; thoſe of the Merchant ſurpaſs thoſe of the firſt-rate Gentlemen; thoſe of the Gentlemen, the old Peers; and thoſe of our Peers, eſpecially our Placemen-Peers, thoſe of our antient Kings.

All other Nations have each their favourite Luxury; as the *Italian* his pompous Palace, the *Frenchman* his fine Suit, the *Pole* his ſplendid Equipage, the *German* his capacious Cellar, the *Spaniard* his Bead-Roll of Titles, *&c.* But our Taſte is univerſal; and there is ſcarce a little Clerk among us, who doth not think himſelf the Outcaſt of Providence, if not enabled by his Salary, Fees, *&c.* to out-live the rich Man in the Goſpel.

With ſo many Outlets for Expence, it is no Wonder, that are become as poor as we are pro gal; nor ought it to be wonde at, that the Dearth of Money nually increaſes; ſince, excluſive what is hoarded out of the m ſtrous Revenue at preſent ſquee from the People, every Miſer has quarter'd himſelf upon the P lick, by throwing his Fortune i the Funds, forms a little Reſer of his own, which never ſees Light any more, unleſs in Caſe o Loan to the Government, whic to him what the Seed-Time is to Farmer, who, though he ſcatter broad his Grain, is ſure to rece it back with Uſury.

Theſe are the Evils: Where ſ we look for the Cure? Not fr Laws; none can be ſo fram'd, a reach them; and ſuch a Rem would, beſides, be worſe than Diſeaſe. How then? From Leaders of the Herd; from be Examples; from a little more Co tenance ſhewn to the Underſta ing, and leſs to the Appetite; f an Affection manifeſted to Vir and a delicate Senſe of honeſt Fa Monkeys are not more faithful micks than Men; and wherever Great jump, the Herd will be to follow.

So long ago as the Reign of *James* II. an eminent Burgoma of *Amſterdam*, having, with m Grief, obſerved the Degener which began to ſhew itſelf am the *Dutch*, and the Exceſſes wh were the Iſſue of Wealth and I neſs, took this Method to ſhew Countrymen the Folly and Dan of their Prodigalities.

He invited the whole Magiſtra (conſiſting of 36 Perſons) and t Ladies, to a Dinner, which t made no Doubt, both for Var and Delicacy, would be worthy h of him and them. But how g was their Diſappointment, w they ſaw the firſt Courſe upon

Bo

d, conſiſting of Apples boil'd Butter-Milk, Stock Fiſh, with nips and Carrots, Red-Herrings, ettice Sallad; and for Drink, ll-Beer? The Hoſt invited his ſts to fall to; the Ladies plead- Want of Appetite; the Men A d like the young Prophets, n they cry'd out that Death in the Pot, and, till the Table clear'd, ſcarce a Word was e. But then there appear'd un- every Plate a Scroll of Verſes, ifying, That ſuch was the Fare B heir Forefathers, when their began firſt to thrive, and the to have a Name among the ions.

he ſecond Courſe was then ſerv- , which conſiſted of Butcher's of every Sort, roaſted and C d; but all undiſguiſed with the of Cookery, and without any Sauce, than what a good Sto- was to ſupply. *Engliſh* Beer *French* Wine were likewiſe add- the Side-board; and when Table was clear'd a ſecond D , certain other Verſes preſent- amſelves, by which the Gueſts inform'd, That, with regard Wants of Nature, theſe were ies; that it was the Office of to regulate both the Taſte the Appetite; that by living E they would leave both their th and their Temperance to Heirs, who being uſed to ſuch ent Examples, would bluſh to ought degenerate by their Chil-

e Table was then ſpread with F anner of Fiſh and Fowl, wild ame, exquiſitely dreſs'd, and d with the moſt poignant Sau- which were ſerved up in Plate, pany'd with Wines of the Growths of the *Rhine*, *Moſelle*, *agne* and *Burgundy*, and fol- G with a poetical Memorial, im- That all beyond enough, too much; that all beyond Nouriſhment was Luxury; and that all beyond Decency was Extravagance; that Intemperance had a ſmiling Aſpect, but a dreadful Retinue, conſiſting of the whole Aſſemblage of Diſeaſes; that Death had been their Cook, and that he had infuſed a ſlow Poiſon in every Sauce.

The laſt Scroll ſeem'd to ſtrike a momentary Damp on the Spirits of the Gueſts; which was ſoon forgot, on the Appearance of a moſt magnificent Deſert, to which not only all *Europe*, but both the *Indies* had contributed, follow'd by the Wine of *Tokay*, the Water of *Barbadoes*, and every other Delicacy that Wealth without Bounds could purchaſe. After which the *Hand Writing* again denounced, That Luxury is to Property, what a Plague is to Health; that 'tis equally contagious, and equally deſtructive; that 'tis the Diſeaſe of which the nobleſt Monarchies, and moſt flouriſhing States have died; that when it became epidemical in a Country depending on Commerce, like theirs, a Diſſolution muſt inevitably follow; in Conſequence of which, the rich and renown'd City of *Amſterdam* would again be reduced to a fiſhing Village, and their Poſterity become as poor as their Anceſtors were, without their Continence, Induſtry or Virtue.

The wiſe, ſeaſonable, and excellent Admonitions of this notable Burgomaſter, 'tis more than probable, had juſt as much Effect at *Amſterdam*, as the Repetition of them here, will have in *London*. The Rigour of them was, perhaps, ridiculed by a few, the Truth acknowledged by the Majority, and the Application neglected by all. So powerful is Reaſon in the Field, ſo inſignificant are the Fruits of her Victories!

I will, however, take the Liberty to enforce what I have ſaid, with a

ſhort Allegory. *Honeſtum*, *Utile* and *Jucundum*, undertook to keep Houſe together. *Honeſtum* was to govern all, *Utile* to provide for all, and *Jucundum* to dreſs and prepare for all. They had a very great Houſhold, yet maintain'd their Charge, reliev- A ed the Poor, and laid up ſomewhat for Poſterity. All Things went ſweetly on, while *Chearfulneſs* was the Cook, *Thrift* the Caterer, and *Honeſty* the Steward. If any of the Family was diſorder'd, *Honeſty* reform'd them; if any laviſh and pro- B digal, *Thrift* recover'd them; if any melancholy, *Jucundum* revived and chear'd them.

But, after a While, this *Jucundum* getting a little Head, begins to carry Mirth into Extravagance, and falls out with *Utile*, under the Pretence C of being reduced to ſhort Allowance. He had invited a Number of Fidlers, Jeſters, Players, Tumblers, Dancers, *&c.* and demanded that extraordinary Chear ſhould be provided for them. This *Utile* utterly refuſed, as treſpaſſing upon Ar- D ticles; *Jucundum* was poſitive, and, the Quarrel growing hot, *Honeſtum* was call'd to moderate the Matter. But, before ſhe could make her Appearance, the Rabble burſt in, took *Jucundum*'s Part, ſnatch'd the Keys out of *Utile*'s Hand, ranſack'd the E Coffers, exhauſted the Treaſury, turn'd *Honeſty* and *Thrift* out of Doors, ſung, danced, drank, and threw the Houſe, as 'tis ſaid, out o'Windows.

Thus the Family broke up; for juſt as *Honeſtum* and *Utile* went out, *Beggary* came in; only the two firſt F erected a new Houſe, and repair'd their Eſtates; to whom, not long after, *Jucundum* came a begging, but never could be admitted as one of the Family any more; ſhe was, however, ſent for on Holydays to make them merry, and, in Return, G was maintain'd out of their Alms.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

From Common Senſe, *Oct.* 9. N° 2

To the Author of Common Sen

SIR,

I AM very diſcontent, I am eaſy, I do not underſtand going on thus, I do by no Ma of Means approve your Proceed you threaten us every Hour your *Broad Bottom*, what would have? Is not your *Bottom* broa nough already? Have you not *Chiefs* in the T——y, A—— A——y, and a precarious M— in the P——t? And yet threaten hard what you will do Seſſion: Come, I hope not; I rather ſee you and Common too demoliſhed and baniſhed o the Nation for ever: For you know, I have a little Place, a trifling Concern, about 300 *Annum*; 'tis indeed a pretty *Sine-cure*, I do nothing in the for it, but receive the Profits my Deputy, and write my N there are likewiſe a few D call'd Perquiſites, belonging which I touch: *I ſold a Bo* Dog cheap: This was all I h it; his late Honour promiſe that I ſhould hold it for Life now, for ought I know, I m remov'd by your confounded *Bottom*, in *March* or *April* You troubleſome, meddleſom quiſitive Puppy, *hold your Tong eat your Pudding*; and don' frighten honeſt People out o Wits with your idle Scheme nonſenſical State Politicks; bu hap you have no Place yourſe that ſets you a ſnarling at tho have, like the *Dog in the M* But, *ad Rem*, let me know may be overlook'd, and eſca hurt in the general Deva ſtation you threaten; tell me how lie ſnug and eſcape this Storm,

worſe than a *Spaniſh* Inquiſi-
Yours, as you uſe me,
Gizzard Grumbler.

Mr. Gizzard,

All I can underſtand by your very
rithful Epiſtle, is, that you have A
chaſed under a bad Title, and
guilty of *State*———*Simony*, a
me unpardonable among People
common Senſe or common Ho-
y. *C. S.*

Craftſman, Oct. 9. N° 850. B

is Writer makes ſome Remarks on the preſent Meaſures with regard to Foreign Affairs, (ſee p. 445, much to the ſame Purpoſe) *which he thus introduces.*

AS the Tops of Mountains ſeem C to loſe themſelves among the
uds, ſo the Hiſtories of almoſt
Nations, the higher they aſ-
d, the nearer they approach to
ble; and tho' the Learned have
deavour'd to point out where Fic-
n gives Place to Matter of Fact, D
m afraid, the Diviſion is almoſt
imaginary as the Lines of Geo-
aphers in Maps, or the Monſters
ced by Aſtrologers in the Hea-
s.

Nothing is more difficult to be
crooghly, and circumſtantially E
own, than Truth; and State-
ruths, which are the very Soul of
ſtory, are harder to come at than
others. Thoſe who adviſed a
eaſure, and thoſe who put it in
ecution, are perhaps the only Per-
s who can give us a preciſe Re-
tal; and both, for the general,
e ſo deeply intereſted in the Re-
ſentation, that little beyond the
immerings of Truth can be ex-
cted from them.

If we look into the different *Ga-*
ttes of different Nations, where G
ruth is preſum'd to have the Sanc-
on of Authority, we ſhall ſee the
me Facts ſtated in a quite oppoſite Light, and ſcarce one in a thouſand told purely and ſimply, as it took Place. If the Circumſtance to be made publick is what is called *good News*, no Art is wanting to make it appear better than it really is; if *bad*, the worſt is pared away, and the Remainder, however bitter the Ingredients, render'd as palatable as poſſible.

With regard even to our own *Gazette*, with due Reverence be it ſpoken, it is well known, the Writer thereof hath not taken the Oath of an Evidence to declare the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth. It is, likewiſe, well known, that it never goes to Preſs, till properly dock'd and qualify'd by a Miniſter of State. Authentick, therefore, as it is held, Grains of Allowance muſt be made, for the Craft of Politicians; and ſcarce any Concluſion ought to be made from that of To-day, till Time has furniſh'd us with a weekly Comment upon it for almoſt Half a Year to come.

As to the *Paris A-la-main*, this Art of Palliating hath been carry'd to ſuch an Extravagance, that, like *Caſſandra* of old, when it ſpeaks Truth, it is ſeldom or never believed, till the Facts related therein are confirm'd from other Quarters. In *England*, I know, it hath been cuſtomary to read it rather for Amuſement than Information; and we have diverted ourſelves with the Spirit of Rodomontade it was poſſeſs'd with, tho' we deſpiſed the Intelligence it contain'd.

Whether they treat our *Gazette* with the like Freedom, I will not take upon me to decide; but no Doubt they do not pay it altogether ſo religious a Reverence as we do; no Doubt they throw in their own Prepoſſeſſions, by way of Balance to ours; and perhaps take it for granted, that the Art of Lying is as well known, and almoſt as much practi-

ſed on our Side of the Water as theirs.

To a People greedy of News, as we are, I know nothing ſo neceſſary, as that our Curioſity ſhould not be coupled with Credulity; eſpecially at ſuch a Criſis as the preſent, when all *Europe* is in a Ferment, and ſcarce an Article makes its Appearance, but what is tinctured by the Channel thro' which it has paſs'd.

For how long together have we been amuſed with the Siege of *Prague*, with the Miſeries endured by the *French* within, and the Advantages obtain'd by the *Auſtrians* without? How punctually have we been aſſured, not only that a Breach was made, but that a ſhort Day was fix'd for a general Aſſault? How many Wagers have been laid, that it would not hold out beyond ſuch a Time? And with what Contempt have we treated the *French* Advices, which aſſured us, that the two Marſhals had undertaken to maintain the Place for 3 Months, and that *Maillebois* would be there Time enough to raiſe the Siege.

But, notwithſtanding the airy Hopes that have been given us, and the Caſtles we built thereon, we are now told, that even the very Blockade of that Place is broke up; that Marſhal *Maillebois* and the Count *de Saxe* are join'd; and either a general Battle muſt decide all, or *Germany* continue to be harraſs'd with a lingering War, of which the Miſeries are evident, but the Event, both as to Time and Manner, utterly unknown.

Again, if there is thus much Difficulty in coming to the naked Facts, which are to compoſe the Hiſtory of our own Times, how doth it increaſe upon us, when we proceed to inquire into the Motives which gave Riſe to thoſe Facts, and which likewiſe ought to be known, if poſſible, to make a Narration complete?

Common Senſe, Oct. 16. N° 296.

Some Inſtances of the late M— boaſted Humanity and Generoſity

THE Advocates of the Corruptor General inſiſt, whatever Errors or Crimes we impute to their Patron, yet we own, he had a *frank and free* He faithful to his Friends, and ge rous to his Oppoſers: In a W that the Virtues of Humanity indiſputably his. As to his Ge roſity, I believe they may be pr right, if there can be Genero without Juſtice; or if they m and that I think they can mean, that he always made a portionable Diſtribution of the P der among his People; this he obliged to do. I will not put th in Mind how punctual the Gen men of the Road, who collect Gangs, are in this Particular; he was certainly right to let th ſhare: And if they mean by *Humanity* and *frank and free* He that he had pliant and laugha Muſcles, and was frequently jo among his Companions, when Meaſures went glibly on, that would then ſcout the Patriots, ridicule their intemperate Virtue don't know, but they may be ri again: But as to his having the V tues of Humanity, I believe noth has appear'd in his Character of Kind, ſince his firſt Entrance publick Buſineſs; for we have thing to do with his private Life.

Humanity may be defined to *The generous Warmth of a good He that conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhes a M for a more than ordinary Affection his Fellow-Creatures, to Juſtice, M cy, and every ſocial Virtue.*

Let us then conſider this Gent man as to the Humanity they much boaſt of; I believe we hardly find any Perſon, in a publi Character, leſs endued with any

Virtues of Society, or by Na-
of a more vindictive Spirit; his
titite to Revenge, and a Sort of
aſpiring to be thought a very
not a great Man, appear'd al-
as early as his inſatiable Thirſt
ain.

us look back as far as to the
ſſion of his late Majeſty; there
ay mark his *great Humanity*,
ay find him foremoſt among
who were hot and violent in
roſecution of Queen *Anne*'s laſt
ſtry, particularly in the Im-
ment of the Earl of *Oxford*,
h we know, after he had ſuf-
a long Impriſonment, was
; though this Nobleman had
happily diſtinguiſh'd, as they
, by giving his caſting Vote,
Speaker, in Favour of that
which ſettled the Crown on
reſent Royal Family, and long
that, remarkably diverted a
of defeating that Succeſſion;
Truth of which, if the Im-
ment had gone on, he was re-
to have appeal'd to the Ho-
of his late Majeſty. Nor could
the Articles (as I am inform-
ainſt him have been made out
ne, which was, his receiving
,000*l.* in *Tin Tallies*, as a Boun-
m the Queen, after his being
rouſly wounded at the Privy
il Table by *Guiſcard*, which
s were then at 60 *per Cent.*
unt, or more.

his Humanity ſhine forth next
Caſe of Biſhop *Atterbury*; of
roſecution his Honour was the
, and it was thought by many,
dering ſome Part of the Evi-
e) to be a very ſevere Impeach-
; particularly that Part of it,
h related to the Decypherers,
ot ſatisfy the Minds of ſome;
rged, that thoſe Gentlemen
ndertook to explain the Cy-
ſhould declare their Art, and
it plain to a Committee, be-
ey could be content with that
mony.

Soon after this, his Honour's Humanity broke out in the Caſe of Dr. *Freind*. This Gentleman was publickly charg'd by him with a Crime amounting to little leſs than High Treaſon, and, of which, he affirm'd he had the Proof then in his Pocket; and upon this bold Aſſertion of the Miniſter, the Doctor was ſent to the *Tower*, where after he had remain'd ſome Time, he was diſcharg'd, and, I believe, without Bail; his real Crime was, his having ſpoke in the Houſe with ſome Aſperity againſt his Honour; his imaginary Crime was ſaid to be a Correſpondence with a Perſon at *Rome*, which prov'd to be only his Anſwer to a Caſe ſent from thence relating to a ſick Child. Dr. *Freind* was, ſoon after this, ſo far from being ſuſpected of any Guilt, that he was employ'd and truſted by the Royal Family, in his Profeſſion, as a Phyſician.

In the Caſe of the Lord Chancellor *Macclesfield*, tho' the Charge againſt him might be well grounded and juſt, his Honour's violent Proſecution of him proceeded from other Reaſons than an Abhorrence to his Crime: No Perſon who has read the two late Reports of the Secret Committee, will imagine the Corruptor's Animoſity againſt the Earl was founded on his Averſion to Corruption; no ſurely, but every one will agree he juſtly incurr'd his Honour's Diſpleaſure, when they are told, that the real Occaſion of the Accuſation was political Jealouſy; when he found the Chancellor aſpiring to a Share in the Adminiſtration, and daring to offer at ſome Oppoſition in the C——t, ſurely it was high Time to knock him down.

As to the Proſecution of the Writers againſt his Meaſures, they were carry'd on with the ſame *ſingular Humanity*; whenever he found himſelf gauled in the Weekly Papers, whenever the Meaſures he enter'd

into

into were exploded, and treated as ignominious or weak, out ruſh'd his knock-down Arguments; his *Greyhounds were ſlipped*, the Printers were ſeized, their Preſſes broke, and their Goods too taken into Cuſtody; and Proſecutions begun in this *humane* and *mild* Manner were frequently dropp'd afterwards; but when they were carry'd thro', if he obtain'd a Conviction, the Judgment was a Fine and Impriſonment; but what was the moſt ſevere Part of the Sentence, the Convict was obliged to give ſuch Security for his good Behaviour as nobody would engage in, and therefore was put under an utter Inability to carry on his Trade.

Upon the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty, we may remember, the Nation was more than ordinarily divided into Parties; many of the *Whigs* juſt entering into an Adminiſtration, were very warm and violent for the immediate Proſecution of all the Gentlemen in the preceding Miniſtry; they were accuſed of treaſonable Practices in endeavouring to ſet aſide the Succeſſion: Our Corruptor was among the warmeſt, with all his *Humanity* about him, and call'd aloud for Impeachments, Bills of Pains and Penalties, Acts of Attainder, *&c.* Several red-hot Pamphlets, and political Squibs, were fired and thrown about to excite Proſecutions: My Lord *Halifax*, then at the Head of the Treaſury, a Gentleman who had a clear Head and a good Heart, whoſe *real Humanity* and Loyalty were equal to his other eminent and elegant Abilities, endeavour'd, almoſt alone, to give a Check to their Violence; he declared for healing Meaſures, for conciliating the Minds of all his Majeſty's Subjects to the Settlement which had then happily taken Place, for forgetting or forgiving all paſt Errors and Miſcarriages, and by theſe Means, fixing the Succeſſion on *a wide and laſting Baſis*, a *Broad Bottom* not to be ſhaken: And accordingly mov'd in the Cabi that an Act of Indemnity m make the King *the King of all People*, that he might reign in *Royal Exchequer of all his Sub Hearts*; and then, in his Opin *the King of* Spain's *Mines would fail him than ſuch a Revenue.* H ever, this noble Lord's Counſels rejected; had they been follo they would in all Probability h prevented the unnatural Rebel that ſoon enſued, and all the happy Conſequences of it.

Craftſman, Oct. 16. N° 851.

ENGLISH Guelphs *and* Gibelines *a ſhort Hiſtory of* PARTIES.

SIR,

WHEN the *Guelphs* and *belines*, that is to ſay, *Whigs* and *Tories* of *Italy*, had fuſed a Spirit of Faction thro' whole Kingdom, one *Facinus C* was hired by the *Gibelines* of *P* to clear their City of their verſaries, the *Guelphs*, by Force Arms; upon this Condition, he ſhould have their Goods Chattles for his Reward. This *nis* gladly undertakes, and effectu accompliſhes. After which, ceeding to levy his Reward, made no Diſtinction between Factions, but plunder'd *Guelph Gibeline* alike; of which the complaining, as a Breach of cles, this Hero of theirs, with Spirit and Humour, reply'd, *they accuſed him without Cauſe; they, being* Gibelines, *were ſafe; their Goods, being* Guelphs, *were in the Bargain, of which he would make the leaſt Abatement, either Friend or Foe.*

In this Inſtance, tho' a Minia and the Portrait of but one ſ City, we ſee the Features of al every Faction, and the Mercy t found in every Oppreſſor, from

Be

ginning of Government to the ſent Times. Of the firſt, all have n eager to deſtroy, none to re-cile; and, rather than not carry ir deſperate Point, would involve nſelves and their Poſterity in the e Ruin; according to the ſavage teſſion, put into the Mouth of of the antient Heroes, by the d Tragedian,

ne periſh, ſo my enemy periſh with me!

d of the laſt, all, when call'd in Deliverers, have acted as Ty-ts, making their own Wills and ſions the Meaſure of their Acti-, and either breaking thro', or ding the moſt ſacred Conditions, ich they had moſt ſolemnly en-ed to obſerve.

If it ſhould be urged, that this is t univerſally the Caſe; that our n Story is an illuſtrious Excep-, in which no Memorial is to found of a *Canis* being hired by e Part of the People to butcher reſt; I ſhould be glad to felici-e my Country on its having no h Infamy to be reproach'd with, its having no ſuch Miſery to de-re.

But there is Reaſon to fear, that h an Exception, however eager-maintain'd by Prejudice, would re very little Foundation in Fact. roughout our whole Hiſtory it pears, we have been divided into phs and *Gibelines*; that is to ſay, o Factions and Cabals, which, er the Cloak of publick Service, od of Society, Loyalty, Patrio-m, and other ſpecious Pretences, ve exhauſted more Wealth, ſhed re Blood, and brought more Ca-mities on their Mother-Country, n the Hand of God, and the ord of the Enemy.

The preſent happy Times except-, it hath ever been the peculiar ſe of the People of *England*, to either rid by the King and his niſters, or ſold by their Friends and Deliverers; ſo that, like the Cloth between the Shears, the People have been ſure to be cut to Pieces; and, during the Struggle who ſhould be uppermoſt, the *Gibelines*, or weaker Party, have called in any Auxiliary, at any Price, to ſubdue the *Guelphs*, or ſtronger, and make the whole Society miſerable alike. Thus the Nobles, in their Bickerings with K. *John*, invited the *Dauphin* of *France* to be their Head; but he making too much Haſte to play the Part of *Canis*, they very wiſely came to an Accommodation with their Sovereign, and drove out their late Ally as an Invader, whom they had called upon as their Deliverer.

But tho' the *Grand Charter* was the glorious Fruit of this Pacification, it was to be maintain'd with as much Difficulty as it was got. *Henry*, the Son of *John*, reliſh'd Limitations as ill as his Father; and, therefore, took all Opportunities to violate what he thought was an Indignity to him to obſerve: Upon which the *Guelph* and *Gibeline* Plague broke out again. The King for his Prerogative, and the Barons for their Rights, threw all into Confuſion: Earl *Montfort*, the Champion for Liberty, wins the Day, takes the King Priſoner, and then——tyrannizes in his ſtead.

The Fool, who found himſelf under Confinement, ran to the Window, and roar'd out, *O myſelf! myſelf!* avowing thereby, that he had no other Concern: But the wiſe Men of this World, on the contrary, talk in the Language of *Cato*, *My Country! O my Country!* By which however they mean no more than the Fool acknowledged.

To the Wars of the Barons, ſucceeded the Rivalſhip of the two Royal Families, when *Red Roſe* and *White*, *York* and *Lancaſter*, divided us into *Guelph* and *Gibeline* anew: During which whole dreadful Inter-

val, whoever had the Sword was Maſter, and ſeldom wanted Pretences to fix the Brand, of *Guelph*, on what Perſon or Property they pleaſ'd.

Under the Tyranny of *Henry* VIII. Religion itſelf was made a Means to ſet us together by the Ears, and induce thoſe of the ſame Blood to hang and burn one another: The King himſelf, like the *Italian Canis*, making no Diſtinction of Parties, but broiling *Guelph* and *Gibeline* alike.

Even under the celebrated Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, *Conformiſt* and *Puritan* ſow'd the Seeds which afterwards produced thoſe miſchievous Factions, *Roundhead* and *Cavalier*; who, it is notorious, had as little Charity for each other, as any of thoſe which had preceded them. The King (*Charles* I.) falling paſſionately in Love with thoſe bewitching Words *Will* and *Pleaſure*, quarrels with the People of both his Kingdoms at once, who make it a common Cauſe, and ſtile each other *Brethren*. Thus far *Cavalier* is the Tyrant, and *Roundhead* has Reaſon to clamour for Redreſs of Grievances: But, in the Iſſue, *Roundhead* gains the Aſcendancy, and immediately, forgetting his own Sufferings, makes *Cavalier* drink largely of the ſame bitter Cup, and introduces Anarchy inſtead of Reformation.

But this Ferment being at laſt ſubſided, the Conſtitution reſtored, and the Evils of Oppreſſion on one Side, and Faction on the other, yet freſh in Memory, who would have thought, that any other Species of *Guelph* and *Gibeline* could have aroſe for another Century at leaſt?

Yet ſo it was, that 20 Years were not paſt, before the King growing out of Love with Parliaments, becauſe not at his Devotion without Reſerve, a Brace of new Diſtinctions aroſe; *Petitioner* (for Parliaments) and *Abhorrer* (of ſuch Pe tions) which ſoon gave Place to T and *Whig*, which have continu'd divide and embarraſs us even to t Day.

The admirable *Diſſertation* a *Parties* * has render'd it unneceſſ for me to expatiate ſo largely this conſtitutional Plague, as I therwiſe ſhould: I ſhall, therefo confine what I have farther to to ſome few Remarks on what h happen'd ſince the Revolution, w an Eye to the notable Conduct *Canis*, above ſpecified.

As the *Whigs* were thoſe who promoted the Bill of Excluſion, the Life of *Charles* II. as they w *Whigs* who join'd with the Duke *Monmouth* in *England*, and the E of *Argyle* in *Scotland*, to eject K *James*, then ſettled on the Thro and as the very Principles, as w as Practices of the *Whigs*, ſtood n in the Way of the mighty Cha that unfortunate Prince piqued h ſelf on bringing about, they, *Whigs*, had moſt to apprehend f his Power and Reſentment, in C that Change took Place. To be forehand, therefore, with their verſary, they invited over the Pri of *Orange*, made his Way as ſmo and eaſy as poſſible, and, the K being frighten'd out of the Rea finally exalted him to the Throne

Great, therefore, were the rits and Services, and great m have been the Sufferings of *Whigs*, if their Deſigns had fai But do we aſk what was their ward? Why, like the *Gibelines*, had their Lives for a Prey: Bu to their Goods and Chattles, had the Brand of *Tory*, *Jacobite*, *publican*, &c. upon them, and th fore were to be ſhewn no Me Accordingly the Taxes of that R more than doubled whatever been granted to anſwer the mo ſatiable Cravings of former Ti

* This our Readers may ſee in the *London Magazines* for 1733, and 1734.

nd from hence we may very juſtly
ply to our great *Deliverer*, what
r. *Dryden* makes *Saturn* ſay of
mſelf, in the Fable of *Palamon*
d *Arcite*,

is hand was heavy, and the wound remains.

But the *Whigs* were not ſuch A
ort-ſighted Politicians, as to place
emſelves under the Protection of
e Crown for one Reign only. No,
ey carried their Regard much far-
er, and even provided for the
elfare of their Poſterity, by en-
ailing the Crown on that Illuſtrious B
amily, which is likely to enjoy it,
ll Time ſhall be no more.

Having therefore by ſo happy an
xpedient, both ſecured their Reli-
ion and Liberty, and for ever ſup-
lanted their Adverſaries, as to the
vour, Truſt, and Bounties of the C
rown, one would imagine it im-
oſſible for their Councils to be
rned into Fooliſhneſs, or that ſo
uch Good ſhould be imbitter'd
ith the leaſt Reliſh of Evil.

But a *Pharaoh* may ariſe, who
new not *Joſeph*; nor indeed is it D
oſſible to reward a whole Party:
ate-Harveſts are the Reverſe of
l others: What is ſow'd by all is
eap'd by a few. Thus, whether
uelph or *Gibeline* lays on the Bur-
en, both Parties are equally ſad-
ed with the Weight.

Without Property, Liberty will E
ake but a very meagre Figure;
nd if we have ſecured the one, let
s make it our Buſineſs to hedge
round the other: It hath for many
ears paſt been made very free with.
According to all Appearances, as
arge Draughts will ſpeedily be made
pon us again, and from whatever
and they come, unleſs to anſwer
he very Means of Life, we ought
o ſend them back proteſted. He F
hat is rich, may be generous; he
hat is incumber'd with Debts, muſt G
irſt be juſt; and he that is himſelf
a Beggar, muſt remember, that Cha-
ity begins at home.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

HEATHCOTE, MAYOR,

A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall *of the City of* London, *on* Thurſday *the* 21*ſt Day of* October 1742, *and in the* 16*th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord* GEORGE *the Second, King of* Great Britain, *&c.*

The Repreſentation of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen *and* Commons *of the City of* London, *in Common Council aſſembled, to the Right Hon.* George Heathcote, *Eſq; Lord Mayor, Sir* John Barnard, *Knight and Alderman, Mr. Ald.* Lambert, *and Mr. Ald.* Calvert, *their Repreſentatives in Parliament.*

IN the preſent unhappy Conjuncture, when the domeſtick Enemies of theſe Kingdoms are flattering themſelves, that by the late aſtoniſhing Example of unpuniſh'd Treachery and Corruption, the Nation muſt be driven to Deſpair, and abandon all Thoughts of any future Efforts for the Support and Security of the publick Liberty; We the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common Council aſſembled, think it our indiſpenſable Duty to declare, in this moſt ſolemn Manner, that as we are fully ſenſible, how advantageouſly this Nation has hitherto been diſtinguiſh'd, by its Freedom, from the reſt of Mankind, we will not, by Supineneſs, reſign our Claim to ſo invaluable a Bleſſing; but that we will ſtill perſevere, with the ſame uniform and unſhaken Reſolution, againſt the Malice of our undiſguiſed Enemies, and the Falſhood of our pretended Friends, whoſe ſhameful Union and Confederacy againſt their Country, at the ſame Time that they ſerve to increaſe our Apprehenſions, ſhall redouble our Attention and Zeal for the Defence and Preſervation of all our Conſtitutional Rights. We therefore addreſs ourſelves to you, our worthy Repreſentatives in Parliament, and with the moſt grateful Acknowledgments of your former meritorious Conduct, take this Occaſion of laying our Sentiments before you.

We cannot but lament, that Means have been uſed to defeat our Hopes of a ſpeedy and effectual Reformation; we had long ſeen the great Concerns of the Kingdom all perverted to the ſingle Purpoſe of maintaining Power in one Hand: With this pernicious Deſign our Wealth has been exhauſted, our Trade neglected, our Honour proſtituted, and the Independency of Parliament invaded. At length, after a continued Struggle of twenty Years, when we had Reaſon to expect, that the happy Period of our Deliverance was at Hand, that each Offender would have receiv'd the Chaſtiſement due to his Crimes, and ſuch Regulations have been eſtabliſhed, as would have ſecur'd us from the like Enormities in Time to come, how great was our

Surpriſe, to find that ſome of thoſe, who under a Maſk of Integrity, and by diſſembling a Zeal for their Country, had long acquir'd the largeſt Share of its Confidence, ſhould, without the leaſt Heſitation, or ſeeming Remorſe, greedily embrace the firſt Occaſion to diſgrace all their former Conduct, and in Defiance of the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations, openly conſpire, with the known Enemies of the Publick, to defraud the Nation of that Juſtice and Security, which they themſelves had ſo often and ſo peremptorily declar'd, was indiſpenſably neceſſary to its Preſervation and Support?

Amidſt theſe melancholy Conſiderations we have the Satisfaction to find, that the general Cenſure and Indignation have ſo immediately purſu'd theſe Betrayers of their Truſt, that few have been miſled by their Pretences; and that they ſucceed in the publick Hatred (thoſe they have ſcreen'd) though they have not, as yet, ſucceeded to their Power. And we may reaſonably expect a more fortunate Iſſue in the approaching Seſſions, ſince many of thoſe Crimes, which have ſo long excited the juſt Reſentment of the Publick, are now inconteſtably evinced to all Mankind, notwithſtanding the various Artifices put in Practice to conceal and protect them: For it cannot now be a Doubt that our Troops, under the extremeſt Diſtreſs in an unhealthy Climate, were defrauded, by colluſive Contracts, of their juſt Pay; that the Power of an Adminiſtration hath been apply'd to the corrupting of Returning Officers, the purchaſing of Votes, and the Subverſion of Charters; and that immenſe Sums of that publick Treaſure, which was appropriated to the Support of the Civil Government, have been partly ſecreted, and partly diverted to Purpoſes injurious to the Dignity of the Crown, and deſtructive of our happy Conſtitution.

We therefore moſt earneſtly entreat, that, at this important Criſis, you will not ſuffer yourſelves to be amus'd with diſtant Objects, which of late have been ſo ſpecioufly dreſs'd up with all the Arts of Fallacy and Deluſion; but, whatever Plea may be offer'd in Behalf of our Safety abroad, be perſuaded that Security at home is the firſt Point which merits your Conſideration; that the gratifying the reaſonable Deſires of the People, who aſk no more than Juſtice, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, can alone give Weight and Succeſs to his Majeſty's Councils and Meaſures, can alone recover the loſt Confidence of our antient Allies, and ſtrike Terror into our moſt powerful Enemies. We therefore apply to you now, with all the urgent Solicitations of Men fully convinced that their All is at Stake, the Rights and Privileges of ourſelves and Poſterity, with every valuable Advantage purchaſed for us by the Blood of our Anceſtors, etc. [illegible] you to poſtpone every other Conſideration particularly the Supplies for the current Service of the enſuing Year; till you have renew'd the Secret Committee of Enquiry, procur'd an effectual Bill to reduce and limit the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons; reſtor'd the Frequency of Elections, and reſtrain'd the Abuſe of Power in Returning Officers. Yet, after theſe ſalutary Proviſions, when you ſhall think fit to grant the Supplies, at the ſame Time have ſome Regard to their Application. A Nation burden'd with Taxes, oppreſs'd with Debts, and almoſt exhauſted by one laviſh Adminiſtration, can but ill undergo a freſh Profuſion of its Treaſure in the Parade of numerous Land Armies, and the Hire of foreign Forces without the Appearance of any Service in the Behalf of his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Dominions.

Theſe Points alone can give Safety to the Kingdom, and appeaſe the general Diſcontents; and the vigorous Proſecution of them in Concurrence with all true Friends of the Publick, (independent of Party, or of any invidious Diſtinction whatſoever) will inſure to yourſelves the laſting Favour and Affection of this great Metropolis. *MA*

Craſtſman, Oct. 23. N° 852.

A VISION.

METhought the Scene was ſuddenly changed from the Inſide of a Dining-Room (where I was ſitting in my eaſy Chair, after a temperate Meal) to a vaſt Plain, covered with an almoſt infinite Multitude of People of all Ranks, Profeſſions, Ages, and Sexes; in the Middle of which was ſunk an artificial Baſon, fill'd with a moſt loathſome, fetid Matter, that ſent forth a Steam, which poiſon'd the Air round about it, almoſt as effectually as the Lake of *Avernus*, according to the Poets: This was call'd the *Sink of Corruption*. And, what ſeem'd moſt extraordinary, tho' many Rivulets of the ſame baneful Fluid fell, on all Sides, into it, it appeared to be never the fuller: But the Difficulty to account for this ſoon vaniſh'd; for on a ſmall Hillock in the Midſt of the Baſon, I eſpy'd a bulky Man, who, by means of an Engine which he could govern as he pleas'd, thro' an incredible Number of Pipes, convey'd off the Redundance in what Quantity, or to what Part of the Plain he pleaſed.

Now, the People who ſurrounded this Baſon, or Reſervoir, ſeem'd to be divided into two Factions; one of which almoſt on the very Knees, beſeeching the Director of the Machine to beſtow a Squirt of his ſtinking Favours upon them; while the other, on the contrary, were at open War with him

ntinual Vollies of Stones, *&c.* en-'d to drive him from his Poſt; which r ſeem'd to have little Effect, moſt n falling ſhort, and only daſhing him e Marks and Stains of his own dirty ; an Inconvenience that, at firſt, he gh'd at, and affected to deſpiſe. But by Experience, that it made him ri- , that ſometimes the Surge flew in y Face, nay ſtopp'd his Mouth for a he beckon'd to a Parcel of officious , who called themſelves *Scowrers*, o immediately jumping into the Ba- ded through thick and thin, till they him. After which, good God! what ! what bruſhing! what daubing in- al to how little Purpoſe! Notwith- g their impudent Pretenſions, to make white as Snow, and clean as Er- ery Spot widen'd, and deepen'd un- r Hands; and while they labour'd in be rid of one, a thouſand more took till in the End, he appear'd one in- urity, without the ſmalleſt Interval ite of what Colour and Complexion ally was.

ing, therefore, at laſt, the Truth of il Proverb, which ſays, that *He who n Aſs's Head, loſes both Soap and Time*, d Recourſe to another Expedient: ! was now the Word; and immedi- ll Hands were ſet to Work to incruſt r with artificial Whiteneſs. But tho' owel had no Reſt, tho' all Manner of and Compoſitions were ſpread as thick ile, all was to no Purpoſe; for every he ply'd his Machine, the very Ac- cking the Daub, it fell off in great , and if poſſible, ſhew'd him in a ten more ludicrous and ſhocking Light ure; of which the Chief of his Ad- taking Advantage, he thought it me to give over his dirty Work, and ; which he did in the Midſt of an l Hiſs, that echoed over the whole

ome Time I loſt Sight of him, and made his Appearance again, he was et in Velvet and Ermin; not a Spot, ain was to be ſeen; and an Ordinance ſh'd, by Authority, intimating, that been at the *Fountain*, and was purged l Pollution.

ever, many did not ſcruple to declare, ll was Outſide only. There went likewiſe, a *Report*, that he had un- a Search, in which no leſs than three Plague-Sores, had actually been diſ- upon his Body.

his Occaſion, methought, I could not king Abundance of melancholy Re- in the Middle of which, the Scene a ſecond Time, as ſuddenly as the found myſelf now in the midſt of a moſt coſtly and delightful Garden, and be- held in Proſpect before me a new-built Pa- lace, for Splendour and Magnificence little leſs than royal; a large Lake of Water was likewiſe ſpread before me, and Arbours, Greenhouſes, Temples, Statues, and every other Ornament, challenged my Attention and Admiration on every Side.

A But I was blind to all theſe captivating Ob- jects, on diſcovering the above Artificer of Corruption turning ſhort at the Bottom of a Viſta, and, with a diſtracted Look, and diſorder'd Air, approaching towards the Lake; upon which, gazing for a While, he broke out with much Paſſion, as follows.——Filth and Vanity! how oddly are you blended? If B I dazzle ſome, I poiſon more. This bleſſed Air is tainted as I paſs, and I am a Nuſance even to myſelf. Names! Sounds! Syllables! how much are you adored? how little are you worth? Ah the Pain of poſſeſſing what is ſo ill deſerved! Oh the Curſe of Self-Con- demnation! Silence, Flattery! Thou makeſt me bluſh, both for myſelf and thee. Earth, Ocean, Air and Fire, bear witneſs againſt C me, and, worſt of all, my own Conſcience ſets them on. Away, Impoſture! Thy Veil is too thin, and the prying World ſees thro' thee! Off then, uſeleſs Trappings! Off, I ſay! To be gay without hath no Efficacy; I muſt be clean within.

Having utter'd this, as if ſeized with a ſudden Phrenzy, he threw away the Robes D he was adorn'd with, and was on the Point of plunging himſelf into the Lake, when a Spectre aroſe, in Figure nearly reſembling the Furies, as deſcribed by Antiquity; who, with a Whip of Scorpions, drove him from the Water-Edge; crying out, at the ſame Time, with a Voice which yet freezes me with Horror,—Wretch! a Leproſy confirm'd like thine, *Jordan* itſelf could not cleanſe! E Theſe are the Waters of Innocence, to the Guilty eternally forbid! and, even to arrive at *Lethe*, thou muſt either paſs thro' the Fire, or embark at *T——r H—ll*.

A dreadful Alternative! thought I—Here my Viſion ended abruptly, an Intimate at that Inſtant calling upon me, with a Sum- mons to *Drury-Lane*, where I had the Plea- ſure of ſeeing Tyranny, as exquiſitely repre- ſented by the Actor, as juſt'y puniſh'd by the F Author; and found Reaſon to be more and more convinced, that outward Pomp and Greatneſs, are dearly purchaſed at the Ex- pence of inward Peace.

SECOND-SIGHT.

G *If* Marcus *will ſend us the Whole of what he has to ſay upon the* Origin of Evil, *we ſhall be better able to judge about our inſerting it.* We have receiv'd another Eſſay on the ſame Subject, which came too late for this Month.

The

The Deſcription of a STORM *at* SEA.

By the Author of Bactromachia *in our laſt, p.* 455.

LONG had deep ſilence reign'd in ſullen form, [ſtorm:
And thoughtful calms preſag'd the brooding
The black'ning clouds mov'd on in ſolemn range,
And nature ſeem'd juſt rip'ning for a change.
At length ariſe ſome ſoftly-ſighing gales,
Breath o'er the ſeas, and flutter in the ſails;
Now in loud bluſt'rings more impetuous crowd,
Try ev'ry maſt, and catch up ev'ry ſhrowd.
All pale we ſee, tumultuous from afar,
The boiling tempeſt, and the watry war:
Fearful to try the threat'ning ſea behind,
We ply each ſail, and flee before the wind.
In vain, alas! The treach'rous gloom of night,
And wrathful *Jove*, anticipate our flight.
Then firſt we hear the howling tempeſt roar,
And peals of thunder roll from ſhoar to ſhoar;
Not more tremendous howl the ſpell-bound ghoſts,
That nightly haunt the fam'd *Circæan* coaſts:
Not with more noiſe the * ſiſter monſters yell,
Foam out their rage, and bellow from their cell.
From pole to pole the giddy tumults grow,
Clouds war above, and ſeas contend below.
Borne by imperious winds the veſſel rides,
And follows, where the mad'ning ocean guides:
Now rais'd aloft ſhe mounts the liquid ſteep,
Now headlong ſhoots into the raging deep:
Oft on her prow recoiling billows turn,
Oft ſkim the deck, or laſh the ſounding ſtern.
Fix'd at the helm the frantick pilot ſtands,
And this in vain forbids, or that commands;
His clam'rous threats in louder ſeas are loſt,
Wrapt in the thunder, or in whirlwinds toſt.
Lo! dreadful now the forky lightning flies,
Vaults o'er the waves, or darts along the ſkies;
Thro' heav'n's expanſe inſufferable glows,
And all the melancholy proſpect ſhews.
Here with wild fury claſhing billows jar,
Winds combat winds, and mix tempeſtuous war;
There hoarſer ſtorms of thunder rend the air,
Root up the ſea, and all its boſom tear.
Thus *Briareus*, beneath proud *Ætna*'s height,
Stretch'd in the priſon of eternal night,
Sometimes, indignant, calls forth all his ſtrength, [ful length;
Heaves with his breaſt, and ſhakes his dread-
Sicilian peaſants feel the angry god,
Tall mountains tremble, and whole foreſts nod.
Jove, to increaſe the horrors of the main,
From pitchy clouds compreſt a teeming rain;
Bad, from their ſprings, the heav'n-
tains riſe,
And open'd all the flood-gates of the
Quick, at his word, the lab'ring torrent
And ſeas and winds amidſt the deluge

* *Scylla* and *Charybdis*.

A PARSON'S WISH.

1.

A SINGLE church, not large, but
A people rather good than great
An income eaſy tax'd and clear,
A round two hundred pounds a year;
The tithe well paid, without law ſuit
A decent, kind, indulgent wife,
Not full of tongue, nor proudly bred,
A partner true to marriage-bed;
A dame that ſeeks no plays, nor balls
(Such dames are apt to catch their fall

2.

If any children, one or two,
In temper good, in duty true:
A ſtrong-built houſe with orchard goo
Where *Dapple* crops his livelihood;
A garden cloath'd with greens and fru
And intermixt with flower-roots;
A walk with turf or gravel laid,
To ſtalk or ſmoke in ſun or ſhade;
An arbour'd bench to ſit and read
Old *Baker*'s *Chronicle* or *Speed*.

3.

A poultry breed, a fruitful ſow,
A truſty cur, a well-milcht cow,
A turn-ſpit dog, a tabby cat,
To roaſt the joint, and catch the rat
For now and then 'tis roaſt-meat day,
And who can ſleep, when vermin play
A dairy-room for cream and cheeſe;
A pond to ſwim the ducks and geeſe,
Or water *Dapple*'s dirty ſhoes,
When Vic returns from reading news

4.

A neighb'ring clergy kind and free
That give and take civility,
Of humours good, of mirth and ſen
That o'er a glaſs ſome wit diſpenſe:
For where's the crime to meet and
Of country news and tricks of ſtate
Some neighb'ring gents of goodly wo
Who ſcorn to boaſt of wealth or birt
Who won't aſſume the courtiers fro
Yet keep above the ſurly clown;
Who love their country, king and ch
And in no dues the parſon lurch.

5.

Enough to keep a maid and man,
(Let this be *Dick*, and that be *Nan*
A table ſleek, with pudding grac'd,
Or plain or plum, as ſuits the taſte
And then a ſingle ſimple diſh
Of mutton, veal, of fowl or fiſh:
A pile of ſallad, freſh and green;
A plate of fruit, juſt pickt and clea

nd box of *Foſter*'s beſt,
the tooth of ſmoking gueſt;
of hearty nut-brown ale,
nd *October*, bright and ſtale;
native cyder, ſtrong and fine,
humble port, ſome mountain wine,
e my friend and patron both,
he vouchſafes to viſit cloth.

6.

h parts enough from God above
ak the truth in goſpel love;
urch good books, both old and new,
wrote by *Roman*, *Greek* or *Jew*;
d with taſte both verſe and proſe,
ermons of himſelf compoſe
d the Atheiſt, Pope and *Turks*,
ot purloining *Barrow*'s works;
the pariſh ſmell a thief,
ll play the ſame in hay and ſheaf,
er the prieſt on that home head,
the living, you the dead.
ſe three marks in vicar join,
lar, chriſtian and divine,
knows no harm in whiſk or wine,
mon-table, parſon's play,
ke black days run blithe and gay.

7.

, tho' ſtate parties claſh and jar,
ay court-cards for peace or war;
Will and *Bob*, the garter'd knight,
yet agree, who manage right;
the ſtaff is all the ſtrife,
that ſeldom laſts for life;
d'ral ſtaff is ſtill the ſame,
o will act the premier's game.
ſtate diſputes are reigning ſtill
t *England*'s *George* and *Spaniſh Phil*,
ſh peace is all his care;
braltar is ſettled there.
ngreſs meets in veſtry floor,
the rates of church and poor;
ſenpo's are farmers twain,
life in acres, ſheep and grain,
honeſt men, for pariſh ſtock
om fleece the prieſt and flock.

8.

price of ſtocks (that bubble-bite
mounts each morn and ſinks each night,
ſhifting tide, that ebbs and flows
ry mail, as *Europe* goes)
him not with riſe and fall;
ze of corn is all in all.
ſubſtance, round and ſound,
of ſome few hundred pound,
, or out, no matter where,
old age, or leave my heir:
cent prieſts, like turn-ſpit breed,
ghted moſt, when moſt they need,
d their dues, and quite forgot,
fools, and valu'd not a jot.
ure 'tis judg'd in prudence beſt,
ſome *guineas* in a cheſt,
ſtaine of uſeful ſtore
a book, or help the poor,

When good old *Chriſtmas*' winter's cold
Brings round the houſe the poor and old;
To ſet a ſon or daughter out,
Or curate keep in days of gout.

9.

With this fair competence of life,
Exempt from city-ſmoke and ſtrife,
I'd run no riſk, I'd break no bounds,
Nor cheat the world with half compounds;
I'd fear no rapping duns at door,
Becauſe I'd ſeldom run in ſcore.
Wiſe *Agur*'s wiſh is all I crave
From this kind moment to my grave:
Content, few friends, old books, ſound wine, good wife,
An eaſy exit, and eternal life.

A BALLAD,

In Imitation of William *and* Margaret.

Addreſs'd to the **** ****.

'TWAS at the hour, when guiltleſs care
Is lull'd in ſoft repoſe;
When nothing wakes, ſave fell *deſpair*,
Beſet with cureleſs woes!

Inviting ſleep, lo, *William* lay,
The down he vainly preſt:
Honour, alas! had ſoar'd away,
And ſhame had poiſon'd reſt!

B—t——ia, with that ſtern regard
That conſcious worth puts on,
Before his frantic eye appear'd,
And pierc'd him with a groan!

Her cheek had loſt its roſy bloom!
And languid roll'd her eye!
This once cou'd brighten midnight gloom!
That ſhame the *Tyrian* dye!

The laurel wreath, by glory's hand,
Twin'd round her awful brow,
As what her grief and rage diſdain'd,
She rent in fury now.

Away ſhe hurl'd her boaſted ſhield,
Away her uſeleſs ſpear:
What joy to ſlaves can trophies yield?
What pride the pomp of war?

Behold the dire effects (ſhe cry'd)
Of *William*'s perjur'd troth!
Behold the orphan, who rely'd
On a falſe guardian's oath!

How cou'dſt thou, with a lover's zeal,
My widow'd cauſe eſpouſe,
Yet quit that cauſe thou ſerv'dſt ſo well
In ſcorn of all thy vows?

How cou'dſt thou ſwear, wealth, titles, pow'r
Thy candour wou'd diſclaim?
Yet barter, in an evil hour,
That candour for a *name?*

How cou'dſt thou win my eaſy heart
A patriot to believe?
How cou'd I know, but by the ſmart,
A patriot wou'd deceive?

Bethink

Bethink thee of thy broken truſt!
Thy *vows* to me unpaid!
Thy honour humbled in the duſt!
Thy country's weal betray'd!
For this may all my vengeance fall
On thy devoted head!
Living, be thou the ſcorn of all!
The curſe of all when dead!
This ſaid, while thunder round her broke,
She vaniſh'd into air;
And *William*'s horror, while ſhe ſpoke,
Was follow'd by deſpair.

MARPLOT; *or the* TELL-TALE JOURNAL.

By the Author of the Poet Bewitch'd, *p.* 356, *and dedicated to the ſame learned young Lady.*

——— *Dicenda tacenda locutus.*
Hor. 1 E. 7. 72.

I Riſe about ſeven, and read till tow'rds nine,
Then ring for my breakfaſt, (oatmeal, water, and wine:) [I repair,
Soon as dreſt, to the coffee-houſe (about ten)
And pick up what news I find ſcattered there.
Call the *Champion* a dog; think the *Gazetteer* dull; [fool.
Th' *Advertiſer*—a liar; *Daily-Poſt*—a mere
Then hurry away to pay court where 'tis due,
With gay bows, and good morrow! and *how do ye do?*
All in council we ſit, and recount what has paſt [day) laſt.
Since we ſaw one another (perhaps yeſter-
(Dover court) no one hears, we all chatter ſo faſt.

——— *Auditis aliquid novus adjicit auctor.*
Ov. Met. 12. 58.

Then I, piping hot with the news of the day,
Create a freſh ſubject for ſomething to ſay.
Thus our notes we compare, and are always in tune, [wards noon.
Sing, laugh, pun, and prate, till it grows to-
Words and work thrown aſide, to your poſt, capuchin! [the ring.
Park's the word, *allons donc*, and miſs *H-w-d*'s
How lovely the centre! around her we run,
Like atoms that dance at the rays of the ſun.
Here again, *ſans regarde*, our free thoughts we diſplay,
And pull all to pieces that come in our way.

Defendit numerus, junctæq; umbone phalanges.
Juv. S. 2. 46.

What a mortal is that! what a motion has this! [miſs.
She there in the ſack is count—Thingimy's
Lord bleſs me, cries *K—ty*, with wide ſtaring eyes,
My dears! I am ready to ſink with ſurpriſe;
There's that creature, Sir *H—ry!* gallanting miſs *P—t*,
And ſhe all in raptures at his rattling wit.

Riſu inepto res ineptior nulla eſt. Ma
H—d. Bon Dieu! how ſhe grins, an
loudly ſhe talks! [
The whole company ſtares for to ſee h

Spectatum admiſſi riſum teneatis?
Hor. A.

L—y. Look at yonder old cripple, any one think [
He was coupled laſt week to that b
To obtain—(*W—ms*) what? (*L—y*) ture, ſhe fool'd away life;
He wanted a nurſe, ſhe the—name of

Militat omnis amans—— Ovid.

H—d. There's the captain a laying ſiege to miſs *D——*, [ſicers
M—ds of h——r, *ſans doute*, make

Monſtrum horrendum, informe, ingens.

W—tb. There's a monſter of nature, a horrible ſhape!
It ſtares like a cat, and it grins like a
Its face is quite ſhocking, its back is
——Such dangerous ſights ſhou'd ne'e ture abroad!

H—n. That's a ſtrange aukward cr how frightful the ſtay!
If I ſee it again, I ſhall ſure faint aw

Qui bellus homo eſt, Catte! puſillus bom
Ma

L—y. There's a coxcomb at large, affected the tread!
He's ſo full of himſelf, he can't hold

Nil habet——paupertas durius in ſ
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit,—
Juv. S. 3.

K—ty. There's the poor wretch! with penſive ſlow pace,
Has verſe in his pocket, and want

——— *Jam ſævus apertam*
In rabiem cœpit verti jocus——
Hor. 2 Ep. 1.

Now and then cheek by jole we m in a crowd, [nothing
Courtſey, ſcrape, wink, and nod, a
Give a grin and paſs by, the next creat meet, [we
Thoſe we laught with before, with c
Cry, tho' ma'moiſelle's padded, ſhe's one ſide,
And paints an inch thick, or ſhe's f
How *S——n*'s aſham'd her chaſ'd ſhould be ſhewn,
Since there's reaſon to think it is no
Shat *la G——e*'s ſolitaire with her to do,
What we know to be falſe, ſhe imp
Thus we make our remarks on e ject in view, [ſtrik
And cenſure (who prais'd) till St.

…ndis ornatæ multæ incedunt per vias,
…æ veſti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova,
…am rellam, tunicam ſpiſſam, &c.
Plaut.

…etimes for a frolick we rove up and down
…role like wild creatures half over the
…t C——t's, *Vanl*——'s, and (in paſſing by) pop
…lacéman's, the mercer's, and milli-…y. This lace is like tinſel,—that pat-…tern's quite old; [than gold.
…e tarniſh'd, it looks more like lacquer …d. Theſe ſilks are dull fancies, there's none that will do;
…t know Mr. *Cr*—— when you've got ſomething new.
…rim Mrs. *Lappit*, with puritan cant, what wou'd your ladyſhips pleaſe for to want?
…ive her no anſwer, look at this, that, and t'other,
…they've ſtar'd well at one thing, they …ret's quite pretty, that apron's delight-…ful!
…ruffles—too ſcanty, that cap is quite

…e longinquis magis placent. Tacit.

…en *Lappit* attends, and with mouth …like a ſkrew,
…, Ladies! that cut is intirely new,
…e a right *Bruſſels*; 'twas made up in *France*;
…wn ha'n't its equal, I bought it by

—— *Levium ſpectacula rerum.*
Virg. 4. G. 2.

…t to oblige, ſhe unboxes her ſtore,
…, furs, fans, and knots, twenty-one …to the ſcore.
…portant the trifles! how ſoon let a-…lone!
…he twenty behind, and how uſeleſs the

…ves leves capiunt animos. Ovid.

…tumbled, and given what trouble they …can,
…throws down a crown for a whimſical …our mornings we ſpend, either racket …about,
…ſt half the *Mall*, till the clock drives …home, and to dreſs, and to dinner at …three,
…han welcome on all ſides — *ſans cere-…monie.*
…G—d, and good friends, here we all …play our part;
…or church and the king, and the girl …full of ſpirits, adventures and glee,
…ſerſe paſt exploits over coffee and tea.

Strenua nos exercet inertia.
Hor. 1 Ep. 11. 28.

…ſent, we draw out a ſcheme for the day;
…ds—and 'tis death formal viſits …tour le tems, to the opera or play.

——*Veniunt ſpectentur ut ipſæ.*

(Play.) New ſcene of amuſement, freſh matter for chat,
'Tis he, and 'tis ſhe, and 'tis this, and 'tis that.
(Opera.) How inchanting the muſick! how ſtrange for to tell!
To make it celeſtial, there wants but a *bell*.
The performances over, drive home with delight,
And light ſup, a ſhort ſong—half a glaſs, and good night.
Say my pray'rs, and to bed; dream of muſick and ſnore,
And riſe the next day,——as I told you before.

Z. Z.

CUPID *and* CHLOE.

AS *Cupid* on a ſummers day
Beneath a myrtle ſhade,
Tir'd with ſome idle, am'rous play,
Reclin'd his weary head;

Young *Chloe* chanc'd that way to rove
To ſooth her anxious cares;
Tell gentle echo of her love,
And whiſper all her fears.

Surpris'd, ſhe ſpy'd the little boy
Hid in the cloſe retreat,
His bow unſtrung, his arrows too
Lie ſcatter'd round his feet.

Then ſtraight this vagrant to enſnare,
She rang'd all round the grove,
Pluck'd up the pinks and lilies fair,
And bound the god of love.

Poor *Cupid* try'd his hands to move,
He try'd, alas! in vain;
Thrice flutter'd with his wings, and ſtrove
To break the fragrant chain.

But when he ſaw her ſnowy breaſt,
Her lips and ſparkling eyes,
Pleas'd there to find ſo ſweet a neſt,
He thus in tranſport cries;

Another love let *Venus* gain,
'Tis here I'll fix my ſway,
More conqueſts then ſhall grace my reign,
And gods my pow'r obey.

From a GENTLEMAN *in the* Country *to his* FRIEND *in* London.

NO more, my friend, ſhall parks and rings delight!
Far nobler ſcenes invite my welcome ſight!
Around on ev'ry ſide new beauties charm,
They pleaſe my fancy, and my boſom warm:
Here painted fields their friendly verdure bring,
To ſooth the eye, and deck the lovely ſpring;
There nature's ſtreams in purling hillocks play,
And bid farewel!—then gently glide away.
See the broad elm encirel'd by the vine,
And tender ivy round the oak entwine,
Which on each ſide its friendly arms extends,
To ſhade the lovers, and to ſhelter friends.
Beneath this canopy what joys I'd find
Was *Delia* preſent!—*Delia* ever kind!

Thou *Collin* too, with *Celia* gentle fair,
To crown my wiſhes, and compleat my pray'r!
How friendly converſe ſhou'd regale the ſoul,
No fears torment, nor ought our bliſs controul;
Uninterrupted joys our hearts delight,
And balmy kiſſes all our ſouls unite;
Delia ſhou'd *Collin*, *Celia*, *Florio* bleſs,
And mutual friendſhip blend our happineſs.
No guilty joy ſhou'd us in ſorrow drown,
But conſcious innocence our pleaſure crown.
And when death's ſummons came, we all
wou'd go,
(One moment parted wou'd be endleſs woe.)
Still ſweet companions, ſwim thro' ſeas of
bliſs,
And guard our friends from ev'ry thing amiſs;
The grateful *Damon* thy peculiar care,
And mine to anſwer ſocial *Philo*'s pray'r.
But ſad, alas! I drop the pleaſing theme,
By fancy cheated in a waking dream.

FLORIO.

To the Memory of Miſs SALLY STREATE, *of* Little Bedwin *in* Wilts, *who died* Sept. 9, 1742.

IN her expir'd a truly virtuous maid,
Who none upbraiding, none could e'er
upbraid;
Meek as a lamb, and guileleſs as a dove,
Compos'd of gentle harmony and love.
Sweet unoffending innocence, and truth,
Spontaneous, dwelt upon her lovely mouth:
Soft civil ſpeech adminiſtred to all,
To her, good manners were ev'n natural.
What moſt by length of education gain'd,
Untaught, by ſtrength of genius ſhe attain'd:
When nature form'd her in ſo ſoft a mould,
It was to ſhine a while, not long to hold.
The painted picture thro' an age may paſs,
But the nice *crayon* muſt be fram'd in glaſs.
Studious t' oblige, to entertain and pleaſe,
Her own neglected to give others eaſe;
Never an harſh thing did, or ſaid, or thought,
And liv'd, as tho' incapable of fault;
Fled noiſe and ſtrife, and the detracting tongue,
Mourn'd much the progreſs of ſucceſsful wrong;
Determin'd nothing by this world's ſucceſs,
And wept o'er merit lab'ring in diſtreſs.
Docile and eaſy, ſhunning all debate,
In friendſhip generouſly obſtinate.
Full to her little pow'r the poor reliev'd,
And if it fail'd, ſhe charitably griev'd.
Her honeſt heart was undiſguis'd and clear,
Whence roſe the pureſt thoughts and moſt
ſincere, [tain flow,
Like limpid ſtreams which from the foun-
For when the fountain's clear, the ſtreams
are ſo.
In all her deeds religion ſtood conſeſt,
Free, unauſtere, an amiable gueſt;
So naturally pious and reſign'd,
She hardly ever in intention ſinn'd.
Errors, tho' few, perhaps ſhe had, for who
'Mong human kind 's impeccable below?
But God, who did her innocence perceive,
Who all forgiveneſs was, will ſure forgive,
Raiſe her to bliſs, among angelic lays,
To *hallelujah* his eternal praiſe.
For after ſure could never be apply'd,
The beſt goes always firſt, than when ſhe

CARMEN Paſtorale *in Vallem amœnam prope Scardeburgiam in Agro Eboracenſi quæ ab Hakeneſia ex parte Boreali ſ[ita] Atoniam ex Auſtrali procurrit*; & in ventam, *quæ, curſu è longinquo p[er] tandem in* Humbram *influit.*

QUandoque ad ripas *Dorventæ* rure p[er]
Me juvat, & gratâ ſylvæ recub[are]
umbrâ. [o[m]
Principia & formæ rerum, & quæcuno[que]
Conſilium Jovis enarrant, cauſamq; p[ro]
Materiis pro re natâ non deficit unquam
Formis ſe variis immiſcent quæque ſoluti
Corpora principiis; elementa ſoluta ſupe[r]
Concreſcunt varia & fato ſolvuntur eod[em]
Et fœtura gregem ſupplet; res myſtic[a]
eſt.
Subtilem impulſum ſenſoria noſtra fate[r]
Cunctarum rerum, quæ ſenſibus objici[un]
Plurima ineſt atomis virtus, formiſq; m[ul]
Muſæ Pierides, quibus eſt præfectus Ap[ollo]
Hoc celebrate nemus, rivum mediosque
tem.
Hîc olim exhibuit ſeſe Pan ſæpe biform[is]
(Laſcivo diaphragma deum ſecernit ab
Hîc patuêre Diana & cætera numina ſy[l]
Et divi fluviales, nympharumque cater[va]
Margini aquæ aſtantes; ſunt omnia N[ym]
plena.
Creſcit ubique Jovi quercus ſacrata, B[ac]
Magnum palladium; ſervato cive, cor[o]
Ex illâ textam ſoliti donare Quirites.
Cœlicolas quondam Dryadæ coluêre ſub
Quædam inde excreſcit ſpecies ſalub[ris]
rerum.
Hîc ulmi, patulæ fagi, miſcentur & q[uer]
Et populi & ſalices fluvii prope littus a[lti]
Fert rubus Idæus baccas; hîc fraga leg[it]
Et quodvis paſſim profert vegetabile te[llus]
Flora, quod eſt externum, mille colori[bus]
nat,
Et quaquaverſum varios diffundit odor[es]
Sunt nervi & venæ, (quid non eſt?)
herbæ,
Et caulem & frondes vegetans circum[fu]
Ac vegetativæ ſunt omnia ſtamina vi[tæ]
Foſſilibus cunctis eſt ſpiritus, atque m[ot]
Hæc pereunt & ſolvuntur, cum deficit
Ut carie lignum, ſic hæc rubigine lan[ea]
Hîc crocitat corvus, timidus gemit a[ter]
lumbus.
Graculus hîc garrit; ſuſpenſus in aëre
Ejulat, imponit nomen ſibi cuculus a[vis]
Grus gruit, incolumis cui nidus in
ſummâ eſt.
Nocte ſuum bubo vigilans circumvol[at]

ſitat, aũ, vehementer, ſed vox faucibus
hæret, [cis;
e quis prohibet, varia eſt conſtructio vo-
ave ter pictâ decorant inſigne Sabelli,
s ſpernit eam, quamvis ſit ſacra Minervæ.
m ſibi vim noctu luſcinia plorat,
at illa modos, ac in grave vertit acutum,
e ſiror Progne luci volat ocyor Euro.
a mane canunt primo, Martemque cru-
entum
at galli, canit ortum ſolis alauda,
erulæ ſero paſtores carmine mulceat.
novo nemus eſt ex omni parte vocale.
latet in campis perdix, ſylvis phaſianus;
ultra montes phaſianos præbet erica
ſi generis: nigret hic, ac ille rubeſcit.
inates multæ, volucres aliæque paluſtres.
e ſub ripis condunt ſibi tecta, ſed illas
at, & per aquas ſectatur odora canum
vis;
es non rara eſt teneris quæ paſcitur agnis,
e ſuæ ſylvis aliæ naſcuntur & agris.
apri quondam ſævi, torvique biſontes,
e lupi ſylvas funeſtavere cruore.
a lacte videre eſt vaccas plena gerentes,
tu pecoris reſonans nemus omne remugit.
velle ſuum pecus omne vel exprimit aptis
us, eſt cuivis volucrum dialectica quæ-
dam,
deſunt illis umbroſæ rhetoris artes.
ſcatent Cereris, cunctarum copia rerum
eſt.
pes tractant fabrilia, malleus ingens
tur, curſu folles agitantur aquarum.
nonum ad lapidem ex boreali parte ſca-
turit, [bram;
us aquis fluvius multis irrumpit in Hum-
ibus impletas patitur pars magna carinas;
es tranſverſi latos flectuntur in arcus.
ntes in flumen, ut In mare flumina cur-
runt:
ore mutantur fluvii, fert omnia tempus
i & accedit littus, quod perdidit alter.
mus, illic inſula, promontoria ſparſim
runt pelagi, necnon ad littoris inſtar.
velut in ſpeculo, cœli ſpectantur in undis;
e ſtrepunt fontes, tacitus ſed labitur am-
nis.
ræ diſtinctæ maculis hoc flumine gaudent,
it has vermis vel muſcæ fallit imago,
mus innumeri piſces captantur & hamo.
a tenet in dextris, animata videtur a-
rundo,
ſi; eſt ſpecies nervorum pendula ſeta.
mus, piſcis cum tentat mordicus eſcam,
ntit digitis ut ſi tractaret eundem.
o dente emittit lethale venenum
us; quâ viſa fibras cor contrahit intus,
it infuſum virus quia ſanguinis orbes.
meas ictum, piſcator, vipera rara eſt.
ter tenues telas orditur Arachne;
ſit infelix deforme in reptile virgo,
a ſibi mortem quoniam conſciverat ipſi;
& immani moribundas forcipe muſcas
Torquet, & in vulnus fœdum ſpuit ore venenum.
Formicis parvis, apibuſque ſcientia multa eſt,
Hæ rerum ſatagunt, & publica commoda curant.
Errat ſolus homo; ratione expertia cuncta
Lege vel impulſu naturæ rite reguntur.
Diſcite virtutem & mores ex quolibet ente,
Naturamque ſequi; quid vos è rure beato
Expulit? imperii & nummi maleſuada cupido, [malorum.
Unde fluunt clades hominum & genus omne
Ut recte ſapiam, Deus optime, maxime, * *cedo*,
Ac animum radiis æterni luminis imple;
Da mihi dicere verum, & * *aperto vivere voto*,
Moribus & priſcis, ac imbue * *pectus honeſto*:
His poſitis, * *farre* & ſincera mente * *litabo*.

An ODE *on a certain* ****.

WHAT ſtateſman, what hero, what king,
Whoſe name thro' the iſland is ſpread,
Will you chuſe, O my *Clio!* to ſing,
Of all the great living or dead?

Go, my Muſe, from this place to *Japan*,
In ſearch of a topick for rhime:
The great E— of *B*— is the man,
Who deſerves to employ your whole time.

But, howe'er, as the ſubject is nice,
And perhaps you're unfurniſh'd with matter,
May it pleaſe you to take my advice,
That you mayn't be ſuſpected to flatter.

When you touch on his L——p's high birth,
Speak *Latin*, as if you were tipſy:
Say, we all are the ſons of the earth;
Et genus non facimus ipſi.

Proclaim him as rich as a *Jew*;
Yet attempt not to reckon his bounties:
You may ſay he is married, that's true;
Yet ſpeak not a word of his C——ſs.

Leave a blank here and there in each page,
To inrol the fair deeds of his youth!
When you mention the acts of his age,
Leave a blank for his honour and truth!

Say, he made a great M——h change hands;
He ſpake—and the miniſter fell:
Say, he made a great ſtateſman of *S*——s;
(O that he had taught him to ſpell!)

Then enlarge on his cunning and wit:
Say, how he harangu'd at the *Fountain*;
Say, how the old patriots were bit;
And a mouſe was produc'd by a mountain!

Then ſay, how he mark'd the new year,
By increaſing our taxes and ſtocks:
Then ſay, how he chang'd to a P—r,
Fit companion for *E*——*be* and *F*—*x*!

* *Perſius.*

A Right Honourable DIALOGUE.

Co. TO the *Earl* ſays the *Counteſs*, what makes you ſo dull? [fool:
Ea. Becauſe for your *Ladyſhip* I've play'd the
Co. For *me* do you ſay, Sir?—Your *Lordſhip* I mean; [gives me ſpleen.
Ea. Ay,—curſe the damn'd *title*, 'tis that
Co. You've no ſenſe of *honour*, no notions of glory. [*rank* before ye:
Ea. Yours are,—*Polly W——le* ſhould not
But more honour we'd had, been happier ſtill,
Had you been plain *Madam*, and I been plain *Will.*

The DEFENCE.

An EPISTLE. *Upon a late Promotion.*

KIND, faithful friend,—my dear, engaging *Kit!*
For candour fam'd, for correſpondence fit,
Thou lover of thy country, and thy friend;
While ſome the dire domeſtick foe defend,
And others, on the ſame low level, place
The kingdom's glory, and her great diſgrace,
Fain wou'd my Muſe, in vindicating verſe,
Maintain that honour villains wou'd aſperſe:
In proper ſort ſhe gladly wou'd recite
The poor attempts of mean, invidious ſpite,—
Shew what regard to ſycophants belongs,
And curb the inſolence of prating tongues.
A truly noble lord, it ſeems, a *place*,
With his acceptance, lately deign'd to grace:
On this occaſion, how have ſome exclaim'd!
How his unequal dignity defam'd!
Where's now,—ſay they with ſly, inſulting ſneer,—
Where's now your uncorrupted, patriot peer?
Pray, where, forſooth! is now your good Lord G——*r?* [fore.
Why, in good faith!—e'en where he was be-
My noble lord, in ſpite of all your pains,
A man of rigid honour ſtill remains:
He's ſtill,—and, doubtleſs, will be to the end,
To *king* and *country* both, a ſteady friend;
Both with a juſt fidelity will ſerve,
Nor from the ſtricteſt rules of honour ſwerve.
Why then are all theſe rude reflexions caſt?
Judge of the preſent, pray, by what is paſt:
Has e'er my lord's good conduct been arraign'd?
Or has he aught by proſtitution gain'd?
What *place*, what *penſion* can, or ever cou'd,
On terms deſtructive of his country's good,
Upon my lord be forc'd?—no, no; he wants
No bribing bounty, no ſuch gracious grants.
His ſplendid fortune no acceſſion needs,
Nor ever will receive from ſlaviſh deeds:
His gen'rous ſoul abhors ſo mean a thought,
And with far better principles is fraught.
The noble *peer* thus ſtoops, thus condeſcends,
At laſt—to hold a *place*—for purer ends:
T' advance the good of *crown* and *kingdom* too;
This is the chief, the only point in view.
But if he can't the good of both combine
This he can do;—he *can*, and will refuſe
Learn then ye vaſſals of corruption learn,
Between true worth and vileneſs to diſcern
Suppoſe your patrons ſhou'd—(a ſhame to
Their votes, their conſcience, and their try ſell;
Suppoſe your ſcurvy patrons when in pl
(An upſtart, ſordid, proud, degen'rate
Long, ah! too long, without contro check,
Have ſhar'd the plunder of the publick
What follows, pray, from thence?—tue, ſame,
Is honour nothing but an empty name
But, come;—we'll e'en confeſs (to be ſure
The tribe of *lev'lers* is not quite extinct
And you'll allow, we hope,—as well as
(Tho' none ſo blind as thoſe that will n
Of grace poor *Britain* is not ſo bereft,
But ſome true *patriots* ſtill there may be
What then, tho' *clerks*, *ſub-clerks*, nal *ſlaves*,
Prove, on record, a ſpecious kind of
No pois'nous ſycophant, for this, I'm
Shou'd ſoil true ſplendor with a breath i
Shut, ſhut, for ſhame! your wide env jaws,
Nor thus recriminate without a cauſe.
No longer thus to cavils have recourſe
For of ſuch arguments pray where's the
But little minds,—when all is ſaid and
Judge of another's *motives* by their ow
And right or wrong it ſeems you *muſt*
Nought elſe your drooping party can ſu
Each trifling handle, ev'ry lame excu
Is like, I'll warrant, now to come in
Juſt ſo (but all in vain) the *drowning*
At *ſprays*, and *ſticks*, and *ſtraws*, atte catch.
But hold, ſweet Sirs!—I'm loth to lea
A little farther let's the thing diſcuſs.
Let's (if you pleaſe) e'en puſh the home:
Are *publick poſts* a ſcandal then become
Or ſeems it, Sirs, an inconſiſtent thi
That men ſhou'd ſerve their *country* a *King?*
This—(if I rightly underſtand the caſe
Your foreſaid queries tacitly confeſs.
Oh!—pray take care!—while thus t you put,
Your comrades throats ye do but there
Ye cauſe the bullet on your friends to
The plagues of *Britain*, and the tools of
Who (in our annals, as our ſons ſhall
The jarring int'reſts widely thus diſjoi
O! had they who ſuch miſchief brought
Or ne'er been *in*,—or long ago turn'd
But ſhall th' *illuſtrious* for the *low'ſt*
An *unjuſt ſteward*, who wou'd then ſuc
Villain and *knave*,—we by the learn'd
Nothing opprobrious ſignify'd of old.

placeman in the happier days of yore,
gly'd no blot, no ſcurvy meaning bore.
t if the very *name* now gives offence,
et carping fools, as well as men of ſenſe,
now that lord *G——r* caſts luſtre on a *place*,
d almoſt ſaid,—can dignify diſgrace:
n held his country credit to retrieve,
nd her accuſtom'd glorious acts atchieve;
he *prince* and *people*'s welfare will promote,
nd for their mutual good ſtill perſevere to
vote. [draw:
And now, dear *Kit!* I tow'rds an end ſhall
ruſe, with candour, ev'ry lighter flaw.
long impunity in theſe ſad times,
oves the ſtrange lot, you know, of bea-
vier crimes. [rage,
ruſe my freedom, friend, my warmth, my
gainſt the miſcreants of the preſent age.
ruſe my deep concern, my zealous heat,
y veneration for the good and great.
nd be aſſur'd, O thou of friends the beſt,—
he leaſt degree of flatt'ry I deteſt,
ll fulſome flatt'ry from my ſoul diſclaim,
nd have a juſt, a far more gen'rous aim,
hile to my friend I freely thus impart
he ſincere dictates of an honeſt heart.
heſe my rebukes of *Britain*'s home-bred
foes,
ith ſome few wiſhes ſuffer me to cloſe.
May heav'n the *fathers of their country* bleſs,
nd thoſe whom *patriots* juſtly we profeſs.
ay *Britain* proſper both in *church* and *ſtate*;
ay ſhe henceforward know a happier fate.
er ſuff'ring cauſe may providence eſpouſe,
nd hear, at length, her long repeated
vows;
he deſp'rate deeds of daring men detect,
nd root out thoſe that do the land infect.
may our gracious Sov'reign Lord,—may
He,
whom kings reign, and righteouſneſs decree,
ſweeps the wicked from about the throne,
nd make the guilty for their crimes atone.
In ſhort,—that grievances may have an
end,
y gracious heav'n help, honour, and defend
l true promoters of the *publick weal*,
nd ſhow'r down bleſſings on lord *p—y ſ—l!*
One other hearty pray'r, kind Sir, per-
mit:— [*Kit*.
nd ſave Sir *Rowland*; and my good friend
Sept. 15.
1742. *PHILOPATRIS*.

On TRUE RELIGION.

AIL bright religion! beſt ſupport
Of an afflicted mind,
hen the loud ſtorm beats the high tow'r
With raging floods and wind,
papal, or prelatic pride
Thy heav'nly title gain;
'Tis love divine: For Chriſt has ſaid
His church ſhall ever reign.

Mark how it ſpread from eaſt to weſt,
While virtues blaz'd around;
Tho' hell and furies both combin'd,
It ſtill enlarg'd its ground.

From ages paſt it ſhall endure,
To the world's laſt decay;
With radiant glories ſtill ſhall beam,
And faultleſs charms diſplay.

J. DINSDALE.

On Sir ISAAC NEWTON, *by Way of* EPITAPH.

HERE *Newton* lies, to whoſe *all-piercing view*,
When this *vaſt world* afforded nothing *new*,
His *pious actions* taught his *ſoul* to *ſoar*,
Where, *without end*, he might *new worlds* explore.

From ſome Latin *Rhimes, in* Drexelius de morte, *p.* 216.

The Vanity of MORTAL THINGS.

WHY toils the world ſo eager after fame?
Glory, at beſt, is but an empty name,
Precarious as *Chineſes* brittle ware,
Fleeting as bubbles blown into the air.
Tell me, where's now the prince once ſo renown'd, [crown'd?
Great *Solomon*, whom wealth and wiſdom
Where's *Sampſon* famous for his deeds of arms?
Or *Abſalom* for beauty's ſofter charms?
Say, where's the prince whom gen'rous manners bleſt,
Born to be both in courts and camps careſt?
Where's *Jonathan*, that bold, intrepid mind,
Where's *Jonathan*, the tender and the kind?
Where mighty *Cæſar*, whom the nations ſaw
Thro'out a thouſand proſtrate realms give law?
Where's *Plato*, *Tully*, eldeſt ſons of fame,
And *Socrates*, that ever honour'd name?
Not genius, learning, eloquence could ſave
A *Milton*, * *King*, or *Newton* from the grave.
Not all the laurels that, in battle won,
On great *Eugenio*'s brow o'er ſhadowing hung,
Nor thine, O *Marlbro!* could prolong thy date,
Or ſtay the ſwift deſcending arm of fate!
Bards, ſages, heroes, ſenators and kings,
States, cities, empires, all are mortal things.
The nobleſt ornaments the earth can boaſt,
Vaniſh like ſhades, and in a dream are loſt.
With tinſel luſtre they ſeduce our eyes,
From the real glories of our native ſkies;
Give a bright glare, and in a moment die,
Low buried in the duſt their honours lie.

J. S.

* *Sir* Peter King, *Baron of* Ockham.

THE

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

WE had an Account from *Kettering* in *Northamptonſhire*, of an extraordinary Riot between the Townſmen and ſome Soldiers, that happen'd the latter End of laſt Month in the following Manner:

Four Soldiers, that were quartered at the *Black Boy* in that Town, being very clamorous, were deſired by the Landlord to be more ſilent; which the Scarlet Gentlemen ſo highly reſented, that one of them gave him a Slap on the Face; and on the Landlord's expreſſing his Diſlike of ſuch Treatment, repeated his Blows, which drew on a Battle between them, in which the Soldier was heartily drubb'd: Upon this, his Comrades alarm'd the reſt of the Soldiers in the Town, who preſently flock'd to the Number of near 40 to the Houſe, which drew a Concourſe of the Townſmen thither likewiſe. To prevent a Diſorder from ſuch a Crowd, the People of the Houſe ſhut their Doors; and the Landlord's Brother going into the Room to pacify the Soldiers, receiv'd ſo deſperate a Stroke with a Sword on the Wriſt, that his Hand hung by a Piece of Skin only, and afterwards above 20 Stabs and Wounds in the Body, moſt of them mortal. This barbarous Murder preſently ſpread, and reach'd the Commanding Officer's Ear, who immediately repair'd thither, but could hardly, at the Riſk of his Life, quell the Riot, his Men for a conſiderable Time refuſing to put up their Swords: At length, however, he prevailed, and 5 of the principal of them were committed to Goal for the Murder.

His Majeſty's Journey to *Flanders*, which had been talk'd of all laſt Month, and for which the moſt magnificent Preparations were made, was on a ſudden laid aſide, and the Furniture and Baggage which was ſhip'd, and Horſes to the Number of 200, which were ſent to *Graveſend*, were brought back again. The Furniture of his Majeſty's Sumpter Horſe coſt 560 Guineas.

MONDAY, *Oct.* 4.

This Day M. *Waſenberg*, Miniſter from the King of *Sweden*, having a private Audience of his Majeſty, acquainted his Majeſty, that he had received Orders of the King his Maſter, to deſire, in his Name, his Majeſty's good Offices, for putting an End to the War in the North, and procuring a ſafe and honourable Peace between the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*; to which his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, That he would immediately employ his good Offices, as fired.

WEDNESDAY, 6.

The Lord *Carteret*, one of his Maje principal Secretaries of State, landed at *mouth* in *Norfolk*, from *Holland*; and on *day* arrived at his Houſe in *Taviſtock-ſ* ſoon after which he waited on his Ma at *Kenſington*, and was moſt graciouſly ceived. His Lordſhip had been at Sea *Saturday* Evening, at which Time the of Wind (which happened while the Ma War lay at the *Gore*) abated, and there put to Sea; but the Wind afterwards pro contrary, and the Weather very bad, it with great Difficulty they made *Yar*

(See p. 463.)

SATURDAY, 9.

From the London Gazette.

By Letters receiv'd the 6th Inſtant Vice-Admiral *Matthews*, in the Roa *Hieres*, dated the 17th of *September*, the Advice, that he, the Vice-Admiral, ha had Information, that ſome Magazine Corn had been laid up by the *Geneſe* a *raſſa*, for the Uſe of the *Spaniards*, he diſpatch'd Commodore *Martin* thither, arriv'd in that Road the 1ſt of *Septe* and immediately ſent Officers on Shor ſearch for the ſaid Magazines, and that having found four of Barley there, belo to the *Spaniards*, had forthwith deſtroy ſame, by throwing them into the Sea.

FRIDAY, 15.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, the 5 following Perſons received Senten Death, *viz. Richard Arnold* for robbing *Gates* on the Highway.—*Thomas Homan* prentice to a Baker in *Fetter-Lane*) fo Murder of Mrs. *Dix*, a Widow Gent man, who lived next Door to his Maſ (See p. 411.)—*Robert Dixon* for ſteali Silver Tankard from the *Coach and Hor Bloomſbury*.—*Robert Bird* for breaking o Houſe in *Bridgwater's-Gardens*, and ſte Goods to a conſiderable Value.—And *W Bird* for the Murder of *Phillis Wells*, ber, honeſt and induſtrious Woman, up by the High Conſtable on a General Search Warrant, and ſent to St. *Ma* Roundhouſe) by confining her for the of 8 Hours, in a cloſe Room, with a N ber of other Perſons, whereby ſhe was ſocated. His Trial laſted near 7 Hours.

p. 459.)

TUES

TUESDAY, 19.

both Houſes of Parliament met at *Weſt-*
ſter, purſuant to their laſt Prorogation,
were by Commiſſion further prorogued
the 16th of *November* next, when they
to ſit for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, purſu-
to his Majeſty's Proclamation.

THURSDAY, 21.

Was held a Court of Common-Council at
Hall, when a Committee of Aldermen
Gentlemen, appointed to draw up In-
ſtions to their Repreſentatives in Parlia-
t, withdrew and prepar'd the ſame,
ch being read, were unanimouſly appro-
d, and Copies order'd to be taken by the
on Clerk, and deliver'd to each Member.
(p. 503.) Afterwards the Common-Coun-
return'd Thanks to the Right Hon. *George*
kute, Eſq; Lord Mayor, for holding fre-
nt Common-Councils, *&c.* and his Rea-
ſs upon all Occaſions to act for the Good
his Country, and of this great Trading
y in particular. His Lordſhip made an
nt Speech, thanking them for the great
our they had done him in chuſing him
of their Repreſentatives, and aſſur'd
m that nothing ſhould be wanting on his
t. Mr. Alderman *Calvert* likewiſe made
ry handſome Speech.

FRIDAY, 22.

This being the Birth-Day of her Royal
hneſs the Princeſs of *Orange*, who then
er'd into the 34th Year of her Age, his
ſhty receiv'd the Compliments of the
ility and Gentry at *Kenſington* on that
ſion.

FRIDAY, 29.

The Right Hon. *Robert Willimott*, Eſq; the
w Lord Mayor of *London*, was with the
al Solemnity ſworn into that high and
nourable Office at *Weſtminſter*, for the Year
ſuing. It is remarkable, that notwith-
ding the common Notion that a Lord
yor muſt be free of one of the twelve
panies, his Lordſhip has broke thro' that
om, upon the Advice of Council that
re is no Law for it. His Lordſhip is of the
ers Company, and would have been tranſ-
d to the *Clothworkers*, which is one of the
lve; but his Admiſſion being carried but
a ſmall Majority, and they having at the
e Time refus'd him the Uſe of their
ll, he was reſolv'd to give them no far-
r Trouble: And this gave Occaſion to the
ent Alteration, which perhaps the twelve
panies may repent. It ſeems, all that
neceſſary is, that the Lord Mayor for the
me being ſhould be free of one of the 12
panies, in order to be Preſident of the
ſh Committee.

SATURDAY, 30.

Was celebrated the Anniverſary of his
jeſty's Birth Day, who then enter'd into
e 60th Year of his Age.

From the London Gazette.

Frederica in *Georgia*, *July* 8. General *Ogle-*
thorpe arrived here on the 6th by Day-break,
without the Loſs of a Man, having brought
up all the Wounded on his Horſes. He im-
mediately gave Orders for the Defence of this
Place, and having ſent out Scouts on all
Sides, and ſupply'd the broken and loſt Arms,
&c. order'd all the Companies to be paraded.
On the Afternoon of the ſame Day the *Creek*
Indians brought in 5 *Spaniſh* Privateers. On
the 7th, the Rangers who had been on the
Scout, came in, being purſued by the *Spani-*
ards, and gave an Account, that the Enemy
was within a Mile of this Place, where they
had kill'd one of our People. The General
thereupon leap'd on the firſt Horſe, and im-
mediately march'd the *Highland* Company,
who were then under Arms, and order'd 60
from the Guard to follow: He himſelf gal-
lop'd with the *Indians* to the Place, which
was juſt within the Woods, about a Mile
from hence, where he found Capt. *Sebaſtian*
Santio and Capt. *Mageleeto*, with 120 *Spaniſh*
Troops and 45 *Spaniſh Indians*. Capt. *Grey*
with his *Chickeſaws*, Capt. *Jones* with his *To-*
mobetus, and *Tooanohowi* with his *Creeks*, and
the General with 6 *Highland* Men, who out-
ran the reſt, immediately charged them.
Capt. *Mageleeto* was kill'd, Capt. *Sebaſtian*
Santiz taken, and the *Spaniards* intirely de-
feated. The General took two *Spaniards*
with his own Hands. Capt. *Mageleeto* having
ſhot *Tooanohowi* in his Right Arm, as he
ruſh'd upon him, the latter drawing his Piſtol
with his Left Hand, ſhot him through the
Head. The General purſued the *Spaniards*
for near a Mile, and halted at an advanta-
gious Piece of Ground, till the Guard came
up, when he poſted the *Highlanders* on the
Right, and the Guard upon the Left of the
Road, concealed in a Wood, with a large Sa-
vannah or Meadow in their Front, over which
the *Spaniards* muſt paſs to come to *Frederica*.
After that he return'd, and order'd the Re-
giment, Rangers, and Companies of Boat-
men to march: Whilſt they were preparing,
we heard Platoons firing: The General im-
mediately got on Horſeback, and riding that
Way, met three Platoons on the Left com-
ing back in great Diſorder, who gave him an
Account, they had been broken by the *Spa-*
niards, who were extremely numerous; not-
withſtanding which he rallied them, and he
himſelf rode on, and to his great Satisfaction,
found that Lieut. *Sutherland*, and the Platoon
of the Regiment under his Command, and
Lieut. *Mackay* with the *Highlanders*, had in-
tirely defeated the Enemy, who conſiſted of
300 Men. Don *Antonio Barbara*, who com-
manded them, was made Priſoner, but mor-
tally wounded; they alſo took ſeveral of the
Grenadiers and the Drum. The General
then ordered all the Troops to march from

Frederica

Frederica to him, and as ſoon as they arrived, purſued the Enemy with them four Miles. In the two Actions there were one Captain, one Corporal, and 16 *Spaniards* taken, and about 150 killed: The reſt are diſperſed in the Woods; for the General halted all Night at a Paſs thro' the Marſhes, over which they muſt go in Return to their Camp, and thereby intercepted them. The *Indians* are out, hunting after them in the Woods, and every Hour bring in Scalps.

July 9. Before Day-break the General advanced with a Party of *Indians* to the *Spaniſh* Camp at St. *Simon's*, and found them all retired into the Ruins of the Fort, under the Cannon of their Men of War; upon which he return'd hither, and about the ſame Time a Party which he had drawn from Fort *William* arrived, notwithſtanding the *Spaniſh* Fleet lies between us to cut us off from that Place.

From the London Gazette.

South-Carolina, *July* 26. On *Saturday* News came, that on Sight only of the *Flamborough*, *Swift* and *Hawk* Men of War, and the *Beauford* Galley, which appear'd off the Bar of St. *Simon's* the 13th Inſtant, the *Spaniards* betook themſelves to their Veſſels with the utmoſt Confuſion, and left the General again Maſter of the Iſland.

Hague, *Oct.* 24. The following Letter has been handed about here for ſome Time, and Opinions are much divided about it: All, however, agree, that it is written with great Dignity and Spirit.

High and Mighty Lords,

I AM inform'd, that your High Mightineſſes, in your laſt Promotion made not long ago, have named me a Lieutenant General, after having often deliberated on this Subject, tho' to no Purpoſe, within theſe few Years, your Reſolutions being deferr'd, or ſuſpended at leaſt, for Reaſons well enough known to the World; and which, conſequently, could not be hid from me, even if I had had no direct Information from the Deputies of more than one Province, which compoſe your High Mightineſſes Aſſembly. After mature Deliberation, I am determined not to accept the Poſt your High Mightineſſes offer me, becauſe in 1727 it was judged inferior to the Dignity of Captain General of three Provinces, with which I have the Honour to be already inveſted.

All the World knows in what Light my Anceſtors, and the Princes of my Family, ſtood, who enjoy'd the Poſt of Captain General of the Provinces.

The Hiſtory of theſe Provinces, and the Regiſters of your High Mightineſſes atteſt this, and your High Mightineſſes cannot therefore be ignorant, that by excluding me from the Rank of General, you have made it impoſſible for me to ſerve in the combin[ed] Armies of the States, out of the Territor[y] of thoſe Provinces of which I have the H[o]nour to be Captain General, without ma[k]ing manifeſtly expoſing that Dignity to Contem[pt] which I hope, with the Divine Aſſiſtanc[e] to raiſe in Time to all its Rights, in Spite [of] the Endeavours of ſuch as from perſo[nal] Views are inclined to ſacrifice the Maje[ſty] and Prerogatives of their Provinces, by d[e]grading a Character, to the Pre-eminen[ce] and Luſtre of which they are bound in D[u]ty to contribute.

I ſhall not enter into a Detail of the oth[er] Motives, which have led me to that Reſo[lu]tion with which I have now the Honour to acquaint your High Mightineſſes.

The long Deliberations of your Hi[gh] Mightineſſes, on this Promotion, are ſuf[fi]cient to convince any Man, who judges wit[h]out Partiality, and who is apprized of t[he] true Cauſe of ſuch Delays, that at leaſt t[he] Reaſons alledged by ſuch as were for my E[le]ction, appear'd to be ſuch as merited t[he] moſt ſerious Attention.

I have been compell'd by Force to loſe [a] Part of my Eſtate, and to ſuffer the taki[ng] away from me a very conſiderable Part of t[he] Inheritance of my Anceſtors, notwithſtan[d]ing an Age and a half's uninterrupted Poſſ[e]ſſion. The Uſage I met with in the Buſi[ne]s of *Ter-Veere* and *Fluſhing*, the Interdict[s] the ordinary Methods of Juſtice, contrary [to] the ancient Privileges of the Provinces, a[s] againſt the fundamental Privileges of [the] Union, ought to have prepared me for [all] that has happen'd ſince.

But tho' I could not defend my Eſtates, [as] ſtill depends upon me, and my Inſtructi[on] make it my Duty, to preſerve the Hon[our] and Luſtre of my Charges, wherein the P[re]eminence and Liberties of thoſe Provi[nces] principally conſiſt, in whoſe Name I h[ave] the Honour to execute theſe Offices.

The great Number of Generals of a R[ank] ſuperior to that which your High Mightin[e]ſſes have aſſign'd me, as well as the Cl[aim] for compleating the Number, even fr[om] Strangers, in Caſe one or more of thoſe [I] you appointed ſhould refuſe to ſerve, ma[ke] ſufficiently known your firm Reſolution [to] poſtpone my Advancement, and leaves [me] very little Reaſon to hope that your H[igh] Mightineſſes, continuing theſe Sentime[nts] will either make uſe of my Services, or [put] it in my Power to be more uſeful to [you] hereafter, than I can be at preſent, and [all] it is that gives me the moſt Pain.

I moſt ſincerely wiſh, that the foreign [Of]ficers your High Mightineſſes ſhall take i[nto] your Service, as they will undoubtedly [ſur]paſs me in Capacity, may equal me alſo [in] my Love and Zeal for the State, for which I am always ready, according to the Exam[ple]

me by my Anceſtors, to ſacrifice the laſt
of my Blood, whenever its Circum-
ſhall require it.
Loo, Oct.
, 1742. *I am*, &c.
The Prince of Orange *and* Naſſau

Hiſtory of thoſe Queſtions in Parliament which have given Riſe to the Debates in the POLITICAL CLUB, *continued from Page 483 of the laſt Year's* MAGAZINE.

EC. 8th, 1740. A Motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, for having the eſtions given to Admiral *Haddock* laid re the Houſe; but after a long Debate, Queſtion was carried in the Negative by *Contents* to 41 *Contents*. This occa- a Debate in the *Political Club*, which, the Motion at Length, the Reader will in our *Magazine* for *December* laſt, and *Appendix* to our *Magazines* for laſt Year.
h. 24th, 1740-41. The Houſe of Com- being in a Committee on the Mutiny a Clauſe was offer'd for compelling Inn- &c. to furniſh Diet and Small Beer e Soldiers quartered upon them, as alſo and Straw for their Horſes, at the Rates aſcertained by the Act. Upon this was a long Debate for two Days, and it was agreed, to oblige them to fur- the Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer at ates preſcribed, or otherwiſe to furniſh with Small Beer and ſome other Neceſ- gratis, as may be ſeen in the Act. This Riſe to a Debate in the *Political Club*, the Reader will find in the ſaid *Ap-*, and in our *Magazines* for *January* ebruary laſt.
e have before given an Account of the in the Houſe of Lords, for removing bert *Walpole*, * and now we ſhall ob- that a Motion of the ſame Nature the ſame Day, made in the Houſe of mons; which, after a very long Debate, carried in the Negative by 290 *Noes* to dyes. This occaſioned a ſecond Day's upon the ſame Queſtion in the *Poli-* Club, which the Reader will find in our ines for *March* and *April* laſt.
the Bill for the Encouragement and In- of Seamen, and for the better and manning his Majeſty's Fleet, as it firſt brought in, there was a very ex- ary Clauſe for authoriſing a general Search for Seamen, in a more rigorous gerous Manner, than that now in uſe ieves and Vagabonds. Upon this Clauſe were ſeveral very warm Debates in the of Commons, and at laſt, this Clauſe ſeveral others were thrown out upon Report (which was made *March* 13th) a Diviſion, tho' every one of them had been agreed to by a Majority of the Committee. This gave Riſe to a Debate in the *Political Club*, which the Reader will find in our *Magazines* for *May* and *June* laſt.

* See Magazine *for laſt Year*, *p.* 547.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

JOSHUA *Iremonger*, Eſq; to Miſs *Delicia Fryer*, one of the Coheireſſes of the late Sir *John Fryer*, Lord Mayor of *London* in 1721.

Earl of *Dalkeith*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Buccleugh*, to the Lady *Mary Campbell*, Daughter of the Duke of *Argyll*.

Lord *Offulſtone*, Son of the Earl of *Tankerville*, to Miſs *Elizabeth Aſtley*, Daughter of Sir *John Aſtley*, Bart.

Penyſton Powney, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for *Berks*, to Miſs *Portlock* of *Bedfordſhire*.

Rev. Mr. *Berrow*, Curate of St. *Botolph Aldersgate*, to Miſs *Smith* of *Aldersgate-ſtreet*.

David Mallet, Eſq; Under Secretary to the Prince of *Wales*, to Miſs *Lucy Elſtob*.

Alexander Niſbet, Eſq; late of *South Carolina*, to Miſs *Molly Rutherford*, Daughter to Sir *John Rutherford*, Bart.

His Grace the Duke of *Montroſe*, to Miſs *Lucy Manners*, Daughter of her Grace the Ducheſs of *Rutland*.

The Lady of Sir *John Frederick*, Bart. delivered of a Daughter.

The Lady of —— *Bourk*, Eſq; Siſter to the Earl of *Clanrickard*, of a Son.

DEATHS.

ROBERT *Corbet*, Eſq; Receiver General for *Surrey*.

Mr. *Hinchliffe*, an eminent Bookſeller.

John Woolfe, Eſq; at his Seat near *Barnet*.

Richard Halford, Eſq; who formerly repreſented the County of *Rutland* in ſeveral Parliaments.

Peter Cartwright, Eſq; of *Low-Layton*.

Hon. *John Carter*, Eſq; in *Virginia*, one of his Majeſty's Council and Secretary of that Colony.

Sir *James Sinclair*, of *Dunbeath* in the County of *Caithneſs*, Bart.

Rev. Mr. *Robert Butts*, Rector of *Weſterfield* in *Suffolk*.

Counſellor *Agar*, one of the Benchers of the *Middle Temple*.

Thomas Thurwood, Eſq; at *Walthamſtow*.

Lord Viſc. *Villers*, Son and Heir Apparent to the Earl of *Jerſey*.

Nicholas Lepelle, Eſq; Lord Proprietor of *Sarke Iſland*.

Capt. *John Peddie*, Commander of the *Baſiliſk* Bomb at *Jamaica*. (See our *Mag.* for 1740, p. 557, 561.)

Dr. *John Blynman*, who was ſeveral Years Phyſician to the Czar *Peter* the Great.

Rev. *Thomas Thickneſſe*, M. A. Fellow of *King*'s College, *Cambridge*, and one of the Chaplains at *Whitehall*.

Edward Bracy, Eſq; a Gentleman of a conſiderable

conſiderable Fortune in *Barbadoes*, from which Iſland he lately arrived.

John Abraham Korten, Eſq; an eminent *Hamburgh* Merchant.

Rev. Mr. *Aſhworth*, an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter.

Sir *Abraham Elton*, Bart. Member of Parliament for *Briſtol*.

Arabella Lady *Adair*, in *Ireland*, Wife to Sir *Robert Adair* Knt.

Mr. *Robert Hume* of *Mile-End*, Father to *Alexander Hume*, Eſq; a Director of the *Eaſt-India* Company.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Hayter*, B. A. to the Rectory of *Chagford*, *Devon*. —— Mr. *Cowperthwaite*, to the Living of St. *Lawrence*. — Mr. *William Coulter*, to the Rectory of *Coſton* in *Leiceſterſhire*. — Mr. *John Rogers*, to that of *Broughton Gifford*, *Wilts*. — Mr. *Rich. Naiſh*, A. M. to that of *Batcombe-cum-Spargrove*. — The Moſt Rev. Dr. *John Hoadley*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, tranſlated to the Archbiſhoprick of *Ardmagh*, in the Room of Dr. *Hugh Boulter*, deceas'd. — The Rt. Rev. Dr. *Rundle*, Biſhop of *Derry*, tranſlated to the See of *Dublin*. — *John Sheningham*, M. A. preſented to the Vicarage of *Swillond* in *Suffolk*. —*Peter La Roque*, M. A. to that of *Friors Hardwick* in *Warwickſhire*. —*William Stephenſon*, M. A. to that of *Bapton* in *Weſtmoreland*. —*William Richardſon*, M. A. to that of *Dacre* in the ſame County. —*Timothy Dickenſon*, M. A. to that of *Grinton* in *Yorkſhire*. — Mr. *Burnaby*, to that of *Hanwell* in *Middleſex*, Dr. *Roper* having declined accepting it. — *Freind*, Son of Dr. *Freind*, made a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

MARQUESS of *Carnarvon* made Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*. —*Tho. Wynn*, of *Gwydir* in *Carnarvonſhire*, Eſq; made a Baronet of *Great Britain*. — Major Gen. *Tho. Howard* made Governor of *Berwick* and *Holy Iſland*. — *Thomas Corbet*, Eſq; Under Secretary to the Admiralty, made Chief Secretary, in the Room of *Joſiah Burchet*, Eſq; who reſigned after enjoying that Poſt upwards of 45 Years. —*John Wynyard*, Eſq; made Colonel of the Regiment of Foot, lately commanded by Lieut. Gen. *Tyrell*, deceaſed. —*Joſeph Sympſon*, Eſq; made Serjeant at Arms to wait on his Majeſty's Royal Perſon. — The Count de *Lippe*, a young *German* Nobleman, made an Enſign in the Firſt Reg. of Foot Guards.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

MICH. *Sidnell*, of *Briſtol*, Freemaſon and Stonecutter. —*Marmaduke Browne* of *Bedfordbury*, in the Pariſh of St. *Martin in the Fields*, Oilman. —*Edward Beſwick* of *Bridges-ſtreet*, *Covent-Garden*, Vintner. —*Samuel Roberts*, late of *Whitſtone*, *Middleſex*, Innholder. —*Sampſon Lycett*, late of *Bloomſbury ball-ſtreet*, Dealer. —*William Fitch*, late of *Rotbwell*, otherwiſe *Rowell*, in *Northamptonſhire*, Tallow-Chandler and Grocer. —*Tho. Cole*, late of *Rolls Buildings*, *Middleſex*, Scrivener and Broker. —*Matthias Jackſon*, of *Norton*, Beer-Brewer.

STOCKS.

S. Sea nothing	*African* 10
—*Ann.* 115 a $\frac{1}{8}$	*Royal Aſſ.* 84
Bank 140 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{3}{4}$	*Lon. ditto* 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
—*Circ.* 2*l* 17*s* 6*d*	3 *p. C. Ann.* 100 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
M. Bank 116	*Salt Tallies* 2*l* $\frac{3}{4}$
India 175	*Emp. Loan* 107 $\frac{1}{4}$
—*Bonds* 4*l* 9*s*	*Equiv.* 112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 34 11 2 a 35 2$\frac{1}{2}$	*Bilboa* 39 $\frac{1}{2}$
D. Sight 34 9 a 10	*Leghorn* 50 $\frac{1}{8}$
Rotter 35 2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	*Genoa* 54 $\frac{3}{16}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
Hamb. 33 6 a 5	*Venice* 51 $\frac{1}{4}$
Paris 31 $\frac{3}{4}$	*Lisbon* 5*s* 5*d* $\frac{3}{4}$
Bourdx. 31 $\frac{1}{2}$	*Porto* 5*s* 5*d* $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{3}{8}$
Cadiz 39 $\frac{1}{8}$	*Antw.* 35 2
Madrid 39 $\frac{1}{2}$	*Dublin* 9 a $\frac{1}{4}$

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	23	26 6	*Peaſe*	23	24 6
Rye	18	20	*H. Peaſe*	22	24 6
Barley	19	22	*H. Beans*	19	21 6
Oats	9	14 6	*B. Malt*	23	24 6
Tares	27	30	*P. Malt*	25	28

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Sept.* 21. to *Oct.*

Chriſtned	Males	699
	Females	663
Buried	Males	1029
	Females	1075

Died under 2 Years old

Between	2 and	5
	5	10
	10	20
	20	30
	30	40
	40	50
	50	60
	60	70
	70	80
	80	90
	90 and upwards	

Hay 65 to 66*s.* a Load.

HE Promotion of the Prince of *Orange* is like to become an Affair of a very Nature, and may be attended with quences few People dream of at pre- The States General, in their laſt Pro- of General Officers, nominated him e of the Lieutenant Generals of their ; but as they gave ſeveral other Lieu- Generals the Rank before him, ſo he cannot expect, in his Turn, ever to e one of their Chief Generals, he has el to accept of the Honour conferred him, and has wrote a very ſmart Let- their High Mightineſſes upon the Oc- (See p. 516.)

Hanoverian and *Heſſian* Troops a- ing to about 22,000 Men, arrived at ſh, ſoon after the Beginning of this h, and incamped in the Plain of *Dig-* where they ſtill remain; but there is from being any Appearance of a War nders this Year, that the *Auſtrian* Ga- in *Mons*, *Charleroy*, *Aeth* and *Dender-* who had Orders to march to join the and *Hanoverian* Troops, have received er Orders, and the ſix Battalions ted from the Gariſon of *Luxembourg*, it is ſaid, ordered to return to their

d in Confirmation of this, we have the ing Article from *Paris*, dated *October* O.S. The Court has received an Expreſs M. *Buſſy* with Advice, that the King eat *Britain*'s Voyage to *Flanders* is not laid aſide, but that the Meaſures con- for opening the Campaign with the of *Dunkirk* are quite broken; and as a quence thereof, the Men of War de- to be employed in that Expedition, are ed into Port.

ce our laſt we have the following Ac- from *Bohemia*, That the grand *Au-* Army having left *Prague*, marched the utmoſt Expedition to *Hayd*, where arrived the 11th of laſt Month, and ſoon after joined by the Army under t *Kevenhuller*. At that Camp they re- Advice, that the *French* Army com- by Marſhal *Maillebois* was within 3 Leagues of them, ſo that a Battle immediately expected; but the *French* al turned to the Left, and marched to- *Egra*, taking his Rout thro' a woody, tainous Country, where it was impoſſi- to force him to an Engagement. Upon Orders were ſent to General *Feſtititz* to but 4 or 5000 *Huſſars* in the Neigh- hood of *Prague*, to harraſs the *French* in City, and to advance towards *Pilſen* with reſt of his Troops. In the mean Time, grand Army moved after the *French*, and often ſo cloſe at their Heels, that there ſometimes nothing but a River between ; ſo that there were continual Skirmiſhes between Detachments from the two Armies. On the 22d Marſhal *Maillebois* received a Letter from Marſhal *Broglio* with an Account, that *Prague* was intirely free, and that the Gariſon had again poſſeſſed themſelves of *Melnick*, and ſome other Places in the Neighbourhood; and by another Letter, he had ſoon after an Account, that Marſhal *Broglio* had marched with 12,000 Men from *Prague*, and was arrived in the Circle of *Leutmaritz*, whereupon he decamped on the 24th in the Evening, marched all Night, and on the 26th arrived with his Army near *Egra*, from whence he marched to *Cbulm*, in order to facilitate his being joined by Marſhal *Broglio*: For preventing this, the *Auſtrian* Army marched as faſt as poſſible after the other, and at laſt arrived at *Saatz*, whereby it got between the two *French* Armies, and thereby rendered their Junction impracticable; ſo that *Maillebois* finding his Deſign defeated, returned with his Army towards *Egra*, and left his Friend *Broglio* to return to his old Poſt at *Prague*, if he could.

As the *French* found it practicable to prevent their being forced to a general Engagement in *Bohemia*, Marſhal *Seckendorff*, with all the *Bavarian* and a Detachment of *French* Troops, was ſent towards *Bavaria*, and having paſſed the *Danube* at *Keilheim*, about the Middle of laſt Month, he ſurpriſed the Fortreſs of *Landſhut* upon the 23d, and carried it Sword in Hand, the Gariſon being made Priſoners of War; after which he marched directly to *Munich*. As General *Berenclau* had not a ſufficient Army to oppoſe him, he retired from *Munich* upon the 24th at Night, and marched towards *Paſſau* with the Body of *Auſtrian* Troops under his Command, but took Care to carry almoſt every Thing that was valuable at *Munich* along with him. Marſhal *Seckendorff* took Poſſeſſion of *Munich* next Day, and then marched in Purſuit of the *Auſtrians*; but *Berenclau* took ſuch Care, that he ſuffered very little, beſides the Loſs of a few Waggons, in his Retreat; and probably Marſhal *Seckendorff* muſt ſoon retreat in his Turn; for before the End of the Month, Count *Kevenhuller* was ordered, with a large Detachment from the *Auſtrian* Army, to march into *Bavaria*, and as General *Berenclau* has ſince received ſeveral Reinforcements, the *Auſtrian* Army in that Electorate, will ſoon be again ſuperior to the *French* and *Bavarians* under Marſhal *Seckendorff*.

The Affairs of *Italy* have taken a new, tho' not an unexpected Turn, ſince our laſt. The King of *Sardinia* having, with about 16000 of his moſt choice Troops advanced into *Savoy*, and approached near to the *Spaniſh* Army under Don *Philip*, a few Skirmiſhes happened between ſmall Parties from the two Armies, in which the *Sardinian*

Troops had generally the Advantage, which convinced the *Spaniſh* Don and his Council of War, that it would not be ſafe for them to riſk a general Engagement, and therefore they retired out of *Savoy* with more Precipitation than they entered. Upon his *Sardinian* Majeſty's returning from the Eccleſiaſtical State, as mentioned in our laſt, the *Spaniſh* Army there reſumed their Courage, notwithſtanding their being forſaken by the *Neapolitan* Troops, in conſequence of a Treaty of Neutrality negotiated and concluded in a few Hours by our Commiſſioners *Martin*, and advanced back again as far as *St. Nicholas*, within ten Miles of *Bologna*, but upon Count *Traun*'s paſſing the *Po* in order to meet and give them Battle, they have likewiſe thought fit to retire.

The Monthly Catalogue *for* October, 1742.

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

§ 1. THE Hiſtory of the renown'd Don *Quixote de la Mancha*. Tranſlated by ſeveral Hands, and publiſh'd by the late Mr. *Motteux*. In 4 Vols. The 7th Edit. reviſed a-new by Mr. *Oſwll*, price 12*s*.

2. The Scribbleriad: Being an Epiſtle to the Dunces, on renewing their Attacks upon Mr. *Pope* under their Leader the Laureat. By *Scriblerus*. Printed for *W. Webb*, price 6*d*.

3. The Devil repriev'd from the Jaws of Death. Printed for *J. Hubbard*, price 6*d*.

4. Female Honour. Printed for *J. Huggonſon*, price 6*d*.

HISTORICAL *and* MISCELLANEOUS.

5. The Hiſtorical Companion: Being a new Introduction to the political Hiſtory of all Nations; treating of the four Monarchies in their proper Orders; as alſo of the Governments and Revolutions of States, and the ſeveral Succeſſions, Marriages, Claims, Alliances, Wars, and Treaties of Peace; together with all ſuch Occurrences as have been any Ways remarkable in all the Courts of *Europe*; from the earlieſt Ages to this preſent Time. Written originally in *High Dutch*, by Mr. *John Hubner*, and now faithfully tranſlated into *Engliſh*. Printed for *T. Cox*, price 2*s*.

6. A Collection of Parliamentary Debates in *England*, from the Year 1668 to the preſent Time, with very large Additions, not in the *Dublin* Edition; with a complete Index to all the Volumes, which finiſhes the Work to the End of the laſt Parliament. Vol. 18, 19, 20 and 21. Printed for *J. Torbuck*, pr. 5*s*. each Vol. Where may be had the former Volumes.

* 7. The *London* and Country Brewer. In 4 Parts. The 4th Edit. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, price 4*s*. ſtitch'd, or 5*s*. bound. *N. B.* Thoſe who have the 1ſt Part, may have the 2d, 3d and 4th Parts, at 2*s*. each.

8. The Univerſal Maſquerade. By *O. Sedgwick*. Printed for *J. Huggonſon*, price 5*s*.

9. Moral Entertainments on the moſt important Points of the Chriſtian Religion. By *R. Manning*. Printed for *J. Robinſon* and *J. Pemberton*, price 9*s*.

10. *Rollin*'s *Roman* Hiſtory. Vol. 7. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 5*s*.

PHYSICK *and* SCIENCE.

11. An Inquiry into the Contents of Medicinal Virtues of *Lincomb Spaw* Water near *Bath*. By *W. Hillary*, M. D. Printed for *J. Leake* and *C. Hitch*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

12. A Propoſal for diſcovering our Longitude. By Mrs. *Jane Squire*. Printed for *Vaillant*, price 7*s*.

13. Navigation unveil'd. By *E. Hauſ*. Illuſtrated with Copper Plates. In 2 Vols. 8vo. Sold by *J. Hodges*, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

14. The Theory of working of Ships applied to Practice. From the *French* of Mr. *Pitot*. Printed for *C. Davis*, price 5*s*.

SERMONS.

15. A Sermon preach'd at *Gloueſter* the Anniverſary Meeting of the Choirs. By *W. Taſwel*, M. A. Printed for *C. Hitch*, pr.

16. An Ordination Sermon preach'd at St. *Ives*. By *D. Jennings*; with a Charge by Dr. *Doddridge*. Printed for *J. Brafſtone*, price 1*s*.

THEOLOGICAL.

17. Mr. *Stackhouſe*'s Body of Divinity Numb. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*. each.

18. The Divine Inſtructor. Printed for *Cooper*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

* 19. The Works of *W. Chillingworth*, M. A. The 10th Edit. with the Author's Life and Letters now firſt added. Fol. pr.

20. A Sling and a Stone; or, the Sword of the Lord and of *Gideon*. By *J. Toy*. Sold by *J. Clarke* in *Duck-Lane*, pr. 1*s*. 6*d*.

21. Believers Baptiſm vindicated. Printed for *J. Hodges*, price 6*d*.

22. A farther Defence of Infant Baptiſm. Printed for *J. Brackſtone*, price 4*d*.

23. The Life of *Dan. Herley*, a poor Iriſh Peaſant, price 3*d*.

24. A Diſcourſe of Confirmation, pr. 2*d*.

25. Sober Thoughts for the Cure of Melancholy, price 2*d*. The 3 laſt by the late Abp. *Synge*, and printed for *T. Trye*.

26. A ſhort Abſtract of experimental Religion. By *Jaſper Charlton*. Printed for *J. Robinſon*, price 6*d*.

THE
LONDON MAGAZINE.
NOVEMBER, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 488.

Speech of L. Æmilius Paullus *continued from our laſt.*

THO' *France* had guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction* in the moſt A ſolemn Manner, yet few People imagined, ſhe would obſerve that engagement, in caſe an Opportunity ſhould offer for breaking it, and nothing could afford ſo good an Opportunity as a Contention among B the Princes of *Germany* themſelves. She not having taken any Care to prevent this Contention, before we had guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction* was, as I have ſaid, a moſt egregious Blunder, occaſioned by a former Blunder of the ſame Sort. Did our C Miniſter ever give himſelf the leaſt Trouble about remedying this Blunder? The preſent King of *Pruſſia*, ſoon after his Father's Death, ſhewed, he was not a Prince of a Temper to neglect aſſerting the Rights of his Houſe as ſoon as an Opportunity offered. This ſhould have made D us apply in the moſt ſerious, and even the moſt peremptory Manner, to the Court of *Vienna*, for accommodating all Differences between them and *Pruſſia*; and in order to prevail on the latter to give Ear to reaſonable Terms, we ſhould have taken Care to reſtore a good Harmony between us and *Pruſſia*. The Conſequence of this Neglect, which could not but be foreſeen, was, the King of *Pruſſia*'s invading *Sileſia*, as ſoon as he heard of the *Emperor*'s Death.

This, my Lords, gave *France* a View of that Opportunity ſhe had long wiſhed for, I mean that of reducing the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but this View was at firſt very uncertain, becauſe, tho' the King of *Pruſſia* had invaded *Sileſia*, he had not entered into any Concert with the *French*, or with any of the Princes of *Germany*, for defeating the *Pragmatick Sanction*, but had, on the contrary, declared, that if the Queen of *Hungary* would do him Juſtice, with regard to his Claims in *Sileſia*, which had nothing to do with the *Pragmatick Sanction*, he would

would ſupport her againſt all ſuch as ſhould attempt to overthrow that Settlement. Therefore, in order to render this View more certain, by bringing the King of *Pruſſia* into their Meaſures, it became neceſſary for the *French* to render the Court of *Vienna* obſtinate, and the Court of *Pruſſia* deſperate. The former they effected by ſtrong Aſſeverations, that they would abide by their Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and the latter they effected by getting us to declare almoſt openly againſt the King of *Pruſſia*, tho' this Nation had nothing to do with the Diſpute, nor was any Way engaged, either in Intereſt, or by Treaty, to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary* againſt the King of *Pruſſia*. By our thus declaring ourſelves, the Court of *Vienna* were confirmed in their Obſtinacy, and the Court of *Pruſſia* ſaw, they could obtain Juſtice no other Way than by entering into the Views of *France*, both with regard to the Election of an *Emperor*, and with regard to the *Pragmatick Sanction*.

Thus, my Lords, the preſent War in *Germany*, and the Danger which the Balance of Power now lies expoſed to, may be juſtly imputed to our Miniſter's having been the Dupe or the Tool of *France* in every Part of his Conduct; for if we had plainly told the Queen of *Hungary*, that we ſhould give her no Aſſiſtance unleſs ſhe made it up with *Pruſſia*, it would have ſoftned the Court of *Vienna* with reſpect to the Demands of *Pruſſia*; and as the King of *Pruſſia* has more Reaſon to be jealous of the Power of *France* than we have, this very Conſideration would have prevented his inſiſting upon any unjuſt Demand, and he would with Pleaſure have reconciled himſelf with the *Britiſh* Court, if he had found the *Britiſh* Miniſter ſupporting, and inſiſting upon his juſt Demands at the Court of *Vienna*. By theſe Means the King of *Pr* might have been made one of moſt zealous Supporters of the *P matick Sanction*; and if this had b the Caſe, I am convinced, *Frenchman* would have entered, a hoſtile Manner, into the Em of *Germany*, nor would any Pri in *Germany* have diſputed, in a tile Manner, the Validity of *Pragmatick Sanction*. The D would not ſo much as have fered a Neutrality to be mentio to them, nor would ſuch a ſca lous Treaty have been begge *Verſailles*, with regard to the E torate of *Hanover*.

What I have ſaid, my Lords, ſhew, what Character we may poſe our Miniſter to have at for Courts, with regard to his Skil Negotiation; and with regard t Skill in the Conduct of a Wa am convinced, his Character be equally bad. The two Ends we had to purſue in our with *Spain*, were, to procure S faction for paſt Injuries, and Security againſt future; and a War, while it laſts, muſt be ſtructive to our Trade, it was tainly our Buſineſs to puſh it the utmoſt Vigour, in order to an End to it with the utmoſt patch. Have we, ever ſince War began, made one right for accompliſhing either of Ends? As the *Spaniards* hav Trade, we knew we could no treſs them much at Sea, and t fore it was our Buſineſs to a them at Land, both in *Europe* *America*, with this Difference, in *Europe* we ought to have att without any Deſign to hold, w as in *America*, we ought to hav tacked no where but with a D to hold, at leaſt, during the nuance of the War; and a ſame Time, we ought to hav ken the utmoſt Care of our T in order to prevent their m

Advantage by Privateering, which was the only Method by which they could propoſe to hurt us, or to reap any Benefit to themſelves. Has not our Conduct been directly contrary in every one of theſe Particulars? We have neglected our Trade in the moſt ſhameful Manner, by which the Enemy have made ſuch Advantages, as muſt encourage rather than diſcourage them from continuing the War: We have not ſo much as attempted to make an Attack upon them at Land, in any of their Dominions in *Europe*; and with regard to *America*, it is certain, we have as yet made no Attack, unleſs it was upon *St. Auguſtine*, with a Deſign to hold what we conquered; for we could have no Deſign to hold *Porto Bello* or *Chagra*, becauſe our Admiral was not provided with any proper Force for that Purpoſe; and it would have been ridiculous in us to have thought of holding *Cartagena*, ſuppoſe we had conquered it, becauſe of the Unhealthineſs of the Climate, and becauſe of the little Advantage it would have been of to us, either in Time of War or in Time of Peace.

It is therefore impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that any Court in *Europe* can have a good Opinion of our Miniſter's Skill in the conducting of a War; and, indeed, if we conſider the Intereſt of *France*, with relation to the Diſputes between us and *Spain*, we muſt ſuppoſe, that in our pacifick Negotiations, as well as our warlike Exploits, our Miniſter's Conduct has been directed by the Court of *France*. When *Spain* firſt ſet up the Pretence of a Right to ſearch and ſeize our Ships, on Account of their having contraband Goods on board, it was the Intereſt of this Nation to put an immediate Stop to this Pretence, either by an explicit Treaty or a vigorous War; becauſe while this pretended Right was allowed to ſubſiſt, and to be exerciſed, it could not but be a great Interruption to our *American* Trade; and for this very Reaſon it was the Intereſt of *France* to prevent this Point's being cleared up, or brought to any expreſs Determination. This Pretence was ſet up by the *Spaniards*, immediately after our Treaty with them in the Year 1721. They found us in ſuch a yielding Humour at that Time, that they thought we would yield any Thing rather than renew the War. Accordingly they then began to exerciſe this Right, and in 1726 they expreſsly claimed it; and ſo obſervant has our Miniſter been of the Intereſt of *France*, that tho' our Trade ſuffered daily by the Exerciſe of this Right, yet he continued negotiating about it till the Year 1739, and would, I believe, have continued till this Time, if the Spirit of the Nation had not forced him into a War.

The War being thus, my Lords, begun, it was the Intereſt of this Nation to put an End to it, by a vigorous Proſecution, with the utmoſt Diſpatch, and this we had it in our Power to do, if we had proſecuted it either with Wiſdom or Spirit: On the contrary, it was the Intereſt of *France* to have this War proſecuted in ſuch a Manner as might make it of the longeſt Continuance; becauſe while it laſts, it muſt neceſſarily be a great Interruption to our Trade, and a great Encouragement to the Trade of *France*. From what I have before ſaid it will appear, that our Miniſter has hitherto proſecuted the War in that Manner which is moſt agreeable to the Views of *France*; and thus, with regard to the Diſputes between *Spain* and us, both before and ſince the War began, it will appear, that our Miniſter has, in this as well as every other Part of his Conduct, been the Dupe or the Tool of the Court of *France*.

This, my Lords, muſt be his Character at every Court in *Europe*, and can we ſuppoſe, that any of them will join with us in Meaſures for ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary*, and oppoſing the ambitious Views of *France*, if they imagine, that our Councils are to continue under the Direction or Influence of ſuch a Miniſter? We ought therefore to take the firſt Opportunity for convincing all the Powers of *Europe*, that our Councils will no longer be left under the Direction of ſuch a Miniſter. This alone can give Weight to his Majeſty's Negotiations: This alone can give Apprehenſions to the Courts of *France* and *Spain*. Our Neighbour's, our beſt Friend's Houſe is already on Fire: We have no Occaſion to inquire, who ſet it on Fire: We know who has had the chief Hand in ſetting it on Fire; and ſhall we employ the very Man to extinguiſh the Flames, who has had the chief Hand in raiſing the Combuſtion?

I am really ſurpriſed to hear noble Lords talk of the Diviſions, Heats and Animoſities that have been, or may be raiſed among us, as if they had given, or could give any Hopes to our Enemies, or Fears to our Friends. Have not all our late Diviſions, Heats and Animoſities, proceeded from the weak or wicked Meaſures purſued by this very Miniſter? Would not then the removing of him be the moſt proper Method for putting an End to all our Diviſions, Heats and Animoſities? Could the *Spaniards* hope for a ſlack Proſecution of the War, if the Spirit of the Nation were allowed to prevail in our Councils? Could the *French* hope for being allowed to purſue their ambitious Schemes without Diſturbance, if the Spirit of the Nation were allowed to prevail in our Councils? What has the Queen of *Hungary* or her Friends ſo much to fear, as the Councils of this Nation being [illegible] left under the Direction of the M[illegible] who long ſince declared, that [illegible] Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* ou[illegible] to be reduced, and who ente[illegible] into an Alliance with *France* for t[illegible] very Purpoſe? My Lords, the Ho[illegible] of our Enemies, and the Fears [illegible] our Friends, depend upon this M[illegible] niſter's having the ſame Influe[illegible] over this Parliament as he had o[illegible] the laſt, and if we intend to diſ[illegible] point the former, or remove the l[illegible] ter, we muſt diſagree to the Addr[illegible] propoſed, and return to our anti[illegible] Method of addreſſing. This will [illegible] a Proof, that the baneful Influe[illegible] which has brought the Liberties [illegible] *Europe* into ſo much Danger, a[illegible] the Houſe of *Auſtria* into ſo mu[illegible] Diſtreſs, is now at an End; and t[illegible] will make our Enemies give o[illegible] their ambitious Projects, or anim[illegible] our Friends to join with us in [illegible] feating them.

Our Club having ſeen a Liſt of [illegible] Letters and other Papers laid be[illegible] Parliament on Monday *the* 18*th*, [illegible] Wedneſday *the* 20*th of* January, [illegible] *ſome Gentlemen being of Opinion, t[illegible] the Contents of thoſe Letters and P[illegible] pers ought to be particularly exami[illegible] into, it was reſolved to make this [illegible] Subject of a Debate in our Club, [illegible] in order thereunto,* M. Cato *ſtood [illegible] and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows,* vi[illegible]

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

I HAVE always thought, t[illegible] when Papers of State are cal[illegible] for by this Houſe, as well as wh[illegible] ſuch Papers are laid before us wi[illegible] out being called for, it ſhould [illegible] with ſome Sort of View or Deſi[illegible] We know very well, that wh[illegible] Treaties, Eſtimates or Accounts [illegible] laid before us without being cal[illegible] for, it is generally with a Deſign [illegible] demand a Sum of Money, or V[illegible] of Credit, and ſuch Demands h[illegible]

Years been uſually compli-
ith, I believe, by moſt Mem-
of this Houſe, without ſo much
king at any one of the Papers
imates, which were laid before
the Foundation of that De-
. This Practice, Sir, muſt be
ed to be a little extraordinary;
ur late Practice, with regard to
Papers that are expreſsly called
has been much more ſurpriſing;
ſore the Papers called for have
laid before us, they have been
rd to lie upon the Table, and
they have generally lain, with-
he leaſt Examination, as if we
had no View in calling for
, but that of increaſing the
of our Votes by long Liſts of
rs, Inſtructions and Memorials.
rience has ſhewn, that when
Papers are ordered to lie upon
Table for the Peruſal of the
bers, they are ſeldom peruſed
Attention by any, and when
are peruſed ſeparately and di-
y by a few particular Mem-
none of them have Authority
gh to prevail with the Houſe
ter into a ſtrict Inquiry, or to
into Conſideration the Errors,
kes or Blunders, they may from
Papers have diſcovered.

r this Reaſon, Sir, and that
Nation may ſee we do not put
Adminiſtration to the Trouble
Expence of laying Piles of State
n before us, without any View
ſign, either for the Service or
faction of the Publick, I think,
we call for any Papers of Im-
nce, and they are accordingly
before us, they ought of courſe
laid before a ſelect Committee,
they may examine them ſtrict-
nd report their Remarks, Ob-
ions, or Objections, to the
e; for the Examination of ſuch
mittee muſt always be more
and full, and their Report
have more Weight, than the
ination or Report of any ſingle
Member, who peruſes the Papers upon our Table, without any Direction or Authority from the Houſe.

When I argue in this Manner, Sir, I hope no Gentleman will think, that I am arguing againſt this or any other Adminiſtration; for a wiſe and juſt Adminiſtration will always be glad to have its Conduct inquired into in the moſt ſtrict, regular, and authentick Method; and if the Adminiſtration be weak or wicked, it is then the Duty of Parliament to take that Method, which is the moſt regular, and the moſt proper for reſcuing the Nation out of the Hands of ſuch an Adminiſtration; therefore every Gentleman muſt, with me, ſuppoſe one of theſe two Things: Either, that the Doctrine I have advanced will be approved by thoſe who have the Honour of being our preſent Miniſters, or that their oppoſing it ought to be a prevailing Argument with every independent Member of this Houſe for agreeing to it; and conſequently, I muſt look upon it as an eſtabliſhed Maxim, that all the Papers which are laid before this Houſe, and deemed to be of great Importance, ought to be referred the the Conſideration of a ſelect Committee.

This, Sir, is a Maxim which will hold good at all Times, and in all Circumſtances; but when the Nation finds itſelf involved in great Difficulties, when our Affairs both abroad and at home are apparently in great Diſtreſs, and when a general Suſpicion prevails againſt the Conduct of our Adminiſtration, this Maxim ought not only to be approved, but in every Inſtance, without Heſitation, purſued; and that this is our Caſe at preſent, I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate. With regard to our Trade and Manufactures, they have been upon the Decay for ſeveral Years: Every Man is now ſenſible of this Decay, and every Man is now convinced, that

it is owing to the Taxes we have upon the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life. By theſe Taxes the Subſiſtence of poor Labourers and Manufacturers is rendered more expenſive in this than in any foreign Country, which of courſe renders it impoſſible for them to work ſo cheap, and this muſt neceſſarily make our Manufactures come dearer to foreign Markets than the Manufactures of any other Country. This has gradually diminiſhed the Quantity of our Exports to all Parts of the World, except to our own Plantations, and muſt, at laſt, put an entire Stop to our exporting any one Sort of Manufacture; for other Nations will by Degrees fall into the Method of rivalling us in every Sort, and as faſt as they do, our Export of that Sort of Manufacture muſt ceaſe.

We may talk, Sir, againſt the Exportation of our Wool, and buſy ourſelves in forming Schemes for preventing it; but unleſs we can, by aboliſhing many of our Taxes, enable our Poor to work as cheap as the Poor in other Countries do, it will be impoſſible for us to prevent it, any other Way than by diminiſhing our Produce; for if we can work up none of our Wool, but barely what is neceſſary for home Conſumpt, and if a greater Quantity be produced than what is neceſſary for this Demand, the Surplus muſt be exported, or it muſt rot upon the Hands of the Owners, which would render it impoſſible for many of our Farmers to pay their Rents, and this might, in a little Time, make the Cry as loud for the Exportation of our Wool, as it is now againſt it.

The bad Effects of our Taxes, and the great Decreaſe in the Export of our Manufactures, were moſt ſenſibly felt, Sir, before the breaking out of our preſent War with *Spain*, but they then began to be more ſenſibly felt than ever, be that War put an entire Stop Exportation of any Manufactu *Spain*, and made it more dan to export them any where elſe, of courſe inhanced the Price, conſequently, diminiſhed the at every other foreign Market. at once threw Numbers of our Labourers and Manufacturers their uſual Way of ſubſiſting brought them and their Fa upon their reſpective Pariſhes, has, in many Pariſhes, raiſe Poors Rates to a Height never before in this, nor, I belie any other Kingdom.

This, Sir, is the preſent rate State of our Trade, and only knows when, or if ev ſhall recover; but this is fa being the only dire Effect long Continuance of our many Taxes. Our People bore wi tience the Loads they groan as long as they had any Ho ſeeing our Debts paid off, a Taxes aboliſhed; but they ha loſt all Hopes, and this cre general Uneaſineſs, which, ſpeedily removed, muſt end Subverſion of our Liberties, perhaps, the Overthrow of o ſent happy Eſtabliſhment. unhappy State had been the ſary Conſequence of a long a avoidable War: If by the e dinary Expence we have p ſelves to for twenty Years p Balance of Power in *Europe* ha ſettled upon a ſolid Foundati we had eſtabliſhed ſuch a dence among our Allies, a a Reſpect at all the Courts *rope*, as to prevent any one o from daring to inſult or inj the People would have ha Conſolation, and would ſtill h Reaſon to hope, that, at might have been able to ha off our Debts, and aboliſhe of our Taxes. But can this

the Caſe? We have been en- in no War: We have had no ſion to put ourſelves to any ex- dinary Expence; for I will ven- to ſay, that if we had not for twenty Years paſt ſent one Mi- or Courier abroad, nor kept marching Regiment on foot at , the Balance of Power would been more ſecure than it is at nt, and we ſhould have been confided in by our Friends, more dreaded by our Enemies, we are at this Time, or have at any Time within that Pe-

is ſomething ſurpriſing, Sir, it is what the whole Nation is convinced of, that every ex- dinary Article of Expence we put ourſelves to for twenty paſt, every Negotiation we entered into, and every Treaty have concluded, has contributed nbroil more and more our Af- , both at home and abroad, and nder the Balance of Power in more precarious than it was . By this Conduct, Sir, we ſt found ourſelves involved in an War with *Spain*, and threat- ind dictated to by *France*, with- one Ally to aſſiſt us, and without Fund for carrying on the War, pt an additional *two Shillings* Land; for we can no more call Sinking Fund a Fund for carry- on a War, than we can call the s appropriated to the Payment he Intereſt growing due to our ick Creditors a Fund for that poſe; becauſe the Sinking Fund as ſolemnly, as legally, and as entically appropriated to the ment of their Principal, as ever other was to the Payment of Intereſt.

these Circumſtances we were, nay, I may ſay, in worſe, when late Emperor died; for *France*, ſending her Squadrons to the *Indies*, and the Manifeſto ſhe publiſhed upon that Occaſion, had in ſome Meaſure openly declared againſt us; and conſidering what little Succeſs we have had againſt *Spain* alone, what Succeſs could we have expected againſt *France* and *Spain* united together againſt us? From this immediate Danger we were ſet free by the Accident of the *Emperor*'s Death; for *France* then foreſaw ſhe might have a better Game to play, and was therefore willing to keep fair with this Nation for a Time; but how were we ſet free, Sir, from this immediate Danger? Sir, by the Balance of Power's being brought into the moſt imminent and in all human Probability, the moſt unavoidable Danger; for, in my Opinion, nothing leſs then a Miracle has hitherto prevented the utter Ruin of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, conſidering the many Powers which *France* has found Means to unite againſt it, and the little Aſſiſtance it has received from thoſe who were both in Honour and Intereſt obliged to ſupport it. This, Sir, I ſay, has for a Time prevented our having *France* avowedly united with *Spain* in the preſent War againſt us. If the *Emperor* had lived, we ſhould probably, before now, have been obliged to ſubmit to ſuch Terms of Peace with *Spain*, as *France* pleaſed to preſcribe, or we ſhould have been now ſtanding ſingle, and alone, againſt the joint Force of the two powerful Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*; for conſidering how we had deſerted the *Emperor* in the Year 1733, he would probably have rejoiced at our Diſtreſs; conſidering how we have treated the King of *Pruſſia* for ſeveral Years paſt, he would certainly have refuſed to give us any Aſſiſtance; and the *Dutch* durſt not have ventured to have joined us, without a powerful Confederacy in *Germany*. By good Conduct, and the Aſſiſtance of Providence, we might, perhaps, by ourſelves,

ſelves, have been able to have ſupported ſuch a War, eſpecially if we had by our former Œconomy paid off our Debts, and freed our publick Revenue from Mortgage. We might have carried it on with Glory, and ended it with Honour; but conſidering what a powerful Navy *France* might have fitted out, if ſhe had no Way been obliged to divert her Strength by a Land War, and conſidering how we ſhould have been obliged to divide our Naval Force, for the Protection of our Trade in every Part of the World, and for the Defence of our Dominions in the *Mediterranean*, and in *America*, as well as at home, it muſt be allowed, that ſuch a War, ſuppoſing the beſt Conduct on our Side, would have been extremely heavy and dangerous; and if it had been left to the Management of thoſe, who have hitherto managed with ſo little Succeſs our War againſt *Spain* alone, we ſhould certainly, before this Time, have been undone.

From hence we may ſee, Sir, that tho' the *Emperor*'s Death, at the Time it happened, was unlucky for *Europe*, and may, at laſt, prove unlucky for this Nation, yet it ſuſpended, or put off for a Time, the imminent Danger we were then expoſed to; but are we now free from this Danger? Does not every Man of common Penetration foreſee, that if *France* be allowed to ſettle the Affairs of *Germany* to her own liking, this Danger will recur upon us with redoubled Force? She may then dictate to moſt of the other States of *Europe*: She may compel thoſe that formerly would have remained neuter, to join with *Spain* and her againſt us; and thus, unleſs we ſubmit to whatever *France* ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe, we ſhall have not only *France*, but moſt of the States of *Europe*, united with *Spain* in a War againſt us. Such a War it would be impoſſible for us to ſupport. We ſhould then have no alternative: We muſt ſubmit; and in ſuch a Caſe, who can tell what Terms of Submiſſion *France* might require?

This, Sir, is a moſt diſagreeable a moſt melancholy Proſpect, and becomes the more ſo when we conſider, that in the preſent diſtreſſed Condition of this Nation, and the diſtreſſed State of *Europe*, it is hardly poſſible to prevent the Danger, or to diſperſe the Cloud that hangs over us; for unleſs we can break that Confederacy which *France*, by our Blunders, found Means to form againſt the Queen of *Hungary*, I am afraid, it will be impoſſible for us to form any counter Confederacy; and conſidering the prodigious Load of Debt we groan under, and the general Uneaſineſs thereby occaſioned, it will be impoſſible for us to afford ſuch a powerful Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*, as may enable her to make Head againſt ſuch a mighty Confederacy. Sir, I hope, I have demonſtrated that at preſent we labour under great Difficulties, and that our Affairs are in the utmoſt Diſtreſs both abroad and at home. This of itſelf is ſufficient for raiſing a general Suſpicion againſt the Conduct of our Miniſters. From the many expenſive Negotiations we have of late Years carried on: From the many expenſive and unprofitable Treaties we have concluded: From the vaſt Expence we have put ourſelves to for giving Weight to thoſe Negotiations, or for enforcing the Obſervance of thoſe Treaties, the People of this Nation expected, that the Liberties of *Europe* would have been by this Time ſecured, beyond the Poſſibility of being attacked, and the Trade and Navigation of our Kingdom ſecured beyond a Poſſibility of being interrupted; and conſequently, that from this Time we might have diſbanded our

…, laid up our Squadrons, dis… our foreign Auxiliaries, and …ied ourſelves ſincerely and effec… …y to the paying off our Debts, …aboliſhing our Taxes. This, I …, the People expected: This they …Reaſon to expect; and now …en they find themſelves diſap… …ted in every one of theſe Parti… …rs, they cannot but ſuſpect, they …moſt generally, and moſt vio… …ly ſuſpect, both the Wiſdom and …egrity of thoſe who, for ſo many …rs, have had the Direction of …publick Affairs, and who have …er been refuſed any Sum they …ught neceſſary for ſecuring the …ceſs of their Meaſures.

The Difficulties we labour under, …Diſtreſſes we are drove to, and …Danger to which the Liberties …*Europe*, and, conſequently, the …erties of this Nation, now lie …oſed, may be owing to Cauſes of …different Nature. They may be …ing, Sir, to the Folly or Ambi… …of foreign Courts, or to Events …t could not be foreſeen or pro… …ed againſt: It may appear, that …Miniſters have done all that hu… …n Wiſdom could direct, for pre… …ting theſe fatal Effects; but the …ſent Face of Affairs, both at …me and abroad, affords ſuch a …ng Preſumption againſt them, …t it is become the Duty of Par…ment to make an Inquiry into …ir Conduct. If they are conſci… …of no Neglect, Weakneſs, or …me, they will promote that In…y, they will aſſiſt us in every …g that is neceſſary for making …Inquiry ſatisfactory to the Na… …If they behave otherwiſe, it …add Strength to the Preſump… …againſt them, and conſequent… …ought to make us more zealous …performing our Duty to our Coun…

Thus, Sir, if at all Times, it …ght to be look'd on as a Maxim, …t all ſuch Papers of Moment as are laid before this Houſe, ought to be referred to a Select Committee, this Maxim ought, in our preſent Circumſtances, to be moſt religiouſly obſerved, and therefore, I ſhall conclude with moving, 'That 'the ſeveral Papers preſented to this 'Houſe on *Monday* laſt, and, likewiſe, the ſeveral Papers preſented 'to the Houſe *Yeſterday*, by Mr. '*Comptroller*, be referred to a Select 'Committee; and that they do ex'amine the ſame, and report to the 'Houſe, what they find material 'in them.'

This Motion being ſeconded, Servilius Priſcus *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

IF a parliamentary Inquiry into our paſt Conduct could be carried on without any Interruption or Prejudice to our future, no Man ſhould be more ready than I to agree to it: No Man ſhould be more zealous in promoting it; becauſe I am convinced, it would terminate in a full Juſtification of thoſe lately concerned in our Adminiſtration, againſt all the Aſperſions and Calumnies that have been caſt upon their Conduct. But a parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of Miniſters always has been, and always muſt be attended with great Warmth; for the moſt innocent Miniſter will always have a Party in Parliament zealous to condemn, and the moſt guilty will generally have a Party zealous to acquit. This of courſe raiſes a Warmth within Doors, and this Warmth within Doors will always occaſion Heats and Animoſities without, which may riſe to ſuch a Height as to break out in a Civil War. Of this we had ſuch a late Inſtance, that it can eſcape the Notice of no Gentleman in this Houſe. I believe, few Gentlemen will

will now pretend to juſtify the Conduct of thoſe, who were our Miniſters during the laſt four Years of Queen *Anne*: I believe, moſt Gentlemen are now convinced, they were guilty of very high Crimes and Miſdemeanors; and yet, we all know, a parliamentary Inquiry into their Conduct, was the Occaſion of a Civil War in the Kingdom, which might have been fatal to us, if we had at that Time been engaged in a foreign War, or if *Europe* had been in ſuch a Situation as it is in at preſent.

I had then, Sir, the Honour to be a Member of this Houſe, and I was zealous for the Inquiry then ſet on Foot, becauſe I thought the Miniſters guilty, and becauſe I thought we had then an Opportunity to inquire into their Conduct, without expoſing the Nation to any foreign Danger. But for as much as I was convinced of the Miſconduct of thoſe Miniſters, if the Nation had been at that Time involved in a dangerous foreign War, or if the Liberties of *Europe* had been as much in Danger as they are at preſent, I ſhould have been for ſuſpending our Reſentment againſt the Guilty, till we had fully provided for the Safety of the Innocent; and the Event ſhewed, that this Sort of Conduct would have been the moſt prudent.

This ought always, in my Opinion, to be a Rule for our Conduct, even when we are convinced that Miniſters are criminal, or have been guilty of ſome Piece of Miſconduct: How much more ought it to be a Rule for our Conduct, when we are convinced of their Innocence, or have but a bare Suſpicion of their Guilt. When a parliamentary Inquiry is ſet up, Innocence may be a Safeguard, but it is far from being a Safeguard in which a Miniſter can ſecurely and quietly put his Truſt. He muſt not ſit with his Arms acroſs, and truſt to the Honeſty of his Proſecutors and Impartiality of Judges. He muſt be watchful that no falſe Evidence ſhall be brought or given againſt him, and diligent and expeditious in detecting and expoſing it when it is. He muſt take Care to make his Innocence appear in every Inſtance where it is attacked, and for this Purpoſe he muſt very probably be obliged to diſcover Secrets which may be of great Prejudice to the Nation. At the ſame Time, he muſt in every Step be watchful, leſt any Point ſhould be carried againſt him by a factious Cabal, and for this Purpoſe he muſt diligently and earneſtly ſollicit the Attendance of all his Friends. These Conſiderations, Sir, muſt ſhew, that during ſuch an Inquiry, no Adminiſtration can have Leiſure to mind the publick Buſineſs as they ought; and beſides, the Neceſſity Miniſters are in ſuch Caſes reduced to, of divulging the Secrets of Government in order to juſtify their Conduct, may be of infinite and irreparable Prejudice to the Publick; therefore, I think, we ought to lay down as a Rule for our Conduct, never to conſent to a parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of an Adminiſtration, unleſs we be convinced, that ſome of thoſe concerned have been guilty of very great Crimes or Miſdemeanors.

A common Rumour, or a general Suſpicion, however general, can be no ſufficient Ground for ſetting on ſuch an Inquiry; becauſe ſuch Rumours and Suſpicions are ſpread againſt the beſt, as well as againſt the worſt Miniſters. Nay, a great Miniſter is more liable than a bad one to ſuch Rumours and Suſpicions. If he be frugal of the publick Treaſure, and cautious in granting publick Favours: If he prefers meritorious Modeſty to clamorous Impudence, he muſt raiſe to himſelf a great Number of Enemies; for every Man who is refuſed any Favour

ever juſtly, becomes a ſecret or
ared Enemy to the Miniſter,
of courſe endeavours to propa-
Calumnies againſt him; and
Misfortune is, that the moſt Im-
ent and Clamorous are generally
liſtned to by the unthinking
of Mankind. Tho' this be by
the moſt numerous Part of Man-
d, yet, I hope, there are none
them in this Houſe, and there-
, whatever Rumours or Suſpi-
s may be ſpread without Doors,
ope, they will not be liſtned to
, unleſs they appear to be found-
upon indiſputable Facts, or very
g Preſumptions.

As to Facts, Sir, notwithſtanding
many Rumours that are ſpread
hout Doors, I have never yet
d a Proof offered of any one
minal Fact againſt thoſe concern-
in our Adminiſtration; and as to
Preſumptions that have been
geſted, I do not think, there is
leaſt Foundation for any one of
m. That this Nation labours un-
great Difficulties, and that the
ent Poſture of Affairs, both at
e or abroad, is far from being
eable, I ſhall readily grant; but
every one who, with Candour,
mines the Hiſtory of this Na-
, and of *Europe*, for twenty Years
, it muſt appear evident, that
ther of theſe Misfortunes can
y be imputed to any Deſign or
conduct in our Miniſters. Our
ts were all contracted long be-
the preſent Adminiſtration had
being. At leaſt, if any new Debt
been contracted, a much greater
one has been paid off; for when
preſent Miniſters firſt came into
er, the national Debt was larger
it is at preſent, and what was
e, our publick Credit, by an
managed Project, was almoſt en-
y ſunk. They, by their Wiſ-
and good Management, ſoon
ored the publick Credit of the
ion, and they have ſince paid
off as much of the publick Debt as it was poſſible, without loading the People with ſome new or additional Taxes.

If we had kept up no Army: If we had kept up no Navy: If we A had been put to no Expence by the ambitious Projects of foreign Princes, I ſhall admit, Sir, that a much larger Share of our publick Debt might have been paid off, and, perhaps, many of our heavy Taxes aboliſhed. But will any one ſay, B that at any Time for this twenty Years paſt, it would have been prudent or ſafe to diſband our Army? Will any one ſay, that we ought to have left our Navy to rot and fall to decay? Will any one ſay, now that we ſo ſenſibly feel a Want of C Seamen, that we ought not always to keep a large Number of Seamen in Pay? Will any one ſay, that when we were threatned with an Attack, we ought not to have provided for our Defence? By ſo doing, Sir, we have always prevented D the Attack, and thereby preſerved our domeſtick Tranquillity for theſe twenty Years paſt; and ſurely it will be allowed, that it is both ſafer and cheaper to prevent than to repel an Invaſion.

Therefore, Sir, if a greater Share E of our publick Debt has not been paid off: If none of our heavy Taxes have been aboliſhed, it is not owing to any Miſmanagement in our Miniſters, but to the publick Neceſſities, which annually required a larger Expence than had been F foreſeen. If our Miniſters had taken upon them to be the ſole Judges of thoſe Neceſſities, there might have been ſome Pretence for finding Fault with their Conduct; but they have regularly laid thoſe Neceſſities before Parliament, and have G never put the Nation to one Shilling Expence, but what has been previouſly authoriſed, or afterwards approved of by a Majority in both

Houſes; therefore an Inquiry into their Conduct upon this Head, may properly be called an Inquiry into the Conduct of Parliament, and if you ſhould give Sentence againſt the former, it will be a Condemnation of the latter, which, with regard to the Reſpect due to Parliament, may have a very bad Effect upon all Degrees of Men in this Kingdom.

Now, Sir, with regard to the preſent Poſture of Affairs at home and abroad, I ſhall grant, it is a Misfortune to this Nation to be involved in a War with *Spain*: I ſhall grant, it is a Misfortune to *Europe*, to have ſo many of its Princes united for deſtroying that Balance of Power upon which their own Independency, at leaſt the Independency of all of them but one, moſt abſolutely depends. But can either of theſe Misfortunes be imputed to any Miſconduct in our Miniſters? Our being involved in a War with *Spain*, is owing to nothing but the Pride, Haughtineſs, and Obſtinacy of that Nation. Did our Miniſters adviſe his Majeſty to declare War againſt *Spain* without a Cauſe? Did they precipitate the Nation into that War, without having firſt tried every Method for obtaining Satisfaction by peaceable Means? We all know, that their Backwardneſs in commencing Hoſtilities was exclaimed againſt by many in this Nation, and even by thoſe who now endeavour to load them with the Misfortune of our being involved in War. Thus, Sir, if Miniſters purſue pacifick Meaſures their Conduct is found fault with, and if they purſue warlike Meaſures their Conduct is found fault with: If they provide for our Defence at home, and thereby prevent an Attack, their Conduct is found fault with, on Account of the Expence; and if by their neglecting to provide for our Defence, the Nation ſhould be invaded, their Conduct would certainly, and, I am ſure, with more Reaſon, be found fault with. This, Sir, makes me think, it is not ſo much the Conduct, as their continuing to be our Miniſters, that is the real Ground of Complaint; and this will be a Ground of Complaint againſt any future, as well as againſt our preſent Miniſters; for no Man that ſerves the Crown will give up his Imployment, as long as the King inclines he ſhould keep it, and diſmiſſes nothing of him, inconſiſtent with his Honour, or the Good of his Country, which, it is well known, his preſent Majeſty will never deſire of any Man that ſerves him; and this, perhaps, makes Gentlemen ſo fond of getting into Imployment, but it is, in my Opinion, an ungrateful Return in Gentlemen, to endeavour to diſtreſs his Majeſty's Affairs, in order to force themſelves into his Service.

Thus, Sir, I think, it muſt appear, that no one who has the Honour of having a Share in his Majeſty's Councils, can be blamed for the Misfortune of our being involved in a War with *Spain*, and as little can they be blamed for the preſent unhappy State of Affairs in *Europe*, which is entirely owing to one of theſe two Cauſes: Either to a fatal, I may ſay frantick Ambition in ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, who, rather than not extend their Dominions, ſeem reſolved to render themſelves dependent upon the Crown of *France*; or it is owing to an unaccountable Obſtinacy in the Court of *Vienna*, who, rather than do Juſtice to their neighbouring Princes of *Germany*, ſeem reſolved to bring themſelves, and the whole *Germanick* Empire, into a Sort of Subjection to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. Which of theſe two Cauſes the preſent Misfortune of *Europe* is owing to, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but let it be which it will, our Miniſters cannot be blamed. It was

cannot be ſuppoſed to have been their Power to govern the Ambi- of the Princes of *Germany*, or overcome the Obſtinacy of the rt of *Vienna*.

I hope, I have now ſhewn, Sir, at neither the Difficulties we la- A r under, nor the preſent dange- Situation of Affairs, can afford Preſumption of Miſconduct in ſe, who for ſome Time paſt, re had the Honour of being in Majeſty's Councils; and as no ticular Crime has yet been charg- B againſt them, nor the leaſt Proof ered of any Fact, if there are Suſpicions without Doors, thoſe picions can have no ſolid Foun- tion, and ought not therefore to re ſuch Weight within Doors, as lead us into a parliamentary In- C iry, which is always troubleſome, , at this Juncture, would be ex- mely dangerous. If this Nation in Diſtreſs, if the Affairs of *Eu-* be in Diſtreſs, as they certainly , it ſhould be an Argument with D avoid all perſonal Altercations Animoſities, and to unite hear- among ourſelves, both in Coun- and Action, for retrieving Af- both abroad and at home. he Caſe of this Nation, the Caſe *Europe*, is not yet, thank God! deſperate, but that both may be ſtored, if proper Remedies be E edily applied. Our publick Cre- is yet in a flouriſhing Condition: may yet raiſe large Sums for Support of a neceſſary War; if the Tranquillity of *Europe* eſtored, and eſtabliſhed upon a and laſting Foundation, we F ſoon pay off old Arrears, as ll as what we may be obliged to ntract for that ſalutary Purpoſe. he Confederacy formed againſt the een of *Hungary* is ſo unnatural, t it muſt of itſelf diſſolve, unleſs Princes of *Germany* be kept firm *France*, by ſeeing it impoſſible or G ngerous to break from her. This may be prevented, if we immediately unite amongſt ourſelves, and interpoſe with the whole Strength of the *Britiſh* Nation; but if, like ignorant and contentious Phyſicians, we ſit diſputing among ourſelves, and accuſing one another of Malpractice, the Patient may expire in the Interim.

I muſt, therefore, conjure Gentlemen to give over all perſonal Piques and Animoſities, and to think of nothing but of giving his Majeſty that Advice, and thoſe Aids, which may be thought proper and neceſſary for providing againſt the Calamity that threatens us. If any Thing has been done amiſs, we may ſoon find a proper Time for inquiring into it, but the preſent is far from being ſo; and if no immediate Inquiry be deſigned, we have no Occaſion for referring any Papers to the Conſideration of a Select Committee; for I cannot agree with my honourable Friend in thinking, that every important Paper, or Parcel of Papers, that are, or may be laid before this Houſe, ſhould be referred to a Select Committee. If this were laid down as a Rule for our Conduct, we ſhould have Time to do nothing, but to hear and conſider the Reports from ſuch Committees. It would therefore be impoſſible to obſerve the Rule, and it has never been the Practice. When Gentlemens Curioſity prompts them to deſire a Sight of any Papers of State, they move for having them laid before the Houſe, and their Motion is always complied with, when conſiſtent with the publick Safety. When the Papers thus called for are laid upon the Table, they examine them: If they find nothing material, their whole Deſign is anſwered; but if they find any Thing, they think worth the Notice of the Houſe, they acquaint the Houſe with what they have obſerved, and if a Majority be of the

ſame

ſame Opinion, the Houſe either enters into the immediate Conſideration of what has been obſerved to them, which they may eaſily do, becauſe the Papers are upon the Table; or they refer the Whole to the Conſideration of a Committee, perhaps a Select Committee.

This, Sir, is the uſual Method of proceeding in ſuch Caſes, and as no Obſervations have been made upon any of the Papers referred to in this Motion, nor any one Fact mentioned from them for inducing us to take any of them into our Conſideration, I muſt ſuppoſe, that thoſe Gentlemen who have peruſed them, for I confeſs I have not, have found nothing in them, they think worth the Notice of the Houſe; and if they have not, I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould give any Committee the Trouble to peruſe and examine them.

But, beſides ſeeing no Reaſon for referring theſe Papers to a Select Committee, there are, I think, ſtrong Reaſons againſt it. If this Motion ſhould be complied with, it will immediately ſpread an Opinion abroad, that inſtead of taking proper Meaſures for the Time to come, we are going to enter upon an Inquiry into paſt Meaſures; and that this will certainly raiſe Heats and Diviſions amongſt us, and may produce a Civil War in the Kingdom, or, at leaſt a Breach between his Majeſty and his Parliament, which will of courſe diſable us from giving our Friends abroad any Aſſiſtance, or interpoſing any Manner of Way in the Affairs of *Europe*; and the Conſequence of ſuch an Opinion's being ſpread abroad, may be moſt fatal. The Princes now united in an Alliance with *France*, will then ſee it impoſſible to break off from that Alliance: The other Princes and States of *Europe* will ſee it impoſſible to form any Confederacy, capable of giving a Check to the Deſigns of *France*: The Queen of *Hungary*, deſpai of any Relief or Aſſiſtance, will mediately ſubmit to ſuch Term *France* ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe; the Court of *France*, being ſet f free from the Fear of any Ch will ſet no Bounds to their Am on. Suppoſe their preſent M Miniſter ſhould be moderate in Views: Suppoſe he has no other In tion than to reduce the Power of Houſe of *Auſtria*, without addin the Power of the Houſe of *Bou* yet in ſuch a Caſe, it would be poſſible for him to ſtem the Tor of *French* Ambition, or to gove Court where that Paſſion has alw ſo much prevailed.

The ſpreading of ſuch an nion abroad is, therefore, Sir, we ought moſt carefully to prev but if this Motion ſhould be ag to, it would be impoſſible to pre it: Nay, I believe, it would be poſſible to prevent a moſt ſtric quiry, and a moſt violent P cution's being ſet on Foot. T are many Gentlemen, I hope, within Doors and without, of a derate Diſpoſition, and ſuch as a greater Regard for the Safet the Publick, than for any ſonal Reſentment. Thoſe Gentle may, as yet, be able to govern moderate the Temper of the Na or, at leaſt of this Houſe; but Select Committee were once na I am afraid, it would be ou their Power. That Committee w think it incumbent upon them t ſomething: The Papers now poſed to be referred to them w give them an Inclination to others, and thoſe again would n them think it neceſſary to ſee m till they had got all the State Pa even the moſt ſecret Papers o Nation before them; and in to ſucceed in all their Motion this Purpoſe, and to have thei port approved of, they would en vour to raiſe, and would pro ſuc

ed in raiſing a moſt violent revengful Spirit, both without and within, which might fall upon ſome innocent Men, as upon the Guilty. The for- his Majeſty would certainly, his known Juſtice and Reſolu- endeavour to protect, and what be the Conſequence of ſuch a ſtruct, God only knows.

Thus, Sir, as I can ſee no Rea- this Motion: As, I think, it be attended with the moſt gerous, the moſt fatal Conſe- ces, I muſt therefore be againſt nd hope the honourable Gentle- will not inſiſt upon their Moti- for even their inſiſting upon may have a very bad Effect up- his Majeſty's Negotiations a- d.

xt that ſpoke was Celſus Albi- nus, *whoſe Speech was in Sub- ance thus:*

Preſident,
I R,

HE Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has made me conſider the on now before you with great ation, and that the Houſe may e ſame, I deſire, it may be a- read by the Clerk at your Ta-

The Motion being read, he went thus)

cannot conceive, Sir how the ourable Gentleman could from Motion take Occaſion to talk of ries or perſonal Piques and Re- ents. Is there any Word, is any Expreſſion in the Motion, ſeems to inſinuate, as if an In- were intended, or that can be ght to carry any perſonal Re- ent? If an Hon. Gentleman him had talk'd ſo upon this ion, I ſhould not have been ſur- d, becauſe, I believe, there is g he dreads ſo much, and one's Mind is ſtrongly poſſeſſ- ed with the Fear of any thing, the Imagination often preſents the Phantom when their is no real Appearance; but as I am convinced, the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt can dread no Inquiry, with reſpect to himſelf at leaſt, I am amazed how this Queſtion came to preſent to his View the Phantom of an Inquiry.

Sir, there is nothing more in this Queſtion, nor, I believe, any thing more intended by it, than a proper Examination of thoſe Papers, which were certainly called for with the Deſign of having them properly examined; and as they cannot be properly examined without referring them to a Select Committee, I hope to ſhew ſuch Reaſons for our complying with the Motion, as cannot be ſuppoſed to proceed from any perſonal Reſentment, or from any Deſign to enter upon an immediate Inquiry; but I muſt beg leave to ſay a Word or two about Inquiries in general, which the Hon. Gentleman has repreſented as moſt hideous Spectres, whereas I believe them to be very innocent, very uſeful, and very neceſſary Servants. He has told us, Sir, that parliamentary Inquiries always raiſe Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, and have ſometimes raiſed a Civil War in the Kingdom. On the contrary, I will venture to affirm, from the whole Tenor of our Hiſtory, that the Preventing or Oppoſing of a parliamentary Inquiry has always raiſed Heats and Animoſities, and often a Civil War in the Kingdom; and that the giving Way to a parliamentary Inquiry, when the Majority of the Nation call'd for it, never raiſed any national Heats or Animoſities, and much leſs a Civil War. The Rebellion at the Beginning of the late Reign, was not occaſioned by the parliamentary Inquiry then ſet on foot, but by a *Jacobite* Spirit which at that Time but too univerſally prevailed in the Nation. What-

Whatever Tranſgreſſions the former Miniſters had been guilty of, they had found Means to ſet themſelves at the Head of a very numerous and powerful Party in the Nation, who were attached to them, not by Bribery and Corruption, or any ſelfiſh View, but from a real, tho' very wrong Principle. That Party wanted nothing but a Head for flying to Arms, and the Inquiry, indeed, furniſhed them with what they wanted. But is this the Caſe at preſent? Can it be ſaid, that our preſent Miniſters have any Party attached to them from Principle? They have no Party but ſuch as are attached to them from Motives of Self-Intereſt, and as ſoon as you take from them the Diſtribution of the Loaves and Fiſhes, their Followers, or by far the greateſt Part of them, will deſert them of courſe.

We have therefore, Sir, nothing to fear from ſetting up a parliamentary Inquiry, but a great deal from our neglecting or delaying it. The whole Nation, at leaſt all thoſe who dare ſpeak their Minds, call loudly for it, and if it ſhould be oppoſed by the Court, or prevented, or defeated by a Court Majority in Parliament, it will raiſe a general Diſaffection to our Government. Will our Friends abroad put any Truſt or Confidence in ſuch a Government? Can our Enemies dread any Thing from ſuch a Government? Sir, it is well known, both abroad and at home, that an unpopular Government in this Kingdom never did, nor, I hope, ever can act with Vigour or Spirit. I ſay, I hope, it never can; for this muſt be the Caſe as long as there is a Veſtige of Liberty amongſt us. All thoſe fatal Conſequences, therefore, which the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to prognoſticate from our entering upon an Inquiry into our late Conduct, may more naturally, and more reaſonably be prognoſticated, nay, muſt neceſſarily

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ſue, from our not giving the Na
the Satisfaction they expect f
this new Parliament. Our Fri
abroad will bemoan our loſt Co
tion, and deſpair: Our Ene
will deſpiſe us, and rejoice.
this Reaſon, Sir, ſo far as I
judge at preſent, I ſhall give
Vote for an Inquiry as ſoon a
ſhall be propoſed; and I ſhall
for carrying it through with all
ſible Strictneſs, but without any
ſonal Pique or Reſentment. I
no Reſentment againſt any but t
who are ſuſpected of being th
nemies and Betrayers of their C
try, and againſt ſuch I ſhall alw
have a Reſentment, till I ſee t
cleared by an honeſt and fair
quiry.

But I beg Pardon, Sir, for ta
up ſo much of your Time upon
Subject; for as the preſent Que
is not about an Inquiry, it has
thing to do in the Debate. M
leſs have we any Thing to d
this Debate, with Admonition
gainſt perſonal Piques and An
ſities; for from what is now
poſed, no Man can fear a per
Attack, unleſs he be conſcious,
from theſe Papers ſomething cr
nal in his Conduct may be d
vered; and, I hope, no Memb
this Houſe will refuſe doing
Duty towards his Sovereign, for
ſome Crime ſhould thereby be
covered in one who is the Min
or Favourite of his Sovereign.
doing his Duty towards his Sover
Sir, for whether we ſhall do ſo
is the Queſtion, and the only
tion now before us. His Majeſt
his moſt gracious Speech from
Throne, has expreſsly require
Counſel and Aſſiſtance; Ca
give him either without firſt k
ing how? Can we know,
without firſt examining into th
ſent State of Affairs both a
and at home? Would not a

an be a Madman, to prescribe to Patient, without first examining to the State of his Distemper, the uses from which it probably a-se, and the Remedies that had fore been applied? This is our se at present. His Majesty has A fired our Counsel: If he had not, e are bound to give it, considering e present melancholy State of Af-rs; and for this Purpose we are und to examine, as narrowly as e can, into the present State of e Distemper, and into the Causes m which it probably arose, and e Remedies that have been al-dy applied.

I have not, Sir, perused many of e Papers mentioned in this Mo-n: I do not believe I shall peruse , or, at least, not a great many C them, unless this Motion be a-ed to; and, indeed, I do not ow who would peruse such a large dle of Papers, without an Ex-ation at least, that his Perusal ght probably be attended with e Effect. But from the very D les of them, I can see, that it is olutely necessary to have all these ers, at least, narrowly look'd , before we can know any Thing t the political Distemper which resent threatens the Liberties of Nation, as well as the Liberties E Europe, with an immediate Dis-tion. We are by Treaty obliged ist the Queen of *Hungary* against *French* and *Bavarians*, because directly attack the *Pragmatick* ction; but we are not obliged by aty to assist her against the King F *Prussia*, because he asserts only he pretends to be the antient ms of his House. We are there-both in Honour and Justice o-ed to inquire into the Foundati-of this Dispute; for if *Prussia*'s m be just, and the Queen of G y obstinately refuses to do him e, it will free us from the En-ment we are under, of assisting her against the *French* and *Bavarians*; because, tho' we have guaran-tied the *Pragmatick Sanction*, yet if she by her Obstinacy makes it more difficult and dangerous for us to per-form that Guaranty, than it would have been otherwise, it frees us both in Equity and Honour from that Engagement.

This, Sir, must shew how abso-lutely necessary it is for us to ex-amine strictly into the Contents of the Letters, Memorials, and Papers B presented to us on *Monday* last, be-fore we can give any Counsel or Advice to his Majesty, with regard to the present State of Affairs in *Eu-rope*; and particularly, Sir, I must mention the Treaty between his Majesty and the Queen of *Hungary*, dated at *Hanover*, *June* 13, 1741. Upon this Treaty I shall at present make no Remarks; but surely this Treaty, with every Paper, both pre-vious and consequent, relating to it, ought to be examined by this House, in the most proper and strict Man-ner, before we can judge how Mat-ters stand between us and the Queen of *Hungary*.

Then, Sir, with regard to our War with *Spain*, as there have been many Disputes between *France* and us, on Account of that War, and as its Continuance very much depends upon the impartial as well as neu-tral Behaviour of the *French*, we ought certainly to examine carefully the Papers laid before us Yesterday, before we offer any Advice to his Majesty, relating to the future Con-duct of the War. Another Argu-ment for our examining these Pa-pers, is, because it may have an Ef-fect upon the Advice we ought to give, relating to the Queen of *Hun-gary*. As I have already observed, the Case may stand between the King of *Prussia* and Queen of *Hun-gary*, so as to free us from any Ob-ligation to assist her; but if from the Papers presented Yesterday, it

ſhould appear, that the *French* have aſſiſted the *Spaniards* as much as they could in an underhand Manner, we may from thence judge, that they will declare openly againſt us, as ſoon as they have ſettled the Affairs of *Germany* to their Mind. This ſhould make us, without any other Conſideration, reſolve to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary* in the moſt ſtrenuous Manner, let the Conſequence be what it will. Nay, I do not know, but that it ſhould make us immediately declare War againſt *France*; for it would be better to declare againſt her, whilſt ſhe is engaged in a War with the Queen of *Hungary*, than to wait for her declaring againſt us, after ſhe has reduced the Queen of *Hungary* to her Terms.

These are Arguments for complying with the Motion, which, I hope, the Hon. Gentleman will approve of, and, I am ſure, he cannot ſay they proceed from any perſonal Reſentment, or from an Intention to promote an Inquiry. It is not poſſible for any one, either at home or abroad, to ſuppoſe, that a parliamentary Inquiry or Proſecution would be the Conſequence of this Motion, without firſt ſuppoſing, that our Miniſters have been guilty of ſome criminal Sort of Conduct; and this is a Suppoſition which I ſhall not make, leſt the Hon. Gentleman ſhould ſay, it proceeds from ſome perſonal Pique or Reſentment. Surely the Parliament may offer Advice, and may take the proper Methods for being able to do ſo, without ſetting up an Inquiry. None of the Arguments he has made uſe of againſt an Inquiry can, therefore, operate in the leaſt againſt this Motion, which tends merely to enable us to perform, as we ought, that Duty his Majeſty has required of us; and the ſooner we ſet about the Performance of that Duty, it will be the better both for ourſelves and our Friends. The publick Affairs this Nation have, for many Yea paſt, been ſolely directed by h Majeſty's inferior Councils, for h great and ſupreme Council has n ver once offered any Advice, b ſuch as was dictated by the Mi ſter: Both the Affairs of this N tion, and the Affairs of *Europe*, a now at laſt brought into the utm Diſtreſs: Whether the Advice Majeſty has received from his ferior Councils has any Way cont buted to this Diſtreſs, I ſhall pretend to determine; but it is c tain, their Advice has not preven it, nor have they applied ſo mu as one Remedy, tho' the Diſtr has been apparent for above t Twelvemonth paſt. It is therefo high Time for his Majeſty's gr Council to interpoſe with its A vice. From ſuch an Interpoſit our Friends will conceive Ho our Enemies Apprehenſions. T will raiſe the Spirits of the form and depreſs thoſe of the latter; this, even before we contribute leaſt Aſſiſtance, may give Succeſ our Friends, and thereby rende eaſy for us to extricate them ou their preſent Difficulties; for they are in the moſt imminent D ger, we muſt extricate them be we can think of extricating ſelves, becauſe if they periſh muſt neceſſarily be undone.

This, Sir, makes me extre ſollicitous about the Succeſs of Motion; becauſe the Fate of *rope*, as well as of this Nation, great Meaſure, depends upon it this Motion be agreed to, I expect to ſee the Queen of *Hu* continue to reſiſt the Torrent o nemies that have broke in her, with that ſurpriſing Firm of Mind ſhe has hitherto man ed: If this Motion ſhould b jected, eſpecially if it ſhould b jected by a great Majority, I it may have a moſt miſchiev

ft upon her Councils, by making em deſpair, and ſubmit; and erefore, I ſhall moſt heartily give y Affirmative to the Queſtion.

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in r next.*]

OMMON *Senſe* and the *Craftſman* of *Oct.* 30. very warmly ecommend the Duty of Attenance, as neceſſary to obtain the portant Points which, they ſay, e People call loudly for, *viz.* Juſce upon Delinquents; a Reduction Sine-Cures, over-grown Salaries, d undeſerved Penſions; a vigorous ſecution of the War with *Spain*; effectual Place-Bill; a thorough ure for the Villany of Returning ficers; and the Repeal of the t and *Septennial Acts*. The *Craftſn* introduces what he has to ſay ts:

The royal Summons is again gone rth, to aſſemble the hereditary nd Council of the Throne, and e Repreſentative of the People; e Expectation of the Publick is in raiſed, and all good Men nd up their Prayers for a happy ue.

But tho' Praying is a Duty, it is t our only Duty. The Clown at pray'd to *Hercules*, in the Fae, to help his Cart out of the ire, was bid to ſet his Shoulders the Work, and pray and ſtrive gether; and the Engineer who eſented a Model for a Mud-Fortiation, with this pious Saying in is Mouth, *Mud-Walls and Prayers ill do well enough*, was ſilenced by is Rival, who was for dealing in re ſubſtantial Stuff, on his replying, *That Mud-Walls and Prayers ght do well, but Prayers and Stone alls would do much better.*

Speaking *of the Grants of Money, d how little was done at home, he y*:—To palliate all this, ſhould we be told, we are not fit to judge for ourſelves; that our Friends have laid out our Money to more Advantage abroad, and have imported Bleſſings as valuable as we expected at home; who can forbear aſking, where are theſe Bleſſings to be found? Who hath taſted the leaſt of them? Who ban ever gueſs the Time when a Drop of this Manna will fall? For my Part, I am Ignorance itſelf; nor can I ſee the leaſt Connection between any one warlike Step that hath been taken on the Continent, and the Intereſt of *Old England*. We have, indeed, at a mighty Expence, waſted over a large Body of our ſpruce Troops to *Flanders*; and the Tranquillity which has reign'd over the whole Kingdom ſince, hath ſhewn they were of no Uſe here. We have, likewiſe, taken many Legions of *Mercenaries* into *Pay*. Equipages, Sumpter Horſes, Baggage-Waggons, *&c.* have furniſh'd our News-Papers with a Number of important Paragraphs. Our Reſidents, Embaſſadors, and Plenipo's, have held *Conferences* at the *Hague*, upon which the High and Mighty Lords have *deliberated*. One of our *Small-Ware* Politicians, [the *Daily Advertiſer*] who would be thought to have an Agent in every Cabinet in *Europe*, hath aſſured us we ſtood in ſuch *Need* of *Holland*, that the *States* would ſet what Price they pleaſed upon their Favours; and yet, notwithſtanding all this Parade, *Maillebois* march'd into *Germany*, *Prague* was relieved, *Dunkirk* is unmoleſted, and all our military Projects, as uſual, are evaporated in Smoke.

Common Senſe, Nov. 6. N° 299.

Extract from a Pamphlet publiſh'd in the Year 1734, *intitled*, An Addreſs to the Knights, Citizens, *&c.*

"THE Practice at the Beginning of a new Parliament, when

when the Miniſter found he had but a ſmall Majority, was, in the firſt Place, to *weed* the Houſe, as he jocoſely call'd it; and this was to be done by Virtue of the Committee of Privileges and Elections, a Sort of a Court of Judicature for the Deciſion of parliamentary Diſputes, and therefore all Proceedings in it ought to be conducted with the utmoſt Regard to Juſtice and Honour. Yet, at that Time, it was notoriouſly known to have been ſometimes ſcandalouſly abuſed, and made the ſervile Inſtrument of the prevailing Faction of that *inſolent and domineering Miniſter*.——But it is certain that an equitable Determination of theſe Diſputes, is ſo eſſential to the Freedom and Independency of Parliaments, that as no private Intereſts whatſoever ought to bias Gentlemens Judgments, ſo no Attention ſhould be wanting to inform them. I believe it will be found too often true, that when Perſons in Office, at that Time, became Petitioners, they had no other Right to ſit in Parliament but what the Power of the Miniſter gave them; nay, ſome ſtood Candidates on no other View; for the Miniſter uſed to ſend his Creatures about to different Boroughs with Orders to oppoſe Country Gentlemen at all Adventures, no Matter for natural Intereſts, Inclinations of the People, Poll, Declaration, or Return; ſurely, all thoſe who were brought in thus were the Repreſentatives of the Miniſter, not of the People. We know that, without this, every Miniſtry hath too much Intereſt in the Choice of a Parliament; there are Numbers of Boroughs diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral Offices, and are thought to be ſo much the Properties of them, that they are called *Treaſury Boroughs*, *Admiralty Boroughs*, *Ordnance Boroughs*, *Victualling Boroughs*, &c. Nay, every Governor of a Town, that ſends Members to Parliament, thinks he has a Right to be one, and has Power of harraſſing and diſtreſſing them ſo much, that they are commonly obliged to gratify them in their Expectations."

In another Place, our Author gives a Detail of the Practice of the late Miniſter at the opening of every new Parliament and new Seſſion.

"The Practice (ſays he) of ſummoning the Members to the *Cock-pit* by a miniſterial Writ, and haranguing them there before his Majeſty opens the Seſſion with a Speech from the Throne, is but of modern Date, and may be juſtly ranked among thoſe Improvements which have been lately made on our Conſtitution. I don't know exactly how long this Cuſtom may have prevailed, but I may venture to affirm that it has been carried farther within a few Years, than it ever was before.

There is ſomething very ridiculous as well as very unparliamentary in theſe *miniſterial Conventions*. Their firſt Aſſembly is commonly held at the Miniſter's own Houſe three or four Days before the Meeting of Parliament, and conſiſts only of a few truſty Creatures, who are called together to peruſe the King's Speech, and to conſider of proper Gentlemen to move for, and ſecond the Addreſs. Theſe Gentlemen, who are generally propoſed by the Miniſter himſelf, after a ſelf-denying Speech, modeſtly declining ſo great an Honour, and deſiring it may be put into abler Hands, are at laſt overcome and prevail'd upon to undertake it. At the ſame Time theſe choice Friends are let into the State of Affairs as far as is neceſſary, and inſtructed what to ſay, in Caſe of a Debate, upon ſeveral particular Points.—But to reſume the Buſineſs of the Addreſs; which, perhaps, is likewiſe drawn up and ſettled, long

beſo

e they met, as well as the
ch; for it has been the Practice
me late Miniſters, not only to
whatever they think fit into
Maſter's Mouth, (which is
monly a Panegyrick on them-
s, or a Juſtification of their
ſures) but likewiſe to do the
kind of Office for the Parlia-
, and make them echo back
Subſtance of it, by way of
reſs. When theſe Points are
d in the *miniſterial* Cabinet,
ſo I may call it, a general
mbly of all the well-affected is
mon'd to meet, a Day or two
wards, at the *Cock-Pit*; where
ame Farce is acted over again,
more circumſtantial and ſolemn
ner. The Miniſter produces
ft of the Speech; which being
and received with great Ap-
e, it is reſolved, *Nem. con.* to
ote a loyal and dutiful Addreſs
is Majeſty upon it, not only to
him Thanks for ſo *gracious a*
ch, but to applaud the Wiſdom
his Meaſures, and to aſſure
of their chearful Concurrence
y Supplies that may be judged
ary in the preſent Exigency;
is Manner, deviating from the
nt Practice of Parliament, which
fied only in returning his Ma-
Thanks for his Speech, in ge-
whereas this is a previous En-
ment to ſatisfy all the Demands
Court; and tho' it may be un-
ood at Home to be only a
liment of Courſe, it certainly
s a different Aſpect abroad,
ooks as if the Parliament had,
Lump, approved all the Mea-
of the Adminiſtration. Then
erſons agreed upon before to
and ſecond this Addreſs, are
ſed by another worthy Gentle-
who is likewiſe let into the
, and unanimouſly approved.
again they modeſtly decline it,
there had been no previous
ng, and again, with great Im-
portunity, are prevailed upon to accept it: ——What makes this Scene ſtill more diverting is, that when the Commons return to their own Houſe from the Houſe of Lords, after his Majeſty hath made his Speech, the Speaker always tells them, in a formal Manner, *that he hath with great Difficulty obtained a Copy of it*; when above half the Members, perhaps, had ſeen or heard it read a Day or two before. That there have been ſuch Practices in former Times, cannot be deny'd; but as they are certainly unparliamentary and unconſtitutional, they ought to be prevented for the future; at leaſt it behoves every Gentleman, who hath the Honour to be ſent up with a Commiſſion from the People, to beware of the Artifices made uſe of in theſe novel Aſſemblies, and to keep himſelf unengaged till the whole Merit of every Point, that is to come before him, is fully opened and explained by a free Debate on both Sides.

Craftſman, Nov. 6. N° 854.

The GAZETTEER LEGION *reviv'd.*

Mr. D'Anvers,

IN this pliant Age, when the Willow, the Oſier, the Aſp, and every other Plant that, according to the fine Expreſſion of *Spencer*, proves *obedient to the Bender's Will*, are principally in Requeſt, I am charm'd to find, that you ſtill approve yourſelf to be genuine *Engliſh* Oak, rooted deep in the Soil beneath, and inflexible to every Gale that ſtorms above; that there is good Reaſon to believe you did not oppoſe Men but Meaſures, and that you will never drop that Oppoſition, as long as ill Meaſures are purſued, by whatever Men they are adviſed.

If you have not found your Account in the miniſterial Maxim, *that a Government which is not to be*

plun-

plunder'd, is not worth ſerving, you have in Victory.——*Daily Journals*, *London Journals*, *Britiſh Journals*, *Corncutters Journals*, *Senators*, *Daily Courants*, *Free Britons*, *Hyp Doctors*, &c. &c. all Proſtitutes in, and Advocates for the ſame dirty Cauſe, you have had the Joy of triumphing over, and ſeeing them go out in a Stink.

Even the *Gazetteer Legion*, ſo formidable for their Numbers, and ſo profuſely pay'd, in Conſideration of their ſuperlative Merits, you both routed and ſilenced. When their Idol at the T——y was thrown down, their Oracles became mute; and it was, with ſome Reaſon, believed, that they were ſo overwhelm'd with Shame and Confuſion of Face, that they would never open any more. But to fancy they had any Remains of Modeſty, was, it ſeems, a moſt heinous Injury. Like *Wittol's Bully-Back*, in the Comedy, they only waited for a Time; which is now come; and as you have undertook to be an Advocate for the People, againſt all Adminiſtrations, they have undertook, on the contrary, to be an Advocate for all Adminiſtrations, againſt the People.

To ſpeak more intelligibly. On *Saturday* laſt, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that Channel of Filth, the *Gazetteer*, which has been, for ſome time, damm'd up, was again open'd; and in it a ridiculous Attempt was made, by one of the Corps of political *Whitſters*, to blanch thoſe he had formerly help'd to blacken, with all the Grime of *Styx* itſelf. I do not, however, accuſe him of Inconſiſtency. He that hath no Principles, can never be reproach'd with changing them; and whoever carries his Soul to Market, would not ſcruple to turn the Penny, tho' the Devil was the Purchaſer. The Voyage of theſe Adventurers is ever to the Gold-Coaſt, and they reſolve, at their Outſet, to make uſe of every Wind, and every Current. Let them tack, then, ever ſo often, let them ſteer North one Day, South another, they gain ſome by every Traverſe; and if they they deſpiſe every other Conſideration.

Common Senſe, Nov. 13. N° 50

The WONDERS *of the* Y 1742.

THE Year 1742 will be m rable hereafter, for as ſurpriſing Events as are to be with in any Hiſtory for the of one Year.

We have ſeen a Man, who ed of his Strength and his R who gloried in the Number Slaves, and threaten'd Deſtr on all that dared to oppoſe hi feated by that publick Spirit he fooliſhly fancied he had deſtroy'd.

We have ſeen a Man, who Years had made uſe of the W of three Kingdoms, to fortify ſelf in a moſt unnatural Power he had uſurp'd; a Man who, the Fool in the Goſpel, wa ſcatter'd Ruin round the Natio if he had done it in Sport have ſeen this Man, I ſay, when he thought he had made ſelf impregnable) forc'd from Power with as little Shock, or motion, as ever we ſaw a ſhifted at an Opera.

Never was there an Even tended with ſo univerſal a J the Removal of this Man; ſu happy Effect had it over the Nation, that there was no Ex the Publick was able to bear what every Man appear'd inc to contribute to, in order to e the new Miniſters to draw the lick Affairs out of that perp that ſcandalous Situation to w they had been reduced by the ſon newly remov'd; but of how a Duration was this Joy? No

seen that a Victory, obtain'd
he moſt corrupt Man that ever
d the vital Air, ended in a
of Triumph on his Side, and
he was to be brought off by
Influence of that Corruption
h he left behind him, but the
y Proſpect was clouded, and
Publick put on its Mourning

ſee the Defrauder of the poor
er, the Plunderer of the pub-
Treaſure, the Invader, the Un-
iner of the Conſtitution of his
ry, go off honour'd and re-
d, as if, like *Manlius*, he had
the Capitol, or, like another
, drawn *Hannibal* from our
, and ſubdued a Rival *Car-*
, is an Event of which no
ry can furniſh an Example.
he Reflection natural to be made
this Diſappointment was, that
Gentlemen were on a ſudden
n cool in thoſe Principles, by
rigorous Purſuit of which they
newly defeated the Enemy of
Country. No ſooner was it
ſed that this Man was to be
n'd, than the Publick loſt the
s of ſeeing Grievances redreſs'd:
as look'd upon to be a certain
ſequence of his Eſcape, that
ngs muſt go on in the ſame cor-
Way. Who can think it ſtrange
ſore, that the Nation ſhould
ſe into the ſame Diſcontent?
not rather a Wonder (conſider-
how grievouſly they ſuffer'd for
Years by this Man's Corruption)
the Diſappointment did not
e them mad?
may be urg'd, that the People
a little too haſty in their Cen-
: That they unreaſonably ex-
ed the Grievances of 20 Years
e redreſs'd in a Minute, before
Friends were fix'd in their
, before they had Time to look
them, or to ſee who and who
together; not conſidering that
miſerable State in which they

found our foreign Intereſts, as well as the infamous Conduct of the War with *Spain*, required an immediate Attention and Redreſs; that the Seſſion being far ſpent before all this could be done, there was not Time enough left to go thro' all the Formalities which a Proceeding of this Nature would require.

There may be another Reaſon for the Jealouſy betwixt the People and their late Favourites; it hath been inſinuated, that ſome of the Nation's Friends, being ſeduced by the feign'd Repentance of certain Perſons, who had been but too deep in the late iniquitous Meaſures, (for the greater Eaſe of carrying on Buſineſs) accepted their Help, who, inſtead of aſſiſting, labour'd to perplex and embarraſs them, by which the publick Expectations of Juſtice have been hitherto fruſtrated.

If this be true, as I have heard it aſſerted, it brings the good Senſe of ſome of our Friends into Queſtion; for how could they imagine that ſuch People would co-operate towards any Reformation? Was it reaſonable to believe, that they would take Shame to themſelves, and ſincerly aſſiſt in expoſing the Wickedneſs of thoſe Meaſures which they had been 20 Years in ſupporting, or that they would labour in putting an End to that Corruption by which they had been enrich'd? It was too much to expect: I think it might be taken for granted, that no publick Good could ever be hoped for by the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Allies.

Let us allow then, that the People have been a little too haſty in their Reſentments, and, on the other Side, their Friends have committed ſome Miſtakes:——It is not too late to rectify thoſe Miſtakes: Let them heartily and ſincerely promote a fair and impartial Trial of that publick Robber, and the Jealouſy which now appears betwixt

twixt them and the Publick will be no more than the Quarrel of Lovers, which is always the Renewal of Love.

For my own Part, I can never perſuade myſelf, that the Gentlemen of whom we are ſpeaking, ever enter'd into any Treaty, or Bargain, or Promiſe to ſkreen this great Criminal:———If they did, God forgive them; for, certain it is, that Man cannot.———The preſent Age will hate them, and Poſterity will have Reaſon to curſe them, for they will ſow the Seeds of ſuch a Diſcontent as it will not be in their Power to cure.

Machiavel ſays, that nothing turns the Hearts of a People ſo much againſt a Governmant, as to ſee thoſe that have pillaged them protected from Juſtice.

Univerſal Spectator, Nov. 13. N° 736.

How to procure a Happy OLD AGE.

Senectutem ut adipiſcantur Omnes optant, Eandem accuſant adeptam.
Cic. de Senec.

Mr. Spectator,

SOME few Weeks before my Father died, as we were ſitting together, we accidentally fell into a Diſcourſe, in which he thoroughly convinc'd me, that nothing but a Youth ſpent in Virue can produce Happineſs in Old Age.

There is nothing (ſaid he) Men wiſh for ſo much as to live to be Old; and yet there is nothing gives Riſe to more Complaints than Old Age. But all thoſe Infirmities and Weakneſſes, which are by moſt eſteem'd the Evils of Old Age, appear to me to proceed either from a gradual Decay of Nature, and ſuch are very ſupportable in themſelves, or to be occaſion'd by our own Follies or Vices; and theſe indeed are very troubleſome. To murmur at the firſt, would be accuſing the Laws of Providence; to repine at the which we muſt own to be ju we brought them upon ourſelve as prepoſterous as wicked: But is often thro' our own Faults tha are miſerable when old; ſo like is it, I am confident, in our Power to procure a happy Old A and this is only to be attain'd Youth ſpent in the Exerciſe of tue: To ſuch a one Old Age either have no Evils, or very in ſiderable ones. The Thought o ving liv'd well will aſſuage all Pains, will be a ſure Aſylum i his Sufferings, and will afford Eaſe and Pleaſure to his Mind, the moſt vexatious Diſtemper Trouble or Pain to his Body. T fore, as nothing ſhould deter us being vicious more than the of that dreadful Reflection w will attend us thro' our whole Li ſo nothing appears to me to greater Incentive to Virtue than Thought of the Pleaſure we take in our Old Age, from the ſciouſneſs of a Life well ſp The convincing you of this is I am aiming at by my preſent courſe; I do not know how t it more effectually than by ca to your Mind two old Gentleme your Acquaintance. *Demea* is ever peeviſh, moroſe, and ou Humour: *Micio*, eaſy, good-natu and always in Temper. Gout Stone torment the Body of *De* and Reflection on his paſt Act and Remorſe for his former Fo prey upon his Mind; ſo that h for ever overwhelm'd with Pain Miſery. No Pain or Diſtemper compoſe the Body of *Micio*; a ſciouſneſs of his paſt good Act and the Pleaſure that he reaps the Recollection of his former ſmooths his Mind, and warms Boſom with a continual Happi Indeed there are very few E that touch thoſe who are adva in Years, but may be prevente

wiſely tempering our Pleaſures
en young. Exerciſe and Tempe-
ce can preſerve the Strength of our
ties and Vigour of our Minds to
Age; of which Indolence and
auchery can rob even our Youth:
I make no Doubt but the Mind, A
leſs than the Body, muſt ſuffer
n an immoderate Uſe of Plea-
e. To evince this, fancy any
in the moſt exquiſite ſenſual
nſport; whilſt he is enjoying it,
s he any Uſe of his Mind? Are
his Reaſon and Thought quite B
? Whilſt therefore we are giving
Reins to our looſe Appetites,
are deſtroying the noble Fa-
ties of the Mind. If then you
ld preſerve your Reaſon ſound,
your Mind in all its Vigour, live
perately whilſt you are young, C
, take the Word of an expe-
nc'd Perſon, you will reap the
it of it when old. ——But it is
only the having all the Faculties
the Mind undamag'd, that can
ſtitute a Happineſs in Old Age;
, unleſs to theſe we add the Re- D
ction (as I ſaid before) of a Life
ll ſpent, the former, inſtead of
moting your Happineſs, will only
ke you more ſenſible of your Mi-
y. I don't know how it is; but
have always thought the Pleaſure
t attends the performing a good E
tion, is alone a ſufficient Reward
doing it. I never gave a Far-
ng to what I thought an Object
Charity, but, I am ſure, I re-
v'd as much Satisfaction in be-
wing, as the Perſon could do in
ceiving it; and, if ever I reflected F
it afterwards, it was a Renewal
my Pleaſure. How happy then
ſt that Old Age be which can
ploy itſelf in the Recollection
good Actions! 'tis this preſerves
Chearfulneſs to the laſt, and
kes us agreeable Company to Peo- G
younger than ourſelves. And as
love a Youth in whom there is
ething grave and elderly; ſo
I no leſs approve of an old Man who ſtill retains ſomething ſprightly and juvenile; this is only to be procur'd from having rightly employ'd our Youth. From whence it appears, that Virtue is no leſs conducive to our living happily in this World, than it is in the next; and the having conſtantly follow'd her Dictates, makes us, in ſpight of Old Age, happy in ourſelves, eſteem'd and reverenc'd by others: For it is not grey Hairs or Wrinkles that can challenge Authority, but a long Series of laudable and virtuous Actions. In paying a proper Deference to one who has by thoſe Means deſerv'd it, all Nations ſhould emulate the *Lacedemonians*. But he, indeed, who after a Life well employ'd, falls into any unjuſtifiable Foibles, or ſilly Peculiarities, and, like a lazy Writer, fails in the *laſt Act*; ſuch a one forfeits all the Eſteem he had been gathering, and, like a fooliſh Gameſter, loſes at one Throw what he had been Years in procuring. But even the Foibles of Old Age uſually proceed from the Follies of Youth; from thoſe Fountains flow all the Miſeries ſo much complain'd of. I hope, by this Time, my Son, you are convinc'd that nothing can ſecure to you a ſure Happineſs hereafter, but the exerciſing yourſelf in Virtue whilſt young. This is a Truth that every one muſt ſooner or later acknowledge. This Monſieur *Des Barreaux*, who in his Youth had been one of the gayeſt of the gay Nation of *France*, was thoroughly ſenſible of: He would often ſay, That, after a Life ſpent in Gaiety, nothing could make an Old Age ſupportable but a ſincere Penitence; it was that alone which afforded him ſome glimmering Comfort. But he expreſſes his own Thoughts much better than I can do in that noble *French* Epigram which he compos'd ſome Days before his Death: If I can recollect it, I will

repeat you a Tranſlation of of it. The Original is in one of Mr. *Addiſon*'s *Spectators*.

Whilſt all thy judgments, Mighty God, are right,
You joy to pardon, and in grace delight.
But ſo much I have ſinn'd, that ſhould I gain
Thy grace, thy juſtice muſt receive a ſtain.
Yea, O my God! my crimes have ſoar'd ſo high,
Thou can'ſt but chuſe what puniſhment t'apply.
Thy intereſt forbids thee to forgive;
And e'en thy mercy ſays, I muſt not live.
Fulfil then, O my God! thy glorious will,
Frown on the tears theſe ſorrowing eyes diſtil:
Strike me, and let thy thunder ſpeak thy pow'r,
Thy vengeance, even dying, I'll adore.
But on what place can'ſt thou thy thunder throw,
On which the blood of *Jeſus* did not flow?

With theſe Lines my Father ended his Lecture; which, if it may be thought any Way agreeable or inſtructive, you would oblige me by communicating it to the Publick.

Your conſtant Reader,

Oxford. D. H.

In our laſt we gave the Repreſentation of the City of London, *p.* 503. *And ſhall now give our Readers two or three more of the moſt remarkable ones. That from* Weſtminſter *is as follows.*

To the Right Hon. the Lord Viſcount PERCEVAL, *and* CHARLES EDWIN, *Eſq;*

WE the Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter* think it incumbent on us, at this Criſis, to offer our Sentiments to you, our Repreſentatives in Parliament, who, we moſt gratefully acknowledge, have hitherto anſwer'd our Expectations in that great Truſt: Nor does this Application flow from any miſtaken Notion of our own Importance, or from the leaſt Diſguſt of your Virtue and Abilities; but that the ſupreme Councils and Legiſlature of this Kingdom may be juſtly inform'd of what we conceive to be the Voice of the People, to which whenever Government perverts the End of its Inſtitution, the laſt Appeal muſt lie.

We acknowledge his Majeſty's Goodneſs in removing, without Application of Parliament, a Miniſter from that Poſt he had ſo long wickedly abuſed and diſgraced; and expect it will now be your earneſt Endeavour to oppoſe every Confederacy that may be form'd either to ſcreen the Offender or perpetuate the Offence: Nor is this meant further than to encourage the juſt Spirit which ought to animate an injur'd and almoſt ruin'd People, without exceeding thoſe Bounds, which Duty to our Sovereign, Reverence to the Conſtitution, and the Dignity of Government preſcribe.

As the Puniſhment of one Man can never compenſate the Injuries of a whole Nation, ſo the Juſtice we demand does not proceed from an Impotency of Revenge, but from a deep Conviction that ſuffering a Precedent of Impunity will expoſe us to the Scourge of any future Miniſter, who, unaw'd by the Terror of Example, may renew the ſame Abuſe of Power; and that this Country be reduced to the melancholy Alternative of having recourſe either to the Violence of popular Contention, or groan under the Yoke of oppreſſive Government.

As publick Utility is alone the Object of our Purſuit, we ſhall preſume to cenſure any Character but ſuch as by their Conduct admit of no Excuſe, with a due Reſerve to thoſe of whom we are willing to entertain a favourable Opinion; and as their Errors are, we hope, not irretrievable, have yet Opportunity of becoming an Ornament inſtead of a Diſgrace to *Britiſh* Adminiſtration.

We have long experienced, that a lucrative Influence over the repreſenta-

tative Body of this Nation has
en of moſt fatal Conſequence to
e Liberties of the Subject; and
ſtructive of that Independence
hich is the very Soul of our Con-
tution; therefore we inſiſt that
u join in ſuch Meaſures as are
ceſſary to obtain an effectual Li-
itation of Placemen in Parliament,
thout any View of cramping the
ceſſary Operations of Government,
t as we conceive the Diſintereſt-
neſs of the Repreſentative is the
ſt Security for the Freedom of
e People.

As the reſtoring Frequency of
rliaments was perhaps one of the
oſt valuable Acquiſitions obtain'd
r the Subject by the preſent happy
abliſhment, it is with the deepeſt
ncern we lament the Loſs of that
aluable Privilege, and for the
covery of which we conjure you
exert your utmoſt Zeal; ſince
thout this Barrier we conceive
is Nation may one Day have the
isfortune to ſuffer more under that
ceſſion, which was rais'd to pro-
ct and preſerve its Liberties, than
m either the ſecret or avow'd,
fraudulent or violent Invaſions
the moſt arbitrary and deſigning
onarchs.

We hope you will not ſuffer any
reign Affairs to divert your Atten-
n from our domeſtick Intereſts;
r the Pretence of reſtoring the
lance of Power abroad, betray
u into a Loſs of that Equilibrium
our Conſtitution at home, on
hich alone the mutual Advantage
th of the Crown and People de-
nds. The Glory of the moſt ſuc-
ſful War, will, we apprehend,
too dearly purchas'd at the Ex-
nce of our Liberties; and there-
re we intreat, that the Security of
e Subject may be made the Con-
deration of granting any Supplies
atever: Nor does this proceed
m any Inclination to ſtop the vi-
rous Proſecution of a War, ſo far
as it relates to the Intereſts and Honour of his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Dominions, but from long Experience, that any Applications for Redreſs of Grievances are but ill reliſh'd when once the Neceſſities of Government are ſupply'd.

We are ſenſible that Obedience is the Price of Protection, and therefore in our Attempt to vindicate the Privilege of the People, at the ſame Time pay the utmoſt Regard to the Prerogative of the Crown; and, as we chearfully ſubmit to a legal Subjection, we expect you will always endeavour to defend us from any Anti-Conſtitutional Servitude.

The following is the Repreſentation of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commons of the City of York, *in Common-Council aſſembled.*

To GODFREY WENTWORTH, *and* GEORGE FOX, *Eſqrs. their Repreſentatives in Parliament.*

WE have ſeen and peruſed thoſe excellent Inſtructions given by the City of *London* to their Members in Parliament, for their Conduct in the enſuing Seſſion, and do aſſure you, that we moſt heartily concur with them in the noble Sentiments and truly *Britiſh* Spirit of Liberty contain'd therein.

Aftet this Declaration it will be needleſs to tell you, that we expect you would regulate your Conduct by thoſe Rules, and more eſpecially unneceſſary, when we are thoroughly ſenſible that you are both of you Men of ſuch ſteady Principles, that no falſe Honours or other Temptations can make you ſwerve from the real Intereſt of your Country.

In the preſent moſt corrupt and treacherous Generation, it may ſeem very bold in us to aſſert ſo much; but let your Conduct this enſuing Seſſion be the Touchſtone of your Integrity; let your Attendance be early and ſtrict, and vote for no

Supplies till the Grievances are redreſs'd, and thoſe excellent ſalutary Laws enacted, which are mention'd in the *London* Inſtructions.

In like Manner, we moſt earneſtly exhort you, that you do your utmoſt to have the great Offender brought to an open and fair Trial. We join in the Cries of an injured Nation for Juſtice; Juſtice againſt his numberleſs Crimes and Depredations. And we do tell you, in the Words of one of your own Body, *That we look upon the Power of a Houſe of Commons to be nothing, unleſs it can, at any Time, reach and pull a wicked Miniſter from behind a Throne, and give him up to national Juſtice.* That Power, and that only, can ſupport our ſinking Conſtitution, and tranſmit it in full Vigour to Poſterity.

The Repreſentation of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Worceſter, *to the Right Honourable* THOMAS WINNINGTON, *Eſq; and the Right Honourable* SAMUEL SANDYS, *Eſq; their Repreſentatives in Parliament.*

Gentlemen,

HAD your Conduct in Parliament been more agreeable to our Sentiments and Expectations, it had not call'd upon us to make this particular Addreſs to each of you, nor ſo much as attempt to impeach your Behaviour in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament: A Seſſion! deem'd of the utmoſt Importance to this once happy Conſtitution; a Seſſion! wherein we had the greateſt Reaſon to hope that our Liberties wou'd have been more effectually ſecur'd to us and our Poſterity; but our juſt Expectations have been entirely fruſtrated, by the fatal Conjunction of pretended Friends with the notorious Enemies of the Publick.

As to you, Mr. *Winnington*, when you was choſe Recorder of this City, we conceiv'd great Hopes t you wou'd have perſever'd in t uniform and unſhaken Spirit of p lick Liberty which you then p feſs'd; but ſorry are we to ſay, with the utmoſt Concern do we you, that we think you have grea deviated from the Principles whi at that Time, were thought to the Rule of your Actions; and t at the laſt Election you gain'd a S for this antient and loyal City, give us Leave to ſay, that un you purſue the Inſtructions we ſend you, vain will it be for you make another Attempt.

As to you, Mr. *Sandys*, that h ſo long repreſented us, and in wh our Expectations were in ſome grees raiſed; *you!* that have m ſo many, and ſo ſolemn Decl tions, againſt evil Miniſters, their undue Influence; *you!* have exclaim'd ſo loudly aga Corruption, and the Miſapplicat of publick Treaſure; that *you* ſh ſo greatly fall off, and without Concurrence of the Friends of Publick, greedily embrace the Opportunity of getting into Pla and, by your ſubſequent Behavi contribute to diſappoint the Na of that Juſtice and Security wh *you* yourſelf had ſo often and ſo remptorily declar'd to be indiſp ſably neceſſary to its Preſerva and Support, to us ſeems very conſiſtent: Let us yet, for *you!* h better Things the enſuing Seſſi Let us flatter ourſelves that you again unite with the real and Patriots, and, in this important ſis, act conſiſtently; and ſtea purſue thoſe Meaſures that will moſt to the Welfare of your Co tuents, as well as the Nation in neral.

We therefore, Gentlemen, p ſing the Inſtructions of the Citi of *London*, whoſe unſhaken Vir and publick Spirit, are moſt wor of a general Imitation; and, as ca

not find Words more effectual to
ess our Sentiments, are tempt-
in ſome Places, to uſe their
guage; do earneſtly entreat, in-
and require you, our Repreſen-
ves, that you will poſtpone every
r Conſideration; particularly the
olies for the current Service of
enſuing Year; till you have re-
'd the Secret Committee of In-
y; procur'd ſome effectual Bills
educe and limit the Number of
emen in the Houſe of Com-
s; to reſtrain the Abuſe of
er in Returning Officers; to re-
e the Frequency of Elections, as
l as the antient Oeconomy of
Crown, and thereby eaſe the
ded Intereſt, which hath ſo long
r'd. After theſe ſalutary Laws
paſt, and when you ſhall think
to grant the Supplies, at the ſame
me have Regard to their Appli-
ion. A Nation under our pre-
unhappy Circumſtances, as the
y of *London* juſtly obſerves, can
ndergo a freſh Profuſion of Trea-
e, in the Parade of numerous
d Armies, and the Hire of fo-
gn Forces, without the leaſt Ap-
rance of Service to his Majeſty's
itiſh Subjects or Dominions.

Theſe Points, we are convinc'd,
alone give Security to *Britiſh*
berty, and appeaſe the general
rmurs: Theſe Points we inſiſt
t you concur in, if you expect
future Approbation or Eſteem of
antient and loyal Corporation.

In Teſtimony of our General Aſ-
ſent to this our Repreſentation,
We have order'd the Publick
Seal to be affix'd, at the Con-
vention held in the Guildhall
of the ſaid City, the 5th Day
of *November*, 1742.

The Repreſentation of the Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the Borough of New Woodſtock, in the County of Oxford, in Common Council aſſembled, to the Hon. JOHN SPENCER *and* JAMES DAWKINS, *Eſqrs. their Repreſentatives in Parliament.*

WE return our hearty Acknowledgments for your conſtant and diligent Attendance in Parliament, and your ready Concurrence in promoting Meaſures propoſed for the Good of our Country; but, nevertheleſs, as we have not the leaſt Doubt of your Perſeverance in thoſe Meaſures; yet, in this critical and dangerous Conjuncture, we think ourſelves obliged, in Juſtice to ourſelves, our Country and Poſterity, to follow the laudable Example lately given us by the worthy Citizens of our great Metropolis, the City of *London*, by giving you our Sentiments as hereafter.

In the Beginning of laſt Seſſions, what Joy and Pleaſure were diffuſed through the Nation at the happy Succeſs of ſome ſeaſonable Efforts made againſt a corrupt and treacherous Adminiſtration! particularly the Overthrow and Defeat of that Leviathan of Power, who had wanton'd in all Sorts of publick Injuries; and who, baſking himſelf in the Sunſhine of his Fortune, gave Defiance to all Oppoſition; him you overthrew, and with him, it was hop'd, all publick Corruption and Grievances.

It was then the Nation turn'd their Eyes on thoſe who had been long and conſtant Oppoſers of his deſtructive Meaſures; who, by an apparent and ſeeming Zeal, deteſted his Adminiſtration, and lamented the publick Grievances, and particularly thoſe practis'd on the main Weakneſs of our Conſtitution, a corrupt Influence in Parliament; to him they imputed all the national Grievances; to this they imputed the Want of Power to obſtruct them; to remove him, and to apply a proper Remedy to this Evil, was all that ſeem'd wanting: To them it was that the Eyes of the Nation

were

were turn'd, who were ſoon promoted to Honours and Places, and capable of anſwering the warmeſt Expectations.

But what was then done? A Veil was immediately caſt over an Adminiſtration confeſſedly wicked; all Evidences to expoſe it ſtifled; the Avenues to Truth clos'd; all Methods to come at it obſtructed, refus'd, rejected; no Diſcovery made that could be ſcreen'd from the Diligence, Application and Zeal of your Committee; no Puniſhment for Crimes; no Retribution for the Miſapplication of publick Money; no Meaſures taken to redreſs publick Grievances, or to ſtrengthen a ſickly Conſtitution; no Antidote againſt Corruption that had poiſon'd it; in ſhort, the Nation was diſappointed, and reap'd no Advantage from this Victory; they ſaw their Miſtake; it was Men, not Meaſures, that were defeated.

Theſe are Proceedings that call for your cloſeſt Attention, and moſt active Zeal to prevent, if poſſible, the Execution of a Scheme ſo long carried on; and if not prevented, may too ſoon be effected, the total Deſtruction of the Independence of the Houſe of Commons, the Palladium of *Engliſh* Liberty: This is a Juncture that requires you to look into paſt Meaſures, for Retribution and Puniſhment; into future, for Prevention and Reformation.

Let no Artifices amuſe you, no Acts diſcourage you, or in the leaſt reſtrain you from perſuing both thoſe Meaſures, to promote a juſt and honourable Vengeance for paſt Crimes, and proper Laws for our future Security, and for the Encouragement of Trade.

To this End we conjure you to uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to renew the Secret Committee, and, by all Parliamentary and poſſible lawful Means, to aſſiſt their Enquiries, and render them effectual: And, as Places are the Gifts of Miniſters, Placemen conſequently their V ries and Dependants, uſe your Endeavours therefore for ſuch a as may regulate their Numbe your Houſe of Commons; that rit, not Seats only, may, for th ture, be the proper Qualific of Placemen.

And further, to ſecure that I pendence, uſe your Endeavour procure frequent Parliaments, a Law to puniſh, with utmoſt S rity all ſuch Returning Officers ſhall betray their Truſt, or Ne their Duty: This will render that publick Corruption ſo fat and ſucceſsfully carried on for m Years paſt, and ſo plainly diſcl in the Report of the Secret C mittee; and till theſe Things done, and Grievances redreſs'd, again conjure you not to grant Supply of Money for the cur Year; and not then neither, it ſhall appear to you for what P poſes, or at leaſt till a reaſona Account be given you how the has been diſpos'd of.

Repreſentations and Inſtructi of the like Nature were preſen by the Counties of *Worceſter* *Hereford*, the Borough of *Southwa* the Cities of *Edinburgh*, *Litchf* *Hereford*, &c. to their reſpect Members; moſt of them referr to and recommending the Repre tation and Inſtructions of the C of *London*, inſerted in our laſt, 503. That from *Edinburgh* proce thus:

THE City of *London*, that e nent Bulwark and Protect of the Liberty and Freedom of Subject, of the Trade and Comme of the Kingdom, and of the D nity and Honour of the Crown, h repreſented their Sentiments of preſent deplorable and ruinous C dition to which the Nation is re

and of the Means to retrieve
ith a Dignity becoming that
Metropolis, with Reaſons and
es ſo cog nt and powerful, as
animate any Perſon but a Slave,
with ſuch Spirit and Energy as
affect the moſt Inſenſible and
d.

we, your Conſtituents, wiſh
with our Siſter City in no-
more than her Zeal for the
ur of the Crown and Welfare
Kingdom; and as our Senti-
, with reſpect to both, are en-
the ſame, and cannot be bet-
preſs'd than they are by her
ſentation to her Members, (a
of which we herewith deliver
) we therefore adopt the ſame,
make it our ſincere Requeſt,
it may be the Rule of your
duct in the approaching Seſſion
arliament.

following is a Tranſlation of a
ter from the States of Frieſland
the States General of the United
vinces. On the ſame Subject
ith that of the Prince of Orange,
516.

gh and Mighty Lords,

UR Deputies have by Letter
communicated to us your Re-
ions of the 19th of *September*,
making a Promotion of General
ers.

hat you have determin'd to pro-
Foreigners, who are now em-
'd by other Potentates, to be
erals of the higheſt Rank; and
to the Prejudice of our Coun-
their Pay is augmented: That
Regard has been ſhewn in this
otion to our moſt earneſt Re-
mendation of his Highneſs the
ce of *Orange* to be General of
, who (tho' equally ſupported
ther Provinces, and Stadtholder
three of them) is only made a
tenant General: That this, far
the unanimous Approbation of
all the Provinces, was determin'd a-
gainſt the ſolemn Proteſtation of the
Deputies of three of them.

We apprehend that we need not
offer many Reaſons to convince your
High Mightineſſes, that for a con-
ſiderable Time paſt nothing like this
extraordinary Promotion has hap-
pen'd to us.

We alſo aſſure ourſelves that your
High Mightineſſes muſt neceſſarily
be convinced, that the Reſolution
taken by you on the 19th Inſtant,
muſt be diſagreeable to us, and that
we ſhould proteſt againſt it.

We cannot help acquainting your
High Mightineſſes, that we are
very greatly ſurpris'd at the Man-
ner of making this Promotion,
which we cannot but look upon
as a very unfriendly Proceeding, and
declare to be contrary to the funda-
mental Rules of the Union ſubſiſt-
ing among the Provinces, not any
the leaſt Regard having been paid
to the reaſonable, to the earneſt,
and the repeated Recommendations
made by us to your High Mighti-
neſſes, in Behalf of our hereditary
Stadtholder and Captain General,
the Prince of *Orange*, that he might
be, as his illuſtrious Anceſtors have
been, placed at the Head of the
Armies of this State; which Propo-
ſal of ours was ſome Time ſince ap-
prov'd of by four of the Provinces.
We alſo diſapprove of this Promo-
tion, as it is very prejudicial to
many brave and experienced Offi-
cers, who are grown old in the Ser-
vice of their Country, whoſe Cha-
racters are unſullied, and who yet
remain unpromoted, in order to
make room for Foreigners of young-
ger Years, and leſs Experience;
with this further Aggravation, of
ſeeing their Pay given to Strangers.

Thus are Generals impos'd upon
us by an inconſiderable M jority of
the Provinces, by four at moſt out
of ſeven; tho' it was not long ſince
inſiſted on in the Aſſembly of the
States,

States, that such Promotion could not be made by any Majority of Voices, but must pass by an unanimous Approbation of all the States: This very Manner of arguing prevented the Prince of *Orange* from having been long since appointed a General of Foot, five of the Provinces having consented to raise his Highness to that Dignity; these Provinces chusing rather to be commanded by a Prince born amongst them, and descended from the illustrious Blood of those to whose Valour, and Love for their Country, the Republick in a great Measure owes its first Establishment, than be led by Foreigners, who not being so allied, could not have the publick Welfare so much at Heart.

For all which Reasons we must repeat again, that we dissent from the above Promotion: That we confirm in the strongest Manner, the Disapprobation sign'd by our Deputies to the Resolution taken by your High Mightinesses on the 19th Instant; and declare, that a Breach of Friendship and Injustice has been done us, reserving to ourselves the Liberty of making use of such Means, as agreeable to the Law of Union shall be judged reasonable. And we do hereby further declare, that we will not pay, in Whole, or in Part, or be answerable for what shall become due to these foreign Generals, so long as the Appointment of them shall be inconsistent with our Constitution.

We could not fail acquainting your High Mightinesses with our Thoughts on this Subject without Censure; and we most earnestly entreat your High Mightinesses in such Manner to take this Matter into your Consideration, that Satisfaction may be given to us thereupon.

High and Mighty Lords, we recommend your High Mightinesses to the favourable Protection of Almighty.

Of your High Mightinesses the sincere Fri
Leeuwarden, 28 Sept. 1742. The States of *Fri*

The States of the Provinc *Groeningen* have protested in same Manner.

His MAJESTY's most gra SPEECH *to both Houses of liament, on* Tuesday, Nove 16, 1742.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present important juncture of Affairs will, I persuaded, be thought a suffi Reason for calling you thus earl gether.

I have, in pursuance of the peated Advice of my Parlia taken such a Part as appeared t most conducive to the Suppor the House of *Austria*, and to the storing and Securing of the Bal of Power. In this View, I ord a confiderable Body of Troops t sent from hence into *Flanders*; at the Close of the last Sessio foresaw, and pointed out to that it might be incumbent upo to enter into further Measure the same great and desirable The Augmentation of our Stre in the Low Countries became cessary Step; for which Pu I sent, in concert with my A Sixteen Thousand of my Elec Troops thither, with the *Hessia* the *British* Pay, in order to such a Force in Conjunction the *Austrian* Troops, as might Service to the Common Cause i Events; and I doubt not, b shall have your Assistance in Support of these necessary Mea

The Magnanimity and Firm of the Queen of *Hungary*, nocw standing so many numerous Ar sent against her; the resolute duct of the King of *Sardinia*,

ſtrict Adherence to his Engage-
ents, though attack'd in his own
ominions; the Stop which has
en hitherto put to the ambitious
eſigns of the Court of *Spain* in *Ita-*
(to which the Operations of my
eet in the *Mediterranean* have ſo
ibly contributed) the Change of
airs in the North, which has ap-
ared by the Publick Requiſition
ade by *Sweden*, of my good Offices,
procuring a Peace between *Ruſ-*
and that Crown; and the Defen-
e Alliances agreed upon, not only
tween me and the *Czarina*, but
o between me and the King of
uſſia, are Events, which could not
ve been expected, if *Great Bri-*
in had not ſhewn a ſeaſonable Spi-
and Vigour in the Defence and
ſtance of its ancient Allies; and
the Maintenance of the Liberties
Europe, as well as of its own true
d laſting Intereſt.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper Eſti-
tes for the Service of the enſuing
ar to be prepared, and laid before
; and alſo an Account of the
pence of thoſe particular Servi-
, which I have already mention-
and which you will find to have
n concerted in as frugal a Man-
as the Nature of them would
it. I am perſuaded, that you
readily grant me ſuch Supplies,
hall be found neceſſary for the
urity and Welfare of the Nation;
ſufficient for the Support of the Com-
n Cauſe, and adequate to the
eat Emergency.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Importance of your Delibe-
ons at this Time is ſo evident,
I will ſay nothing to enforce it.
e Honour and Intereſt of my
wn and Kingdoms; the Succeſs
the War, wherein I am engaged
inſt *Spain*, and the Re-eſtabliſh-
nt of the Balance and Tranquilli-
ty of *Europe*, will greatly depend on the Prudence and Vigour of your Reſolutions. Let it be your Care to avoid every thing that may either delay or weaken them; and to convince the World, that you are determined to make a right Uſe of the preſent Opportunity.

The Humble ADDRESS *of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, preſented* Nov. 17. 1742.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our ſincere and humble Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

The Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the reſtoring and ſecuring the Balance of Power, are of ſo great Moment, as well to the eſſential Intereſt of this Nation in particular, as to the Liberties of *Europe* in general, that we eſteem it our peculiar Felicity, in this critical and dangerous Conjuncture, to have a Prince upon the Throne, who not only ſhews the moſt gracious Regard to the Advice of his Parliament upon this important Subject, but takes all Opportunities to confirm and animate them in the Purſuit of it. We acknowledge, with Hearts full of Gratitude, your Majeſty's Royal Wiſdom and effectual Care in carrying on this great Work, which has appeared in nothing more than in ſending ſo conſiderable a Body of your Forces into the Low Countries, and in ſtrengthening them afterwards with your Electoral Troops, and the *Heſſians* in the *Britiſh* Pay. By this Step, ſo honourable to your Majeſty, and ſo advantageous to your Allies, your Majeſty has demonſtrated, that you prefer this glorious Cauſe to all other

Conſiderations, and has formed ſuch an Army, as may at once defend and encourage thoſe Powers who are well intentioned, and give a real Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*: And we beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty of our chearful and zealous Concurrence and Support in this neceſſary Meaſure.

The good Effects, which the Vigour exerted by *Great Britain*, under your Majeſty's Authority and Influence, in aſſiſting its antient Allies, and maintaining the Liberties of *Europe*, hath already had upon the Affairs of the Queen of *Hungary*, upon the Conduct of ſeveral Powers, and the State of *Europe* in general, are viſible to all the World. It is with the utmoſt Satisfaction we obſerve them; and rely on your Majeſty's known Care and Attention to the publick Welfare, to purſue and improve them; and we cannot but entertain well-grounded Hopes, that ſo great an Example, and a ſteady Perſeverance in the ſame Meaſures, will inſpire the like Spirit and Reſolution into other Powers, equally engaged by Treaties and common Intereſt, to take the like Part.

Your Majeſty has laid before us ſo juſt a Repreſentation of the Importance of our Deliberations at this Time, as cannot fail to make an Impreſſion upon all true Lovers of their Country, equal to the Dignity and Weight of it. Permit us on our Parts, to give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that we have the Honour and Safety of your Majeſty; the true Intereſt and Proſperity of your Kingdoms; the Security and Advancement of their Commerce; the Succeſs of the War againſt *Spain*, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Balance and Tranquillity of *Europe*, entirely at Heart. Theſe ſhall be the conſtant Objects of our Proceedings and Reſolutions, from which we will never depart; being firmly determined to ſupport y Majeſty in all juſt and neceſſ Meaſures, for attaining thoſe gr and deſirable Ends, and to ſtand and defend your Majeſty, and y Government, againſt all your E mies.

His MAJESTY's moſt grac ANSWER.

My Lords,

THE Duty and Affection, wh you expreſs in this Addreſs, my Perſon and Government, ar companied with ſo great Zeal for Common Cauſe, and the true Int of my Kingdoms, as gives me the moſt Satisfaction. I thank you h tily for it; and doubt not, but your gorous Support, ſo early and u mouſly given, will have the beſt fects, both at home and abroad.

The Humble ADDRESS of Houſe of Commons.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt du and loyal Subjects, the C mons of *Great Britain* in Parliam aſſembled, beg Leave to return Majeſty our ſincere Thanks for Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech the Throne.

It is with the greateſt Satisfac that we have ſeen the conſtant tention your Majeſty has been ciouſly pleaſed to give to the vice of your Parliament: And we think that the Support of Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the reſto and ſecuring the Balance of P in *Europe*, are inſeparable from true Intereſt of theſe Kingdoms deſire, in the ſtrongeſt Manne expreſs our grateful Senſe of early Care taken by your Majeſ forming ſuch an Army in the *Countries*, as might be of Servic thoſe great and deſirable Ends: as we are ſatisfied, that a Force ſuf

ent for that Purpoſe could not e been ſo readily aſſembled, as your Majeſty's ſending a Body your own Electoral Troops, to- her with the *Heſſians*, to join the ish and *Auſtrian* Forces in thoſe ts; we are determined chearfully effectually to ſupport your Ma- y in all ſuch neceſſary Meaſures. We beg Leave to congratulate r Majeſty on the happy and un- ected Turn of the Affairs in the rth: We aſſure your Majeſty, that are fully convinced, that it is the Vigour and Spirit ſhewn by r Majeſty in Defence of your ies, that the Queen of *Hungary* been principally encouraged to r up amidſt extreme Difficulties, withſtanding the numerous Ar- s ſent againſt her; and we are ſuaded, that the ſame Spirit and your have enabled the King of *dinia* to act a Part ſo uſeful to Common Cauſe; to which the gilance and Activity of your Ma- y's Fleet in the *Mediterranean* e ſo remarkably contributed.

Your faithful Commons aſſure your jeſty, that they will, with the teſt Alacrity and Readineſs, t ſuch Supplies as ſhall be d neceſſary for perfecting the t Work, in which your Majeſty engaged, for proſecuting with your the juſt and neceſſary War h *Spain*, and for maintaining the nour and Security of your Maje- and your Kingdoms.

Your faithful Commons, in all r Deliberations, will endeavour make manifeſt to the World, they have nothing ſo much at rt as the Honour of your Maje- the Support of your Government, the true Intereſt of your Maje- s Crown and Kingdoms.

MAJESTY's *moſt gracious Anſwer.*

Gentlemen,

I Thank you for this Dutiful and affectionate Addreſs, and for the great Marks of Confidence you repoſe in me.

The extraordinary Supplies that I am oblig'd to aſk of my People, have become neceſſary for ſupporting that Cauſe, which is inſeparable from the true Intereſt of my Kingdoms.

You may be aſſured, I ſhall wiſh for nothing more than an Opportunity to eaſe my Subjects of all thoſe extraordinary Charges which the preſent Exigency of Affairs may require.

A Diſcovery of the North-Eaſt Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* being look'd upon as very uſeful to the Trade of *England*, as well as to all *Europe*, we doubt not but the two following Letters from a Gentleman on board one of the two Ships that were ſent to diſcover the ſaid Paſſage, will be very agreeable to our Readers.

From on board his Majeſty's Ship the Furnace, *in* Churchill *River*, North America, June 21, 1742.

THE 27th of *June* (1741) we left the *Orkneys*: The 16th of *July* we made Cape *Farewell*, about 446 Leagues to the Weſtward of the *Orkneys*, and about four or five Leagues diſtant from us. The Land, which was rocky and high, was cover'd with Snow. The 25th we made the Iſland of *Reſolution*, which makes one Side of the *Streight's* Month; and here we were pretty much in Danger on Account of the thick Fogs, being cloſe upon the Land before we could perceive it, and having a Freſh of Wind right in upon the Shore. In the *Streights* we met with a great many Iſlands of Ice, ſome of them 50 Fathoms perpendicularly above Water, and three Times as much under; theſe Iſlands make yearly from the Northward away to the Southward, where they rot and decay. The 3d of *Auguſt* we fell in with a great

great deal of broken Ice, but ſoon got clear of it. On the 5th we ſaw a large Cake or Field of Ice, which, from the Top-maſt Head, we could not ſee over; but by ſtanding to Windward for 84 Hours we got clear of it, and the 7th made the Land about *Churchill* River, which lies 59. 10. North Latitude, and Longitude from London 63. and odds. The 8th we got into the River's Mouth, and moor'd Ship: Here is an *Engliſh* Settlement or Factory belonging to the *Hundſon's-Bay* Company, with a ſtrong Fort, where we reſolv'd to winter, ſeeing the Seaſon was then too far ſpent for proceeding further on our intended Diſcovery; and here we have undergone a moſt terrible and ſevere Winter, amidſt the Snow and Ice. The Winter ſets in here about the Beginning of *September*, and continues till *June*, during which the Ground is all cover'd with Snow and Ice: But it is impoſſible to give a juſt Idea of the Severity of the Weather to any Perſon who has never perſonally ſeen or felt its Effects; it freezes to ſuch a Degree, the moſt of Days, that no Man whatſoever is able to face the Weather with any Part of his Body naked or expoſed, but in the ſhorteſt Space of Time he is froze in ſuch a Manner, that the Part turns whitiſh and ſolid like Ice; and when thaw'd, bliſters like ſcald or burning. Several of our Men have loſt their Toes and Fingers by being froze; nay, the Spirits of Wine or Brandy freeze and turn ſolid: Our Cloathing is a Beaver or Skin Tuggy above our other Cloaths; Shoes of Deer Skin, with three or four Socks of thick Blanketting or warm Cloth above our Stockings; Mittens of Beaver lin'd with Duffield or thick Cloth, and a Beaver Cap with a Chin-Cloth, which covers the greateſt Part of the Face; and when we walk out we uſe a Pair of Snow-Shoes made of Thong of Deer-Skin, about Foot in Length, and a Foot and h in Breadth, to ſupport us from ſi ing in the Snow. The Ice we fou to be 7 Foot thick in the Mid of the Stream in the River. The A is no Diſeaſe or Diſtemper prev here, unleſs it is the Scurvy, which we have loſt ten of the b of our Seamen. There are gr Plenty of Partridges in the Win time, which are entirely whit and a vaſt Flight of wild Geeſe B the Fall of the Spring. We had leſs than 4000 Geeſe kill'd t Spring by about 20 *Indians*; 30 we have got ſalted for Uſe, beſi 5 or 600 we uſed freſh. The S is but a barren Kind, tho' Plenty Wood; ſuch as Pine, which is t C only Tree that grows here. T native *Indians* are a very active Pe ple, but unmindful of Futurity, o careful for the preſent: They are a ſwarthy Colour, and middle S ture.

They trade in all Kinds of F D with the *Engliſh*, for Brandy, T bacco, Guns, Powder and Sh and little nice Fineries, of whi they are very proud: They dwell Tents and remove from Place Place, as beſt ſuits. The 1ſt *June* the River broke up, and a fe E Days after we got the Ships out t to the Stream, after two Mont unſpeakable Toil in cutting the clear of the Ice; and now we ha got all Things ready for Sea, full Hopes of Succeſs, and deſirous to g rid of this diſmal Country. In c F we meet with Succeſs, we ſhall out another Winter, and lie at *Ca fornio*, t'other Side of the Con nent.

Orkneys, Sept. 16, 174

THE firſt Day of *July* we out from *Churchill*, on our tended Diſcovery. The 8th enter'd Sir *Thomas Roe's Welco* which is about 14 Leagues acro

T

gth we fell in with a vaſt Body
oken Ice, in which we were
gled three Days, being oblig'd
y our Warps and Grapnels.
12th, having got among ſome-
thinner Ice, we ſet ſail, and
over for the North Shore. In
Latitude 65. 10. we named
h Land *Cape Dobbs*, in Ho-
of 'Squire *Dobbs*. Obſerving an
ing to the Northward of the
, we ſtood in for it, deſigning
me to an Anchor to try the
; but finding it was the Mouth
great River, we run about 8
ues up it, and at laſt were
'd to come to an Anchor a-
ſt broken Ice, where indeed
ode in the greateſt Danger on
nt of the great Lodges of Ice
drove againſt us with the Tide.
ſeveral *Uſquemays* came off in
Canoes, who ſaluted us with
Shrieks and hideous Yells, and
ght us ſome Whalebone and
Oil, which they gave us for
Bits of Iron, of which they
wonderfully fond. They are
le of a very ſwarthy Com-
on, well made, vigorous and
, but, by Accounts of them,
rage Diſpoſitions, tho' I think
otherwiſe. They wander from
to Place, and live by Hunt-
and Fiſhing, in which they are
expert in their own Way. Du-
our Stay in the River *Wager*
kill'd a good many Deer; we
oblig'd to ſtay here for 16
, and could not poſſibly put to
on Account of the prodigious
ntity of Ice. The 4th of *Au-*
we left the River, and ſtood
for the Northward, being
'd with fine Weather; we had
Proſpect of the Land on each
, in the Latitude 66. 30. we ſaw
Lands to ſtretch away to the
ward, which gave us great
et, but afterwards found it to
nothing but a Bay Land all
d: Then ſtanding away for an-
other Opening on the Eaſt Side, we laid the Ship to, and went aſhore to take a Survey, from the Top of a high Mountain; when we could ſee the Sea all faſt froze in one ſolid Body for a Matter of 20 Leagues away to the S. E. and finding at the ſame Time that the Flood Tide came from thence, we were fully confirm'd that it had a Communication with the Eaſt Sea, and that there was no ſuch Thing as a Paſſage into the Weſtern Ocean, as was expected. The 8th of *Auguſt* we bore away to the Southward, and made ſome further Search about the Latitude of 64. Thus having travers'd all along the Bay, the 15th we took our Farewel of it. The 20th we made the Head of the Streights; the 26th got clear of them, and loſt Sight of Land. In the Paſſage from the Streights we had very ſtrong Gales, though pretty fair. The 15th of *September* we came in at *Hoy Sound*, and anchor'd in *Stormneſs Harbour*.

Common Senſe, Nov. 20. N° 301.

Remarks on the London *Repreſentation.*

THE late warm and juſt Repreſentations of the Cities of *London*, &c. to their *Members*, ſetting forth the preſent State of our publick Affairs, and the deplorable Situation we are now in, occaſion'd by the moſt iniquitous Adminiſtration of the late *Corruptor*, have at the ſame Time aſtoniſhed and raiſed the Indignation of every true *Briton*. Mankind did believe before, but now no Doubt remains; all People are convinced, they now know certainly, that all the Misfortunes we have labour'd under for many Years paſt are wholly owing to the Power and Wealth with which one Man has been inveſted, and by which he has been enabled to call himſelf and his Accomplices a Majority. Nor were theſe Repreſentations

tions gain'd as Addreſſes have been formerly by an artful Miniſter, who has endeavour'd to give the Senſe and Opinion of the People to his Maſter in his Favour, and by that Means to miſguide him; no, they are what they appear to be, the general Senſe of the People, communicated to their Repreſentatives in this ſolemn and publick Manner, perfectly voluntary and free from any Manner of Influence, Management or Direction whatſoever; and no Doubt of it, the glorious Example of this Metropolis, the Source, the Fountain Head of all our Wealth and Trade, will have, it has had already, its proper Influence both within and without Doors. I ſhall take the Liberty, in this Paper, to give a ſhort Recapitulation of this truly great Addreſs; nor can it be too often repeated. [*We ſhall omit the Quotations, referring our Readers to the* Repreſentation *itſelf, which they will find in our laſt*, p. 503, 504; *and ſhall only give Mr.* Common Senſe's *Remarks.*] *Upon the firſt Paragraph he ſays:*

What a generous Sentiment! what a Spirit of Freedom! ſuch as would have become the Mouths of the Citizens of *Rome*, when on the like Occaſions the Foundations of their mighty Empire were ſapping by Corruption; ſuch as become the Mouth of *Cato*.

—Let it not periſh in our hands—
A day, an hour of virtuous liberty
Is worth a whole eternity in bondage.

Of the ſecond and third Paragraphs he ſays:—This is a faithful Extract from the Report of the Secret Committee; the Detail of the late Miniſter's Crimes, recited in that Report, is a ſufficient Authority for the City's Preamble to their Repreſentation.

Upon the firſt Part of the next Paragraph he remarks:—*Security* at *home* is indeed the firſt Point, and how can we be ſecure while this bad M remains unpuniſh'd? The Woo which this overgrown Criminal given his Country will aſk a l Time to make a perfect Cure, any Time can heal them; nor A any Palliatives, any Quack Re dies do the Work; our politi Surgeons muſt ſearch to the Sou of Corruption, before the Conſti tion can be relieved and repair Should this Man and his Acce plices be ſuffer'd to go off with B punity, would it not remain a R claration to all Miniſters in fut Ages, that no great Miniſter is be call'd to Account for Corr tion? If this ſhould happen, let our Records be razed wherein *Re lation* is called a Crime; and be C known unto all Men, that a dar Criminal like this, arm'd with Po er and Money, is as ſafe, and much above all Laws, as a princ Robber at the Head of his Legio The Puniſhment due to this M can alone (they tell us) recover D loſt Confidence of our *antient Alli* is it not, beyond all Doubt one, perhaps the moſt weighty Rea why our *antient Allies* refuſe, or beſt are very ſlow in acceding our Meaſures, that they find us this critical Juncture in ſome M E ſure unſettled and confuſed? they not hear the Voice of the P ple crying aloud for Juſtice? they not ſee it as yet delay'd? they behold us on ſo eſtabliſh ſo ſolid, and ſo extenſive a Baſi they could wiſh? Did they F come early into an Augmentat of their Troops, while they belie we were going thoroughly and earneſt into an Alteration of M ſures? Did they not ſtop ſhort w they found their Expectations w not wholly anſwer'd? May not G *antient Allies* think It their Inte at this Juncture to be *Neuters*? they not conſiderable Gainers being not involv'd as Principals

Convulſions of *Europe?* Are not the Carriers of the World? they not more afraid of a *Stadt-* than of the Power of *France?* t but ſuch Reaſons as theſe d hinder them from coming into Meaſures? Their Alliance with is natural, and has been often ally uſeful, both with relation heir Situation, their Strength, r Religion and their Intereſt; even their Trade, which when pared with ours, does not engage ſuch a Rivalſhip, and Compe- with one another as is pre- ed. Perhaps they may at laſt e in, but it muſt be on ſaving ms; they are *ſtomachful* and , but they are ſure: We may ember it was near two Years be- our late Miniſter could prevail them to accede to the Treaty *Hanover*, that moſt advantageous ance that threw us into the s of *France*, and ſaved us from g ſwallow'd up by the exorbitant et of the laſt *Emperor*, as the *Miniſter* inform'd us.

Then he gives the Remainder of the reſentation, *and concludes thus:*

This glorious Repreſentation remain a Memorial of the hero- Spirit of Liberty and Juſtice in City of *London* till Time ſhall no more: It is already become Standard of Truth, and the reſt he Nation refer to it in their In- tions as to an unerring Oracle. ow not what the Perſon particu- mark'd out in this Piece may k, but if he can feel, if he has Senſation, it muſt make his d ſhudder in his Veins, to hear ſelf proclaim'd thus by the le Nation, the *Corruptor General.* uſt give him an *Ague Fit*, not to cured by his uſual Grand Spe- ks, the *Balſom of Peru*, or the its *Bark*.

From the Craftſman, *Nov.* 20. N° 856.

THE quick Rotation of the Daily and Evening Papers, if ſmall Things may be compared to great, bears ſome Reſemblance to that of *Mercury* round the *Sun*; and thoſe, which make their Appearance but once a Week, partake of the ſlow and ſolemn Deliberation of *Saturn*.

If the firſt, therefore, ſlip in a meagre Day, now and then, and ſerve up whip'd Syllabubs, inſtead of ſubſtantial Food, their Gueſts are eaſy, on the Preſumption of being ſpeedily made Amends; but if we ſhould put in for the like Privilege, 'tis odds whether we ſhould meet with the like Indulgence.

A Word in Seaſon hath double Weight; and haſty Thoughts ſometimes derive an Importance from the Criſis then in being, which, when cool, are not worth a ſecond Reading. This is another Advantage, which the ſaid Daily and Evening Papers have over the Weekly ones; and it was with ſome Regret that I ſaw the Day, appointed for the late ſolemn F—t, paſs by, without affording me an Opportunity of paying the Compliments, which I thought it deſerved.

Hypocriſy in private Life, though never ſo effectually cloak'd as with a Veil of Piety, is never ſo much hated and deſpiſed, as when diſcover'd underneath it. Nor can I think that State-Hypocriſy either deſerves, or would receive better Uſage. Made venerable, indeed, with the Garb and Enſigns of Authority, led forth to the Publick by the R—— R——d F——s of the C——h, and boldly preſſing into the very Preſence of *God* himſelf, no Queſtion ſhe would be, at firſt, regarded with Awe; not many would dare to doubt her being what ſhe ſeem'd, and but very few, perhaps, would, as with the Touch of *Ithuriel*'s Spear, compel her to reſume her native Form.

But though Hypocriſy, as *Milton* moſt ſubtilly deſcribes it, *is the only Evil*

Evil that walks unſeen, ſhe cannot always walk *unſeen*. In ſpite of all Precautions, the very Air will waft aſide her Diſguiſes, and the Demon will, at length, become viſible.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, therefore, that any Government would A have recourſe to ſo wretched an Artifice to gild over bad Deſigns; ſince it would argue its Miniſters to be as weak as wicked; or that they hold the People they would deceive to be, in Point of Underſtanding, ſcarce one Remove beyond the B *Hottentots*.

Now, with regard to the People of *Great Britain*, this ſurpaſſes all Suppoſition. There can be no Miniſter amongſt us ſo ignorant, or ſo conceited, but muſt allow his Fellow-Subjects to have more Knowledge than, perhaps, he thinks requiſite for any beneath his own Degree. There can be no Miniſter, therefore, amongſt us, that could hope, by any pious Fraud whatever, to eſtabliſh a good Opinion of his Meaſures, or induce the Publick to accept of his Religion as an Atonement for his pernicious Politicks.

What Malignant, then, will preſume to inſinuate, that our late F—t had any Ingredient of this Nature in its Compoſition? Every Body knows, that F—t upon F—t was one of the favourite Expedients of the late exploded Adminiſtration; and as ſuch holy Grimace ſucceeded ſo ill with them, we are under a Neceſſity to conclude, that what was Farce before, is Conſcience now.

Lip-Devotion, a *Wild*, a *Charteris*, or a ******* may practiſe; and we know a *Cromwell* actually did. A Tree may be cover'd with Bloſſoms, and yet produce little Fruit. We will, therefore, wave all Advantages, and leave the Argument in Suſpence. Good Works G ſhall be the Teſt of a Stateſman, as well as a Chriſtian; and do doubt, the preſent Seſſion will prove Harveſt of Patriotiſm, and one of Plenty make us Amends for t ty Years Dearth. No doubt, b this Paper can be made public will appear, that State-Humil are founded upon State-Penit and that both will be follow'd a thorough State-Reformation. is not to be mock'd, nor are G ances to be removed by Fa only. The Souls of the Peopl already ſufficiently afflicted; remains is, for the Great to *their Ways*, and *we may yet* Should their Conſciences con to be fear'd, ſhould their H continue hard as the Nether ſtone, Lent-Meals, and rueful will only prove us to be *Phariſ* C Politicks; and, in the End, vince us of the Truth of that which ſays, *The Hope of the crite ſhall periſh.*

But why ſhould theſe melanc Miſgivings ſo often recur? Hav not, at the Head of our Af D both foreign and domeſtick, Pat of the firſt Rank and Emine who have oppoſed, through e Seſſion, the continued Grievan the late Adminiſtration? An it poſſible to ſuppoſe, that they ſo far forget themſelves, as to E ſue, or even to countenance they were the firſt to clamou gainſt before? No, certainly. likewiſe, ſurpaſſes all Suppoſi In Politicks, as well as Religion, impoſſible to ſerve *God* and *Mam* Whoever makes an Idol of hi F tereſt, muſt make a Martyr of I grity; and what Front of could bear being convicted o his own Mouth, that he had guilty of an Apoſtaſy ſo ut ſhameful and inexcuſable?

We have receiv'd Marcus's *Letter on* Natural Evil.

O

for his MAJESTY's *Birth-Day*, 1742.
COLLEY CIBBER, *Esq*; *Poet-Laureat.*

RECITATIVE.

WHILE ambition flies to arms,
And gives the harrass'd world alarms;
le, by insidious arts ally'd,
ndent princes serve her pride;
nal *George*, to break their chains,
e timely suasive power exerts;
r jarring arms to union gains,
d to the weak now strength imparts.

AIR.

Albion's honour and renown,
brighter gems emblaze his crown.

CHORUS.

greater never can be known,
han such a Prince on such a throne.

RECITATIVE.

d great Prince, of human kind the friend,
meaneſt rights of *Europe* to defend.

AIR.

ip influence thus inspires;
r ancient friends regain their ground;
ion bleeding now retires,
finds the balm to heal her wounds.
Astria's due support demands,
rge and his senate shall supply,
ordly spoilers void her lands,
in the fields they wasted die.

RECITATIVE.

yet does this extensive care
the vigour in the war,
re plunder'd commerce draws the sword,
claims his right of ocean's Lord.

AIR.

ons, bless'd in such protection,
What invaders can annoy?
t obedience, such affection,
smiling taste of mutual joy.
greater wish could find a tongue,
such a Prince to rule us long?

CHORUS.

ter never can be known,
such a Prince on such a throne.

A Parody on Mr. CIBBER's ODE.
In Praise of the Author.

RECITATIVE.

WHILE *Quin* and *Garrick* flie to arms,
And give the harrass'd town alarms;
While, by insidious arts ally'd,
The *Templers* club to check their pride;
Paternal *Cibber* shakes his chains,
His timely lenient power exerts;
Wine and a hundred pounds he gains,
And to the wakeful sleep imparts.

AIR.

Thus *Albion*'s honour and renown
Great *Cibber* sings—Hey derry down.

CHORUS.

A greater never can be read,
Than such a wreath on such a head.

RECITATIVE.

Proceed great bard, of human kind the friend,
The meaneſt rights of *Morpheus* to defend.

AIR.

Dulness' influence thus inspires,
Her ancient friends regain their ground;
Bleeding the Lyric Muse retires,
Cibber has given her death's wound.
What *Rich* or *Fleetwood* now demand,
He and his image shall supply,
Till lordly *Garrick* void *this* land.
And in his *own Quin* go and die.

RECITATIVE.

Nor yet does this extensive care
Abate the vigour in the war,
Where *Pope*, satiric, draws the sword,
And *Cibber* owns his whore and lord.

AIR.

Britons, bless'd in such a poet,
Spain nor *France* shall e'er annoy;
Such a genius (let them know it)
Gives us spirit, gives us joy.
What greater wish could find a tongue,
Than such a bard, and such a song?

CHORUS.

A greater never can be read,
Than such a wreath on such a head.

RICHARD SAVAGE, *Esq*;
of the late Earl RIVERS.
Clergyman of the Church of England.

WHILE the *lov'd Muse*, with *various* fancy fraught, [thought;
Gives some *recent* theme employs my
or the verdant meads, or vocal hills,
ing brooks, or softly-purling rills;
ds more sublime,—far loftier things,
ths of heroes, or the praise of kings,
court the string, and claim the
—I heard the *tuneful Sisters* say,

No longer doubt——no king, nor purling stream,
But *friendship* ever sacred be the theme;
A *friendship*, which from *worth* derives its fire,
Which *poesy* excites, and *we* inspire.
This, *Savage* justly claims (whose *well-tun'd* lays [praise;
* Our *darling Son* endures and stoops to
Best-natur'd bard! still ready to commend,
And *aid* the flights of each *poetic* friend:
Who void of *envy* loves each *laurel'd* name,
Well-pleas'd that *others* brighten into fame;
Best-pleas'd when wide-extending rumours tell [cel:
That *these* come *near*, and *those*, *his* works ex-

* *Pope.*

Pleasing associate! still with winning ease,
He studies every method how to *please*;
Complies with each proposal,—*this*,—or *that*,
With time-beguiling *cards*— or harmless *chat*;
Or *moralizes*——o'er the sprightly bowl,
The feast of reason, and the flow of soul:
Quells the deep sigh, conceals the pungent pain,
Which *less* philosophy cou'd not restrain;
Fearful, of woes unnumber'd, *one* t'impart,
To *ease* his *own*, and *grieve another*'s heart;
For errors past still ready to *atone*,
Forgive *another*'s, and repent his *own*;
Even to forget, forgive a *mother*'s hate!
And patient bear the rudest shocks of fate.
Can praise *Tyrconnel*; *Orford* still revere,
Nor think on CAROLINE without—a *tear*.
To grateful strains then instant tune the string. [sing.
And sing *his* worth, who taught *thee* how to
Chearful I snatch the *lyre*,—the limpid stream,
Or *Sylvan* shade no longer be my theme;
To *venal* bards I leave these meaner things,
To sing of titles,—statesmen,—heroes,—kings; [grace,
My friend *far* more resplendent honours
Virtues far more illustrious than *his race!*
'Tis mine *deserted merit* to commend,
Nor blush to *own* that *Savage* is *my* friend.

Oct. 15, 1742.

Great Magdalen-Lane, Bristol. WM. SAUNDERS.

The PLATONIC LOVER.

To a young Lady, who lately sent the Author a short, sudden Epistle, that her Surname was C—rr—r.

——— *Ah miser,*
Quantâ laboras in Charybdi!
Digne puer meliore flamma.
HOR. 1 O. 27. 18.

——*Longum, formosa,—Vale!*
VIRG.

I.

STRANGE news the last mail, ye gods, how shall I bear it? [it?
Shall I keep it to kill me? or manfully tear
Tear, tear the vile name—that's a weakness confest. [my breast.
Then keep it—That's keeping a snake in

II.

How distracting the thought! tho' I humble to either, [neither;
Both torture alike, hope or comfort from
'Tis resolv'd—I'll religiously keep the black name, [shame.
As a lasting record of my truth, and her

III.

Then courage, my heart! nor thy fortune regret, [coquet;
Shake off thy fond chain, and discharge the
'Midst the circle of fair ones you'll find more true; [
Think no more of *Belinda*, but sigh

IV.

Yet gently, my heart, and still my hand! [
There's something recals that rash
Perhaps 'tis thy truth and affection to
To reward the dread trial with trophies of

V.

Still courage, my *heart!* thy affection try, [
Where her *honour*'s at venture—or
What more can be said? Or what
be done? [
Where her *honour* runs counter—all

VI.

Then bring forth my *heart*, and her to test,
Who levell'd the *arrow* to lodge in thy
Who prov'd the *aggressor?* an innocent
That so void of offence, never heard of

VII.

It oft has been su'd for by *H—w—d*, *H———*, [
By *P——*, with her thousands and
And when it was prest in soft terms
say, [
It with transports acknowledg'd—

VIII.

What has *honour* to say to this cruel
Honour startles, confounded, and flies
court: [
Its conscience its judge—what is
Hand, once more assist me,—*Belinda*—

IX.

Adieu to those scenes of wit, mirth delight, [
Those charms for the senses, as well
To prose, verse, and converse, ten
adieu's— [my
Adieu, my (once) charmer!—my

Wrote in the Absence of a young Lady, was retired to Bath, *as a Companion indisposed Parent.*

SAY, happy *Bath!* how long will tain
My dear *Laphronia* from her sighing
Within thy walls while her
keep,
Behold, incessant her *Fidelio* weep;
Stranger to joy, he suffers every pain,
Her worth unknown, but transient
gain.
Successful then thy healing arts
Restore to health the friend of her
Thy strength'ning springs no longer
need,
But haste to *London* with the
Then will I praise thy all-prevailing
My dear *Laphronia* meet!—no more to
And in one balmy kiss dissolve my
heart! FIDEL

the Recovery of a young Gentleman Commoner of Oxford, *from whom Mr.* Cheſelden *extracted a large Stone, after uſing* ——'s *Medicines for ſome Years to no Purpoſe.*

LONG may'ſt thou live, O *Cheſelden!* to ſave
That is ſweet and lovely from the grave;
Is was the youth thy wond'rous arts have reſtor'd, [reveal'd.
If ſure 'twas heav'n thoſe wond'rous arts
What was his pain, and doubtful was the ſtrife,
What death approaching, and departing life;
Each object then grew painful to his ſight,
Toſs'd and turn'd, and ſicken'd at the light;
All his words expreſſive of complaint,
Mournfully ſlow, and pitifully faint:
Who ſaw his tears, and could from tears refrain? [pain?
Who heard his groans, and did not ſhare his
Ye, that by ſure gradation height'ning ſtill,
Superior, mock'd the doctor's utmoſt ſkill.
Methinks I feel thoſe agonies he bore,
And the big ſweat diſtil from ev'ry pore!
See, the whole mien diſtorted, pale, and grim! [limb!
The ſtrong convulſion ſhoot through ev'ry
Tell me, dear youth! Ah! tell me where
What was fled
That winning feature, that engaging red?
That winning feature, that luxuriant prime
Scorn'd no other raviſher than *Time*.
Had could the *Muſes* over *Time* prevail,
But this—this mighty raviſher ſhould fail.
Behold his father, mother, ſiſter, all,
Invoking *heav'n* with one united call.
Cruel fate! that caus'd the youth's unequal'd woe!
Cruel fate! that caus'd ſo many eyes to flow.
The vegetative crop, or tender flow'rs
That not the preſſure of continued ſhow'rs,
Or ſpent and yielding to th' inclement ſky,
Languiſh, decline their beauteous heads, and die.
How then could youth ſo tender undergo
The conſtant tenour of oppreſſive woe?
Left if ſome intervals of eaſe were giv'n,
And a day's reſpite were a day in heav'n.
Yet ſee again freſh blooming on his face,
The red engaging, and the winning grace;
Thy arts, O *Cheſelden!* alone beſtow
The grace that wins us, and the cheeks that glow:
Such pow'r of charms, that virgins not a few
Will ſigh away their beauty as they view.
Too deſtructive in ſo kind a deed!
For whilſt he lives unnumber'd hearts ſhall bleed.
From pole to pole while *St*——'s glory runs,
Thy patient ſhumber *Æſculapius'* ſons?
Whilſt in a nation's right they ought to ſtand,
And ſtop the progreſs of the baneful hand.
They did reſent; but that reſentment grew
All from a private, not a publick view:
In vain, againſt her method they proceed,
Unleſs they fix a better in its ſtead.
Or if this taſk their utmoſt art beguil'd,
At leaſt they might ſecure the growing child;
What time ſome ſpecks of gravel firſt began
To gather to a bulk, and threat the future man;
Since by degrees they gather to a ſize,
Till the rack'd wretch in heighten'd anguiſh dies. [vance;
Thus far, phyſicians! could your ſkill ad-
Deceit had ceas'd, and *St*——s tript to *France*.
Succeſsful emp'rick! that deſtroying thrives,
Ev'n more than others by preſerving lives.
'Tis hence our manhood dwindles to a ſhade,
And tender buds before they bloſſom fade.
What have I ſaid? how feign would I revoke!
Fool that I was! the bitter things I ſpoke!
Forgive, my *St*——s! the ſatyric lays:
'Twas all a dream! ſince you deſerve our praiſe;
So rare your med'cines, and ſo great your ſkill,
You always eaſe us—for you always k—ll.
Yet ſure one plea ſufficient may be found,
You'd k—ll five thouſand for five th——d p—nd.
To mend the ruins of this ſhatter'd ſtate,
Is man's firſt ſkill; is almoſt to create:
For this, O *Cheſelden!* thy laſting name
Shall fly unſullied on the wings of fame.
Yet tho' thy ſkill our narrow ſpan extend;
The world muſt weep an univerſal friend:
Ev'n thou muſt periſh: If the verſe had pow'r
Sufficient to keep back thy dying hour,
Long ſhould the fates to ſpin thy thread unite,
And their large bottom run for ever white.
But fall thou muſt, when *Pluto* gives the nod;
Nor pray'rs, nor muſick, ſtrike th' impaſſive god:
Thoſe eyes muſt cloſe in death's eternal ſleep,
And when they cloſe — a thouſand eyes ſhall weep.

On Miſs THOMAS, *an agreeable young Lady of* Briſtol.

LONG had I heard of the fair *Anna's* name,
The laviſh praiſes of the babbling fame;
I thought them thus, and went reſolv'd to try,
And trace the charmer with a critick's eye,
Reſolv'd to find ſome fault before unſpy'd,
And diſappointed—if but—ſatisfy'd:
Love pierc'd the vaſſal heart that durſt rebel,
And where a *judge* was meant, a victim fell.
On thoſe dear eyes with ſweet perdition gay,
I gaz'd and gaz'd at once my ſoul away!

All o'er I felt the luſcious poiſon run,
And in an haſty look the conqueſt won!
Thus the fond moth around the taper plays,
And ſports and flutters in the treach'rous blaze;
Around, around the flame he wings his flight,
Nor dreams of ruin in ſo clear a light;
He tempts his fate, and courts a glorious doom,
A bright deſtruction—and a ſhining tomb.

In Obitum Reverendiſſimi & piiſſimi viri Hugonis Boulteri nuper Archiepiſcopi Armachani.

Nunc ultro ad cineres ipſius, et oſſa parentis,
Haud equidem ſine mente, reor, ſine numine divum
Adſumus.——— Virg.

HACTENUS (ut decuit) lepido ſuccumbimus igni,
Nunc eheu! in lachrymas, nunc in ſuſpiria cogor.
Ite voluptates procul, ingratique valete
Riſus; huc adſint gemitus, atque una doloris,
Una ſit ærumnæ facies immenſa Britannis.
Nulla caret mors morte, nec eſt ſine funere funus.
Omnia præterevunt: finiſque ab origine prima
Fit propior, propiorque ſibi. Sic læta juventus
Paulatim emoritur, tarda accedente ſenecta:
Morſque ſui eſt, quodcunque fuit, quodcunque ſub auras
Accipit ætherias venientem, & limina vitæ.
Quin etiam, cecidiſſe altas cum molibus urbes
Aſpicies, ſimul effuſam per ſæcula retro
Incipies, totumque ævum dimittere mentem.
Ipſe vides; jacet ante oculos, orbique ruinam,
Et ſparſam tota oſtendit per mœnia mortem
Roma parens: quanquam ſpoliis immanibus alto
Et tot culminibus quondam ſe inferret Olympo.
At meliora rapit rigidi inclementia fati,
Auſert & primum quos optent ſæcula ſera:
Occidit Angliæ & Iernes decus, occidit ipſe
Boulterus, famâ toto memoratus in orbe.
Innocui manes, & magni nominis umbra,
Accipe crudeles gemitus & fiebile murmur.
Quis tam duri animi, vel cui tam ferrea mens eſt
Inconcuſſa malis, aut impenetrabile pectus;
Ut tibi, chare Pater, lachrymarum deneget imbrem?
Ut tua non digno deploret fata dolore!
Quamvis ipſa ſuo virtus exſurgit honori,
Nec laudum titulos, vulgique evanida captat
Præmia, fas tamen, O vir, digno carmine, magnæ,
Virtutes memorare tuas; ut ſplendidus ortu,
Mente ſupergrediens per cunctas iveris artes,
Unde affulget honos. Te nulla ſcientia fugit,
Magnanimo quæ digna viro. Te laudibus altis
Aptat, & egregiis conatibus ardua virtus.
Tu ſolitus monſtrare vias quibus itur ad aſtra,
Tu populo ſolitus divina oracula mentis
Pandere, majoreſque viro deprimere vocat
Vixiſti contemptor opum, contemptor ho
rum,
Integer a vitiis, procul ambitionis ab oſtro
Non te pellacis labefecit gloria mundi,
At rigidam virtutem, at religionis honore
Poſthabitis ſequerere bonis; ſuccurrere ſæ
Cura fuit miſeris, nudos veſtire & amicu
Auxilio luctu ſuſpiria mœſta trahentis
Veniſti, triſtes expellens pectore curas.
Nemo ex pauperibus tibi non donatus abi
Magne vir, incaſſum toto quæretur in orb
Par tibi, non ſoles patitur duo mun
æther.
Fortunate ſenex! tua ſors ſeſe altius effert
Quam ſit fas ſperare homini. Te ſceptra
rentur,
Tu maria ac terras ingenti nomine comple
Nullaque te annorum valeat longæva vetu
Deturbare gradu, memorique expungere ſe
Tandem ævi famæque ſatur, ſtatione rec
Terrena, frueriſque Deo, quem mente ani
que
Semper anhelaſti, dum te mortalis habeba
Conditio: nunc ſede pia dominaris, & om
Fine carens ævum, poſt tædia longa labor
Exiliique moras, patria ſuper ætheris arc
Vivis, & è cœlo deſpectas arduus orbem;
Dum læti terris dicunt tibi carmina vat
Vir dilecte Deo, vir civibus addite cœli,
Dum pietas, dum priſca fides redibit in or
Nulla decus nomenque tuum ventura ſile
Sæcula, ſemper honos Boulteri & fama vige
Univ. Coll. Ox

In Imitation of one of the PSALMS.

WHEN guilt with horror ſhakes my ſoul
Before thy awful face,
I with the humbleſt duſt my bed,
And beg thy ſaving grace:
Not the gilt couch can calm my ſoul,
Or the ſtill ſilent night;
A frightful gleam ſoon glares around,
And ſets my ſins in light.
The velvet curtain all in vain
Surrounds th' embroider'd bed;
Sternly, methinks, my ſoul thou view'ſt,
And fill'ſt my heart with dread.
Reaſon like a bright radiant ſtream
Flows from thy boundleſs mind;
O far beyond expreſſion bleſs'd!
To whom thy mercy's kind.
What? tho' my ſoul has greatly err'd,
And with foul crimes is ſtain'd,
Soon as he ſees his humbled child
The father's heart is pain'd.
Oh! guide me in fair virtue's paths,
Point out the arduous way,
And lead me thro' the gloom of life,
To thy immortal day:
No flatt'ring vice will there allure,
But ev'ry virtue blaze,

Immor

…ver'd in beatifick light,
…And fill the heav'ns with rays.
…rapture then I'll worſhip thee,
…With fulneſs of deſire,
…eaſleſs beauty ever gaze,
…And thy juſt laws admire.

J. DINSDALE.

To the MEMORY *of the late Reverend Mr.* RICHARD BRETT.

…OLD, Sirs!—pray ſtop:—advancing now
more near,
…ſuite too plain, the ſolemn ſound I hear,
…leful accents, hark! the diſmal bell
…tates, what ſorrowing *Swinnerton* befel,
…e other day *; — a day that not a few,
…many years to come, will ſadly rue,
…, in their mournful memories, record
…is, ſo long, ſo much to be deplor'd.
…And let *me* too,—thou dear *departed ſoul!*
…ſuch a loſs, with multitudes condole.
…me, with ſerious thought, and ſolemn pace,
…roach yond mournful, melancholy place,
…ich, of a *faithful miniſter*, contains
…e cold, wan, lifeleſs, periſhing *remains:*
…ace,—where, once, each innocent delight,
…well-pleas'd viſitant, wou'd ſtill invite;—
…ere learning, converſation, love unfeign'd,
…cordial friendſhip in perfection reign'd:
…lace,—where choice amuſements are no
more;
…ace,—how chang'd from what it was be-
fore!
…where the pureſt pleaſures once were
found,
…y trickling tears, deep ſighs, and bitter
groans abound.
…r ſhall afflicted *Swinnerton* alone,
…late lov'd *paſtor*'s early death bemoan.
…*ford, Stone, Standon, Trentham, Whitmore,*
Mere,
…*ſeball, Cheddſey*,—places far and near,—
…*rch-Eaton* too, and *Haughton*, ſhall conjoin
…ir lamentations for this good *divine.*
…who can paint,—(in fine, and to be brief,)
…he ſum up ſuch *univerſal* grief?
…et ceaſe, my brethren,—*weep not for the*
dead:
…now from hence the ſweeteſt ſoul be fled,
…h reſignation let us all attend
…e funeral rites of our reſpected friend;—
…various virtues emulate, and try
…ct like him, like him to live and die.
…us aright commem'rate (if we can,)
…e great, uncommon worth of this good
man;
…nted, filial piety proclaim,
…fervid zeal that did his heart inflame;
…ſſenſiveneſs, in word and deed,
…ircumſpection, and the conſtant *heed,*
This faithful, this obliging *paſtor took,*
Both *to himſelf*, his *friends*, and num'rous
flock.
Yea ſo aſſiduous was the ſhepherd's care,
In this important, vaſtly grand affair,
His zeal ſo true, ſo eminently large,
The *ſacerdotal duty* to diſcharge,
That, in ſome meaſure, he (it is well known,)
To *ſave a ſoul from death*, his precious *life laid*
down †.
The love of ev'ry one, both good and bad,
Their deareſt love, be both deſerv'd, and had.
If any think it ſtrange, I fain wou'd know,
How ſuch a friend to *all* ſhou'd have a foe.
But why ſhou'd I ſuch exemplary worth,
Thus, all in vain, endeavour to ſet forth?
Praiſe him enough, I never ſhall, nor can:
So meek, ſo mild, ſo truly good a man,
Quite free from guile, and *harmleſs as the*
dove,
All, all that knew him, cou'd not chuſe but
love.
If then we lov'd him, let us not complain,
But from the leaſt repining thought refrain.
Since our late loſs his great advantage proves,
Thoſe to *rejoice* it rather ſure behoves,
That ſuch unequall'd worth have rightly
known,
And *ſelfiſh* motives can with truth diſown.
'Tis true,—of worldly benefits bereft,
A lovely, loving neighb'rhood has he left.
He leaves his *houſe*, his *gardens*, and his
friends;
Yet heav'n for all has doubtleſs made amends:
Each earthly comfort and convenience leaves;
But *greater things* in lieu thereof receives.
His *habitation here* was not amiſs;
But *now* in *manſions* of *eternal bliſs*,
He ſweetly dwells!—his *gardens* ſo compleat,
So well contriv'd, ſo elegantly neat,
With plants, and flow'rs, ſo beautifully grac'd,
To each ſpectator, ſhew'd the *man of taſte.*
Here, he, in ambulation oft renew'd,
The gradual growth of vegetables view'd:
But, *now*, thro' *regions of delight* can range,
Surpaſſing quite—(O raviſhing exchange!)
Ev'n *Eden*'s once endearing, bleſt abode,—
Tranſporting place!—*the paradiſe of God!*
He, he, who *here* his *friends* knew how to
prize,
The ſweet ſociety of *ſaints* enjoys,—
Of *ſouls made perfect* in yond realms above,
Of pleaſing rapture full, and pure *ſeraphic*
love!
And now,—farewel!—my much lov'd
friend, farewel!
To late poſterity, let ſome one tell,
On *braſs*, or *marble*, what to thee we owe,
And, in befitting terms, due praiſe beſtow.
But,—ſhou'd ſome abler pen the thing neglect,
Thy ſons, O *Swinnerton!* this great defect,

* Sept. 26, 1742. † *Awhile before he fell ill of the violent Fever, that unhappily*
and fatal to him, he went one Morning, faſting, to viſit a ſick Pariſhioner. During his Stay
with whom, he perceiv'd a very noiſome Smell; which ſeem'd to deſcend, as it were, into his very
Breaſt. From whence (as ſome think) he unfortunately took the Infection.

In

In future years, shall certainly supply;
Ev'n *childrens children* shall be taught to *sigh*,
And num'rous babes, that are *as yet unborn*,
Of their lamenting parents, learn to *mourn*.
These sev'ral *standing monuments* shall slay,
And, pointing tow'rds the dear *remains*, shall say,—
With downcast look shall say, and deep regret,
"*Here our lov'd Rector lies*, — *poor Parson* BRETT."

Oct. 4, 1742. PHILOPHILUS.

From a Gentleman in the Country, to his Friend in London: *Inviting him to his House.*

ARISE, my friend! the busy world forsake,
And joys substantial with thy —— partake.
No longer can I bear such bliss alone,
You haste to *R—d—g*, or I'll haste to town.
Weigh well the good and ill on either side,
Come!—and the greatest pleasures we divide:
Stay!—and perhaps you may increase your store,
You'll save a guinea, or you'll get you four.
But say, my friend, the value of your gain,
'Tis worse than nothing, if it brings you pain:
And all the good that money can procure,
Is well-tim'd pleasure — this, and nothing more.
Amelia, *Marcia*, *Celia*, and the *fair*
All join with me, and make my wish their pray'r.
And of two evils, which you will eschew,
You visit us, or we will visit you!

FLORIO.

A COLLEGE ROOM.

I STROLL'D one day into a room,
When honest *Bob* was not at home;
But as his key was in the door,
I sat me down for half an hour;
When round the room I cast my eyes,
A medley of such objects rise,
That straightway to employ my time,
I thus describ'd them all in rhyme.

A table first, which, made of oak,
Had one leg short, another broke;
As much of it as well could stand,
Was fill'd with papers, pen, and sand;
While various books confus'dly lie,
Scotch songs, with deep *philosophy*.
A *Prior* here, and *Euclid* there,
A *Rochester*, and *book of prayer*;
Here *Tillotson* with *French romances*,
And pious *South* with *country dances*;
Here lay a treatise on the c—p,
A dirty band, and woollen cap,
A gally-pot, and box of pills;
A remedy for private ills;
Foul pipes and mugs together lay,
With box of best *Virginia*.
Two elbow chairs near meant to fit in,
A word convenience to sh—t in:
The newest method for the fidd'le,
A violin broke in the middle,
With great variety of prints,
Of copper-plates, and metzotints;
Here *Phaeton* from heaven was hurl'd,
And here the wonders of the world;
The *Cartoons* mix'd with *Aratem*,
With heads of *British* kings and queens
Two pious founders with their mitres,
With *Sturbridge-Fair* and cudgel fighters
Joan with her consort Punchanello,
With *Vernon*'s siege of *Porto-Bello*;
Here *Drake* that glorious *English* tar,
With *Ormond* and the *Russian* Czar;
A cat without a tail or ear,
Lay sleeping by a mug of beer;
Along with her upon the hearth,
Lay *Pope*'s new *Dunciad* and *Garth*,
Which did not dread the harmless fire,
Which just was going to expire:
Upon the floor was careless thrown,
A dirty shirt, and tatter'd gown;
An *Homer* never meant to look on,
A wooden desk to set a book on;
Two globes, 'twas difficult to find,
Which was for heaven or earth design'd;
A pair of bellows, and a broom,
And a bureau adorn'd his room;
In bottle neck was fix'd a candle,
An earthen jug without an handle,
A grate, I could not help admiring,
Was ne'er design'd to make a fire in,
So much decay'd, and full of holes,
It would not hold a pan of coals.
Upon a little table stood
A *China* bason full of blood;
A tweezer-case, a dirty towel,
A pitcher of hot water-grewel;
A glass which some unlucky stroke
Had in a dozen pieces broke;
A chest half full of right *bohea*,
With proper furniture for tea,
Had not the cups and saucers been,
Some blue and white, some red and g
Some large enough to hold a gill,
While others scarce a spoon would fill
Here lay a female's fan and gloves,
The trophies of his former loves;
To *Chloe* lay an open letter,
In which he own'd himself her debtor,
But could not her requests fulfil,
He had not yet receiv'd his bill:
Upon the window stood a bowl,
With relicks of a roasted fowl,
A College plate with dirty dishes,
A powder-horn and net for fishes;
A rusty gun without a lock,
A racket and a shuttle-cock,
With oil and combs and pow'ring block
A canister and pair of shoes,
A pistol ne'er design'd to use,
A coffee-mill and perfum'd ball,
A chamber-pot — and that was all.

L
T

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

A Moſt melancholy Accident happen'd by the Fall of the large Church of *Fearn* in *Roſsſhire* in *Scotland*, on *Sunday* the 10th of laſt Month, during the Time of Divine Service; but as the Particulars were not yet known at the End of the Month, we thought fit to defer the Account of it, till we had ſome further Information; which is as follows: That the North Wall of the Church (which was a very old Abbacy in the *Gothic* Taſte; and the Roof cover'd with Free-Stone) clove aſunder for five Foot deep and all the Length of it; on hearing the Noiſe, the People looking up, (the Inſide of the Wall being entire) they ſaw almoſt the whole Roof coming down on their Heads, which happen'd ſo quickly that no Cry was heard till the Noiſe of the Fall was over, and then indeed pitiful were the Cries, Shrieks and Groans of thoſe that were under the Rubbiſh. People flock'd from all Corners to their Relief, and ſav'd as many as they could. As the Sarking came down almoſt entire, they had great Difficulty in getting the People out. After they had done what they could ſome Groans were ſtill heard, but they could not find out the Perſon, till Monday Morning, they diſcover'd it to be a poor Woman, who was then dead; thirty-ſix were kill'd on the Spot, and three died of their Wounds. The few Houſes near the Church were full of dead Bodies in one End, and bruiſed People in the other, lamenting their being alive, being in ſo great Miſery; a melancholy Spectacle! Notwithſtanding moſt of thoſe that were bruis'd are now in a fair Way of Recovery; ſuch as the Laird of *Kilchilch*, the Miniſter, who was knock'd down to the Pulpit by the Sounding-Board falling upon him, *&c.* What ſav'd many from their falling under the Tables of their Seats, where they remain'd till dug out; but where the Roof Stones fell, it cruſh'd all to Pieces. There happen'd to be a Sermon in *Balnakie*, an Epiſcopal Meeting-Houſe, where Mr. *Stewart* preach'd to a numerous Congregation, elſe many more had probably been in *Fearn*, and loſt their Lives. It is likewiſe remarkable, that this Misfortune happen'd while the Miniſter was preaching in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and all the Highlanders, as the Cuſtom is, had gone out. Thoſe that were without the Church ſay, that when it fell, it was ſurrounded with a great Flaſh of Lightning.

From the London Gazette.

The following is a further Account from General Oglethorpe, *at* Frederica *in* Georgia.

July the 10th. This Day was ſpent in going on with the Works, and ſending Parties out againſt the *Spaniards*. The *Indians* brought in one Priſoner and ſeveral Scalps. *July* 11. This Day the *Spaniſh* Fleet came higher up the River, and one Galley, with 100 Men on board, and two Half Gallies, row'd up with the Tide of Flood for the Town. The General immediately detach'd a Party of the *Indians* to lie in Ambuſcade in the Woods, leſt the Enemy, at the ſame Time, ſhould attack by Land when they attack by Water; he alſo order'd all our Boats to be mann'd, *viz.* Two ſcout Boats, and two ſmall Boats; then lining the Banks and the Sides of the Works round the Town (which are yet unfiniſh'd) with Men and ſmall Arms, he went to the Fort, and himſelf ſaw the Guns and Haubitzers pointed, and fir'd ſo warmly upon the *Spaniſh* Veſſels that they ſeem'd diſabled; upon which the General immediately went on board his Cutter, and row'd towards them with the Boats; they turn'd and row'd with great Precipitation to their Fleet, which lay about 6 or Miles below the Town. The General purſu'd them about three Miles, and then return'd the ſame Evening with the Tide of Ebb. The whole *Spaniſh* Fleet fell down to the Mouth of the Sound, about twelve Miles from the Town, quite out of Sight of the Town. The ſame Day a Highlander, who had been miſſing ever ſince the Grenadier Fight, came in with a Priſoner; he had loſt himſelf in the Woods purſuing the *Spaniards*, of whom he kill'd five, made a ſixth Priſoner, and with much Difficulty found his Way to the Town. *July* 12. The General having Intelligence that there was a ſtill Silence in the *Spaniſh* Camp, and a great Damp among the Men, order'd 300 pick'd Men of the Regiment, the Highland Company, and two of the Troops of Rangers, to be ready, and march'd at Four in the Evening within two Miles of the *Spaniſh* Camp, where he halted, and order'd a Party to advance, and view the Enemy's Poſture, in order to attack them; when unfortunately a *Frenchman*, who had come down, pretending himſelf a Voluntier, with ſome of the Parties, fir'd his Piece, and deſerted to the *Spaniards*; upon which the General finding his Purpoſe diſcover'd, order'd the Drums to beat the Grenadiers March, and return'd to *Frederica*,

July

July 13. The General ſent out Scouts by Land and Water, to ſee what they could diſcover, who are not yet return'd.

As the following Account from *Paris* is curious and amſing, it will not be unacceptable to our Readers. M. *de Reaumur* read a Memorial at the Meeting of the Royal Academy of Sciences, relating to a very curious Diſcovery made at the *Hague* by M. *Trembley*. It is an aquatick Inſect, call'd a Polypus, which has this Peculiarity in it, that when it is cut into ſeveral Parts, each of thoſe Parts produces of itſelf, in the Space of 24 Hours, what it wants to form a compleat Body: So that this Inſect being cut tranſverſely in three Parts, the Part belonging to the Head will produce a Tail, and the Tail a Head, and the Middle a Head and Tail. Some of thoſe Inſects have even been cut tranſverſly into 40 Parts, which each produced what was wanting in it to make a perfect Inſect; ſo that of one Polypus perhaps 40 were made. If they be cut down thro' the Middle, from Head to Tail, each Half will produce another. On this Occaſion M. *de Reaumur* made ſeveral learned and judicious Obſervations, particularly, that as it is an Axiom, that Nature is not ſingular in its Productions, ſo there muſt be other Inſects ſuſceptible of the like wonderful Production: He reports, that by Experiments already made by him, he has diſcover'd certain Earth-Worms that have the ſame Properties; but that Nature operates in them in a much longer Space of Time.

LAND-TAX ſince the REVOLUTION.

Years	Tax *p.* Pound	Years	Tax *p.* Pound.
1688	1	1717	
89	2	18	
90		19	3
91	3	20	
92		21	
93		22	
94		23	
95	4	24	2
96		25	
97		26	
98		27	4
99	3	28	
1700	2	29	3
Additional Duty	6	30	
1701		31	2
2		32	
3		33	1
4		34	
5		35	
6		36	
7	4	37	2
8		38	
9		39	
10		40	
11		41	4
12		42	
13			
14	2		
15			
16	4		

MONDAY, *Nov.* 1.

This Morning came on, at the Court *King's-Bench* at *Guildhall*, before the L Chief Juſtice *Lee*, the great Cauſe ſo long pending between the *Eaſt India* Company Capt. *Francis Goſlin*, late Commander of *Suſſex Indiaman*, concerning the Loſs of Cargo of the ſaid Ship. The Trial laſted near Five o'Clock on *Tueſday* Morning, wh after many learned Arguments by the Co ſel on both Sides, the Jury gave a Verdict behalf of the Company for 30203*l.*

WEDNESDAY, 3.

The *Endeavour*, Capt. *Lealand*, arriv'd *Portſmouth* from *Madeira*, and brought L ters from thence, importing, that his Ma ſty's Ship the *Launceſton*, Capt. *Warren*, h taken among the *Canary* Iſlands a very ri *French* Ship from *La Vera Cruz*, bound *Cadiz*, with a large Quantity of Money board, and 'twas ſaid, had alſo the Service Plate belonging to the General of the *Co ries*, which he had put on board for *Old Spa* Capt. *Warren* took his Prize with him *New York*, where he is ſtation'd.

WEDNESDAY, 10.

The fourth general Faſt was obſerved Account of the War.

FRIDAY, 12.

A Waggon Load of Silver, brought o from *Jamaica* by the *Sheerneſs* Man of Wa was carried to the *Bank*, guarded by a Body Sailors belonging to the ſaid Ship.

TUESDAY, 16.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peer and open'd the ſecond Seſſion of the preſe Parliament, with a moſt gracious Speech both Houſes. (Which ſee, *p.* 552.)

WEDNESDAY, 17.

The Rt. Hon. the Houſe of Lords pr ſented their Addreſs of Thanks for his Ma jeſty's Speech. (See this Addreſs, *p.* 553.)

THURSDAY, 18.

The Hon. Houſe of Commons waited o his Majeſty with their Addreſs on the ſam Occaſion. (Which ſee, *p.* 554.)

From the London Gazette.

Whitehall, Nov. 18. This Day was figne here by the Plenipotentiaries appointed by h Majeſty, with M. *Andrie*, Miniſter and Pl nipotentiary from the King of *Pruſſia*, Treaty of Mutual Defence and Guaranty, be tween the King and his *Pruſſian* Majeſty.

Thomas Homan, condemn'd laſt Seſſions fo the Murder of Mrs. *Dix*, (ſee *p.* 514.) wa executed at the End of *Fetter-Lane*, *Holbourn* on a Gibbet 25 Feet high. There was a va Number of Spectators, and many had the Arms and Legs broke, and receiv'd othe Damage, by the Fall of three of the Scaffold

FRIDAY, 19.

The Anniverſary of the Birth of her Roy Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales* was celebrated when her Royal Highneſs enter'd into th 24th Year of her Age.

Sun

SUNDAY, 21.

The Family of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* went into Mourning on Account of the Death of the Prince of *Anhalt-Deſſau*, Uncle to her R. H. the Princeſs.

MONDAY, 22.

One of the Malefactors condemn'd the laſt Seſſions (ſee *p.* 459, and 514.) were executed at *Tyburn*. The following were reprieved in order for Tranſportation, *viz.* *Edwards*, *Chr. Peterſon*, *Jane Wood*, *Dixon*, and *Will. Bird*, the Keeper of St. *Martin's* Round-Houſe, for ſuffocating ſeveral Women there, who is to be tranſported for Life; the reſt for 14 Years. *Robert Lee*, who was to have been executed with thoſe above mention'd, was afterwards reprieved.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

MR. *EDWARDS*, Son of *Oliver Edwards*, Eſq; to Miſs *Sewell*.

John Rogers, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir *John Rogers*, Bart. to Miſs *Treſuſis*.

Richard Rainsford, Eſq; one of the Rolls Maſters in Chancery, to Miſs *Kingſcot*.

Sir *George Dalſton*, Bart. of *Heath-Hall* in Yorkſhire, to Miſs *Huxley*.

John Lee Hill, of *Cholderton*, *Wilts*, Eſq; to Miſs *Letitia Scrogge*.

John Elways, Eſq; to Miſs *Anne Pratt*.

Mr. *Goſling*, an eminent Banker in *Fleet-ſtreet*, to Miſs *Midwinter*.

Harvey Morres, Eſq; at *Dublin*, to the Lady *Letitia Ponſonby*, Daughter to the Earl of *Beſborough*.

Matthew Ridley, of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, to Miſs *White*, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.

Charles Weſtbrook, Eſq; to Miſs *Knightly*.

Mr. *Aleworth*, Fellow of *Trinity* College, *Cambridge*, to Miſs *Gatward*.

The Lady of Sir *William Courtenay*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Devon*, ſafely delivered of a Son.

Counteſs of *Orrery*, of a Son.

The Lady of *Richard Mead*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Dr. *Mead*, of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

HENRY *GALE*, Eſq; of the *King's-Bench* Walks, *Inner-Temple*.

Capt. *Lee*, lately arrived from *Jamaica*, where he was poſſeſs'd of ſeveral Plantations in that Iſland.

Capt. *Denniſon*, Commander of the *Orford*, now at the *Nore*, a 70 Gun Ship: He was driv'n'd from the *Weſt-Indies*.

Mrs. *Smith*, at *Chelſea*, to whom the late Lady of *Bradford* left a vaſt Eſtate, which ſhe has left to her Son by the ſaid Lady for his Life, Remainder to the Earl of *Bradford*, it being reckon'd about 7 or 8000*l.* a Year.

Col. *Cope*, at *Jamaica*, Deputy Governor of *Virginia*, and Lieut. Col. of the *American* Regiment in the *Weſt-Indies*.

Rt. Hon. the Lady Dowager *Banff*, in *Scotland*.

Sir *Mordaunt Brigden*, Bart.

Mr. *John Smart*, of the Town-Clerk's Office, Author of many curious and uſeful Calculations.

Rev. Mr. *Gibſon*, Curate and Morning Lecturer of St. *Michael's Cornhill*.

Sir *Stafford Fairborne*, Knt. the oldeſt Admiral in the Navy, being appointed a Rear-Admiral by K. *William*, and having been Captain in the Reign of K. *Charles* II.

Rt. Hon. the Lady Viscounteſs Dowager *Hereford*.

——— *Southbury*, Eſq; Ranger of *Epping Foreſt*, in *Hatton-Garden*, who has not been known to have gone out of his Houſe for almoſt theſe ten Years paſt.

Capt. *Saunders*, at *Rotherhith*, aged 85, many Years Commander of a Ship in the *Italian* Trade.

Thomas White, Eſq; poſſeſs'd of a very large Eſtate in *Suffolk*.

Hon. Mr. *Baſil Hamilton*, Member of Parliament for the Stewarty of *Kirkudbright*.

Rev. *John Drake*, B. D. Rector of *Kirk-Smeaton*, Vicar of *Pontefract*, and Prebendary of *York*.

Mr. *Thomas Bridget*, formerly an eminent Surgeon.

Thomas Clutterbuck, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Plimpton* in *Devonſhire*, Treaſurer of the Navy, and one of his Majeſty's moſt Hon. Privy Council: He died of a Mortification in his Leg.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *WIGHT* to the Rectory of *Weſtfield*, in the Room of Mr. *Butts*, deceaſed.

William Aveling, M. A. to the Rectory of *Martin St. Peter* in *Bedford*.

Edward Pordage, M. A. to the Rectory of St. *Fanans*, and Vicarage of *Pennarb* in *Glamorganſhire*.

William Harris, M. A. elected Vicar Choral of the Cathedral of *Landaff*.

Moſes Terry, B. L. had a Diſpenſation to hold the Rectory of *Ledenham*, together with the Vicarage of *Willingore*, both in *Lincolnſhire*.

Walter Walker Ward, D. D. to hold the Rectory of *Biddenden* together with the Rectory of *Great Chart*, both in *Kent*.

Mr. *Monckton*, M. A. Vicar of *Sittingbourn*, preſented to the Living of *Marden*, in the Room of Dr. *Ward*, preſented to *Great Chart*, as aforeſaid.

Mr. *Talbot Lloyd*, to the Rectory of *Warbnays* in *Eſſex*.

William King, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Ramwood* in *Bedfordſhire*.

Mr. *Baynes*, to the Rectory of *Whiſton* in *Suſſex*.

Thomas Fell, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Melling*, alias *Milling*, in *Lancaſhire*.

Mr. *Thomas Freeman*, to the Vicarage of *Thedhad* in *Bedfordſhire*.

Curtis Wightwith, M. A. to the Vicarage of St. *Mary Bredwin*, alias *Bredue*, in *Canterbury*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

SIR *Edmund Thomas*, Memb. for *Chippenham*, and *Henry Oxenden*, Eſq; appointed Grooms of the Bedchamber to the Prince of *Wales*.

Hon. *George Hamilton*, Deputy Cofferer to the Prince.

Hon. —— *Gage*, Eſq; Son of the Rt. Hon. the Lord *Gage*, and the Hon. *Thomas Leſley*, Eſq; Brother to the Earl of *Rothes*, made Equerries to his Royal Highneſs.

Dr. *Smith*, Maſter of *Trinity* College, choſen Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge* for the Year enſuing.

Cornelius Marſh, of *Wellington* in *Somerſetſhire*, Gent. appointed a Maſter in Chancery.

Mr. *Ralph Yorward* of *York*, Mr. *James Limbrey* of *Odiham* in *Hampſhire*, and Mr. *Richard Whitby* of *Derby*, made Maſters Extraordinary of the High Court of Chancery.

Capt. *Perry Maine*, of the *Princeſſa*, appointed Captain of the *Orford*, in the Room of Capt. *Denniſon*, deceas'd.

Capt. *John Gage* made Commander of the *Otter-Sloop*, lately rebuilt.

The Hon. *William Murray*, Eſq; made his Majeſty's Sollicitor General, in the Ro of Sir *John Strange*, Knt. who has reſign

Robert Hoblyn, Eſq; choſe Member of P liament for the City of *Briſtol*, without C poſition.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

THO. BRAND, of *Colcheſter*, De gift.—*Benj. Field* and *George Garth Shoreditch*, Brewers.—*Joſeph Parker*, late *Gitalfields*, Dealer.—*John Siddall*, of Lo *Bridge*, Hardwareman. — *John Newman Wrotham* in *Kent*, Chapman.—*John Stanil* of *Sheffield*, Linen-draper. — *Eliz. Ste* of *London*, Pewterer. — *Geo. Walter*, lat *Feverſham*, Wine Merchant.—*John Gif* of the Pariſh of St. *Pancras*, *Midd* Brickmaker. — *John Tilly*, now or lat *Steyning* in *Suſſex*, Tallow-Chandler.—R *Poole*, of *Bournbridge* Houſe, *Cambridge* Innholder.—*Joſeph Griffith*, late of *Chea* Vintner.—*Will. Parran*, late of St. *Jam Weſtminſter*, Innholder.—*John Ridout*, la *Briſtol*, Baker. — *Fr. Rackwood*, of *Ne Abbot*, *Devon*, Serge-maker and Malſte *Will. Smith*, of *Briſtol*, Timber-Merchan *John Field*, of *Oxford*, Brewer.—*Sam. K ton*, now or late of *Cornhill*, Pewterer *John Long*, late of *Andover*, Innholde *Ste. Jackſon*, late of *Boſton*, Merchan *Philip Davies*, of *Landgadock*, *Carmar ſhire*, Mercer.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 111 ¼ a 111	*African* 10
—*Ann.* 113 ⅛ a ⅜ a ½	*Royal Aſſ.* 84
Bank 143 a ¼ a 143	*Lon. ditto* 11 ⅜
—*Circ.* 3*l* 7*s* 6*d*	3 *p. C. Ann.* 101 ⅜ a ¼
M. Bank 115	*Salt Tallies* 2*l* ¼
India 177 ½ a 178	*Emp. Loan* 113 ¼ a ½ a ¼
—*Bonds* 4*l* 12*s* a 11*s P.*	*Equiv.* 112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 34 11	*Bilboa* 39 ½
D. Sight 34 8 ½ a 8	*Legborn* 50 a ¼
Rotter. 35 1	*Genoa* 53 ⅝ a ⅞
Hamb. 33 8	*Venice* 50 ⅞
Paris 31 ¼	*Liſbon* 5*s* 5*d* ½
Bourdx. 31 $\frac{7}{12}$	*Porto* 5*s* 5*d* ¼
Cadiz 39 ½	*Antw.* 35 5
Madrid 39 ½	*Dublin* 9 ⅜ a ½

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	21	25	*Peaſe*	18	20
Rye	17	19	*H. Peaſe*	23	26
Barley	13	19	*H. Beans*	19	21 6
Oats	11	13 6	*B. Malt*	23	24 6
Tares	27	30	*P. Malt*	25	28

Abſtract of the *London* WEE BILL, from *Oct.* 26. to *Nov.*

Chriſtned	Males	572	1
	Females	492	
Buried	Males	793	1
	Females	843	

Died under 2 Years old

Between	2	and	5
	5		10
	10		20
	20		30
	30		40
	40		50
	50		60
	60		70
	70		80
	80		90
	90	and upwards	

Hay 65 to 66*s.* a Load.

In our laſt we took Notice of the Diſpute in *Holland* relating to the Affair of the Prince of *Orange*; this Diſpute has produced a very ſtrong Remonſtrance by Way of Letter from the States of *Frieſland* to the States General, which ſee, p. 551.

As the *Dutch* would enter into no Meaſures for attacking the *French* in *Flanders*, and were threatned, as it is ſaid, to declare againſt thoſe who ſhould ſtrike the firſt Blow in that Country, the *Britiſh* Forces in *Flanders*, together with the *Hanoverian* and *Heſſian* Troops in the Pay of *Great Britain*, making in all about 40,000 Men, began their March ſoon after the Middle of this Month, for *Mentz* and *Coblentz*, where they are to take up their Winter Quarters, in order to march in the Spring where it ſhall appear moſt proper for aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, if no Peace be agreed on before that Time. The *French* being alarm'd at the March of theſe Troops, they have begun to fortify *Givet*, *Philipville*, *Avennes*, and *Rocroi*, in which Places they have put ſtrong Garriſons, and are laying up great Magazines; and as they are now ſecure againſt any Attack on the Side of *Flanders*, their Army there will probably march after our Troops towards the *Rhine*.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, and his Brother Prince *Charles*, perceiving that the *French* Army under *Maillebois* was to march from *Egra*, in order to facilitate their Junction with their Army from *Prague* under *Broglio*, and knowing that in order to make this Junction practicable, the former muſt march through ſeveral Paſſes and Defiles in the Circle of *Santz*, they reſolved to get Poſſeſſion of thoſe Paſſes and Defiles. For this Purpoſe the *Auſtrian* Army marched with the utmoſt Expedition, and thereby got before the *French* to thoſe Paſſes, whereupon Marſhal *Maillebois* found himſelf obliged to retreat to *Egra*, and Marſhal *Broglio's* Army was obliged to retreat towards *Prague*. From *Egra* M. *Maillebois* marched with his Army back to *Ratiſbon*, and from thence he marched and paſſed the *Danube*, about the beginning of this Month, in order to take up his Winter Quarters in *Bavaria*. Upon the *French* Army's retreating from *Egra*, the Duke of Lorrain detached Prince *Lobcowitz* with a large Body of Forces, to drive *Broglio's* Army again into *Prague*, and to renew the Blockade of that City, and with the reſt of his Army he marched after M. *Maillebois* to the *Danube*, which River he paſſed ſoon after the *French*, and by our laſt Accounts from thence, the Great Duke at the Head of Part of his Army, was marched to attack Count *Deckendorff*, whilſt *Kevenhuller*, with about 14 Regiments, went to meet Count *Saxe*, who advanced towards *Deckendorf* with a Corps of about 10,000 Men, and would be followed, as was given out, by the reſt of the *French* Army amounting to no more than 17,000 Men, which was all that was left of both the Armies under Marſhal *Maillebois* and the Duke *de Harcourt*, from whence we may judge how greatly they ſuffered by their long Marches in *Bohemia*, and by being cotinually haraſſed by the *Auſtrian Huſſars*, *Croats*, *Pandours*, and *Warradins*. As M. *Maillebois's* Conduct was blamed by the Court of *France*, M. *Broglio* was ordered to leave the *Prague* Army under the Command of M. *Belliſle*, and come to take the Command of this Army inſtead of *Maillebois*, which he accordingly did, and is now at the Head of this Body of 17,000 Men which is to follow the Count of *Saxe*; but it is thought they will avoid coming to a general Engagement, if poſſible.

The Diet of *Sweden* having taken the Affair of the Succeſſion to their Crown into Conſideration, there appeared two Candidates for the Royal Dignity, to wit, the Duke of *Holſtein* now at the *Ruſſian* Court, and the Prince of *Heſſe* his *Britannick* Majeſty's Son-in-Law; but all the Houſes at laſt concurred in the Nomination of the former, and the Senate is to ſend a Deputation to make him the the Offer, and to know whether he will accept of it.

From *Italy* we hear that the *Spaniſh* Army under Count *de Gages* deſigned to have marched to take up their Winter Quarters in *Tuſcany*, but their Deſign being diſcovered, Count *Traun* the *Auſtrian* General made a March towards the *Spaniſh* Army as far as *Lavino*, as if he had a Deſign to attack them; but it was only a Feint to cover his Deſign of ſending 6000 Men into *Tuſcany* to join the Great Duke's Forces who were aſſembling at *Prato*, and as ſoon as he had done this he marched back to his Camp at *Bumporto*. The Infant Don *Philip* has been joined by almoſt all the Reinforcements from *Spain*, and is preparing to make a new Attack upon *Savoy*, as the King of *Sardinia* is to repel this freſh Attack.

We had farther Advice from *Stockholm*, that the States of the Kingdom have drawn up a Capitulation, to be accepted of and ſworn to by the Duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp*; that the Diet will continue aſſembled until the ſaid Capitulation is preſented to the Duke, and his Royal Highneſs gives an Anſwer to it; and that they flatter themſelves, that by Means of the Duke's Election, they will be able to make an honourable Peace with *Ruſſia*, without being beholden to any other Power for its Mediation or good Offices.

Letters from *Copenhagen* ſay, that the *French* Miniſter there has received from his Court, the Ratification of the Treaty of Commerce lately concluded between *France* and *Denmark*.

ENTERTAINMENT *and* POETRY.

1. THE Dean of *Colerain*. A moral Hiſtory, founded on the Memoirs of an illuſtrious Family in *Ireland*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 3*s*.

2. The Memoirs and Adventures of the Marquiſs *de Bretagne*, and Duc *de Harcourt*. By Mr. *Erſkine*. In 3 Vols. 12mo. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 9*s*.

3. *Grecian* Tales. Printed for *W. Webb*, price 2*s*.

4. The Judgment of the Muſe. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

5. Love Elegies. Printed for *G. Hawkins*, price 1*s*.

6. *Colin*'s Kiſſes. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 6*d*.

7. Faſhion. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d*.

8. The Art of Architecture. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1*s*.

LAW, POLITICAL.

9. A general Abridgment of Law and Equity. Vol. 4. Sold by Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 1*l*. 10*s*.

10. The Deciſions of the Court of Seſſion in *Scotland*, from its firſt Inſtitution to the preſent Time. In 2 Vols. Folio. Printed for *A. Millar*, price 3 Guineas in Sheets.

11. The new Law Dictionary abridged. By *G. Jacob*, Gent. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.

12. The Attorney's Compleat Pocket-Book. Part II. Printed for *S. Birt* and *W. Sandby*, price 3*s*.

13. The Practical Regiſter of the *Common Pleas*. Printed for *J. Stagg*, *D. Browne*, *J. Shackburgh*, *J. Worral*, *A. Millar*, and *G. Hawkins*, price 6*s*.

14. National Unanimity recommended. Printed for *J. Huggonſon*, price 1*s*.

15. Politicks in Miniature. Printed for *J. Mechel*, price 6*d*.

16. The New-Comers. Printed for *J. Mechel*, price 6*d*.

17. Seaſonable Expoſtulations with the worthy Citizens of *London*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

HISTORICAL *and* MISCELLANEOUS.

18. The Memoirs of Capt. *George Carleton*, an *Engliſh* Officer, who ſerved in the two laſt Wars againſt *France* and *Spain*, and was preſent in ſeveral Engagements both in the Fleet and Army. Containing an Account of the Conduct of the Earl of *Peterborough*, and other General Officers, Admirals, *&c.* and ſeveral remarkable Tranſactions both by Sea and Land. In which the Genius, Pride, and Barbarity of the *Spaniards*, during the Author's being a Priſoner of War among them, are ſet in a true Light. Printed for *T. Aſhley*, price 4*s*.

19. The Honour of the Gout: Or, a rational Diſcourſe, demonſtrating, That the Gout is one of the greateſt Bleſſings which can befal mortal Man: That all Gentlemen who are weary of it, are their own Enem That thoſe Practitioners who offer at Cure, are the vaineſt and moſt miſchie Cheats in Nature. By *P. Miſaurus*, Pri for *T. Aſhley*, price 6*d*.

20. Franciſci Godwini de Præſulibus gliæ Commentarius, edidit & auxit Gul. chardſon, S. T. P. Sold by Meſſ. *Kn* and *C. Batburſt*, price 2 Guineas in Sheet

21. The Annals of *Europe*, for the Y 1740. Printed for *G. Hawkins*, price 6*s*.

22. The Epiſtles of *M. T. Cicero* to *B tus*, and of *Brutus* to *Cicero*, with the *L* Text on the oppoſite Page, and *Eng* Notes. By *C. Middleton*, D. D. Printed *R. Manby*, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

23. Miſcellaneous Tracts relating to tiquity. By *J. Chapman*, D. D. Pri for *S. Birt*, price 6*s*.

24. Free Thoughts on the Brute Creati Printed for *R. Minors*, price 1*s*.

25. An exact Relation of the Siege *Prague*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

26. The Relation of the Siege of *Pra* from the *Frankfort* Edition. Printed for *Roberts*, price 1*s*.

27. The Matrimonial Mirror. Pri for *J. Rivington*, price 4*d*.

PHYSICK *and* SCIENCE.

28. The Sentiments of the Profeſſors Phyſick in the Foreign Univerſities, of *Taylor*'s Operations and Method of curing Diſeaſes of the Eyes. Printed for *J. Ho* price 6*d*.

29. A Treatiſe of Midwifry. By *F. O* Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 2*s*. 6*d*. ſtitch'

30. The Microſcope made eaſy. By *Baker*. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 5*s*.

SERMONS.

31. A Sermon preach'd at *Hereford*. *G. Coningsby*, D. D. Printed for Meſſ. *Kn* ton and *J. Rivington*, price 6*d*.

32. A Sermon preach'd at *Ware*. By *Webſter*, D. D. Printed for *J. Brotherton* price 6*d*.

33. A Sermon preach'd at *Derby*. By *Latham*, D. D. Printed for *J. David* price 6*d*.

34. A Sermon occaſion'd by the Death the Rev. Mr. *Tho. Cole*. By *Tho. Hall*. Pri for *J. Oſwald* and *J. Buckland*, price 6*d*.

35. A Sermon upon the Death of the Rev. Mr. *John Warren*. By *Joſ. Carpenter*, pr

THEOLOGICAL.

36. A Compleat Body of Speculative Practical Divinity. By the Rev. Mr. *Sta bouſe*. Numb. 10, 11, 12, 13. Price each. Printed for *T. Cox*.

37. Diſcourſes concerning the Perfection God. By the late Rev. *John Abernethy*, M. Vol. II. Printed for *T. Longman*, price 6

38. The *Oxford* Young Gentleman's A ply to *Chriſtianity not founded on Argu* Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 539.

In the Debate begun in our laſt, the firſt Speech we ſhall give was that made by Valerius Lævinus, *which was to this Effect:*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

WHATEVER Gentlemen may pretend, it is evident, that the Motion now under our Conſideration, muſt produce an Inquiry, and a very general one too: Nay, from the very Words of it, it appears to be a Motion for a particular Inquiry. You are deſired to appoint a Select Committee, and, I ſuppoſe, the next Motion will be to make it a Secret one; to do what? To examine the ſeveral Papers mentioned in the Motion, and to report what they may think material in them. Is not this a Motion for an Inquiry into the Affairs which thoſe Papers relate to? It is certainly therefore a Motion for a particular Inquiry. But can any one imagine, that Inquiry will ceaſe there? An Inquiry into thoſe Affairs will naturally, and even neceſſarily, produce an Inquiry into other Affairs, and thoſe again into others; ſo that the Inquiry will, at laſt, become general, and may extend itſelf farther back than moſt People now dream of; for there is ſuch a Concatenation between State Affairs, domeſtick and foreign, precedent and ſubſequent, that it is impoſſible to judge of one without a thorough Inſight into all the reſt, till you arrive at a certain Criſis, when the whole Affairs of the Nation began to take a new Turn, which probably will be as far back as the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty to the Throne.

Whether we can find 21 Perſons in this Houſe, that are fit to be intruſted with all the Secrets of our Government, is what I very much queſtion, but this I am very ſure of, that when a Select and Secret Committee is once named, and inveſted with the uſual Powers, no one can tell how far they will go. The Mind of Man is naturally curious,

and fond of diving into Secrets, eſpecially when they think they may thereby raiſe their Character, purſue their Intereſt, or ſatisfy their Malice. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that this Secret Committee will deſire to extend their Inquiries as far as poſſible, and that in every Report they make, they will take care to make it refer to ſome Affair not yet inquired into. This will give them a Pretence for deſiring an Extenſion of Power, and as the Majority of the Houſe will probably be as curious as they, their Deſire will be readily granted. Thus the Houſe, inſtead of putting a Stop to their Progreſs, will probably encourage it, and his Majeſty can put a Stop to it no other Way than by a Diſſolution or Prorogation, either of which would throw all Things into Confuſion. From whence we may ſee, that our agreeing to this Motion muſt neceſſarily terminate in a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs, for God knows how many Years paſt; and this, beſides diſcovering all the Secrets of our Government to our Enemies, would certainly raiſe great Animoſities and Heart-burnings amongſt us, which at a Time when we are in open War with one of the chief Powers of *Europe*, and when the Liberties of *Europe* ſtand ſo much in need of our Aſſiſtance, might be attended with Conſequences which I tremble to think of.

A Civil War, Sir, is in itſelf a moſt terrible Evil, but conſidering the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, a Civil War would be one of the leaſt Evils we ſhould have to fear; for while we were engaged in cutting one another's Throats, the Liberties of *Europe* would be undone, and the Nation itſelf would fall a Prey to its moſt antient and moſt inveterate Enemy. We ſhould therefore at preſent moſt carefully avoid any Thing that may tend towards raiſing a Civil War amo[ng] us; and that an Inquiry into t[he] paſt Conduct of our publick Affa[irs] would have ſuch a Tendency, h[as], I think, been confeſſed by tho[ſe] who have ſpoke in Favour of th[is] Motion. It has been allowed, th[at] the Inquiry at the Beginning of t[he] late King's Reign, furniſhed a He[ad] for the diſaffected Party; and th[at] this was the Cauſe of the Rebellio[n] muſt likewiſe be allowed, for wit[h] out a Head, the Diſaffected, or you pleaſe, the Party attached the former Adminiſtration, cou[ld] never have had recourſe to Arm[s]. How are we ſure, that an Inqui[ry] at this Time may not produce t[he] ſame Effect? It is *gratis dictum* ſay, that no Man is attached to o[ur] preſent Adminiſtration but from M[o]tives of Self-intereſt: I might well ſay, that none but Jacobit[es] and Republicans are againſt it. am far from thinking ſo; but the[re] are many who think ſo, and ſ[ome] ſuch muſt be attached to our pr[e]ſent Miniſters from Principle, a[nd] without any ſelfiſh Motive wha[t]ever. Nay, all thoſe who approv[e] of our publick Meaſures, and a[re] convinced that nothing has be[en] done amiſs, muſt be attached t[o] them from a Principle of Juſtic[e] and would, nay ought to ſtand [by] in their Defence, againſt their b[e]ing unjuſtly condemned by a pr[e]vailing Faction in Parliament. W[e] are not therefore to ſuppoſe, th[at] our preſent Miniſters have no Par[ty] attached to them from Principle, [or] that they would be deſerted by [all] their Friends, upon a Sentence [or] Cenſure's being unjuſtly paſſed [by] gainſt them in Parliament; and [as] Secret Committees generally piq[ue] themſelves upon finding Fault, an[d] upon getting their Opinion approv[ed] of by a Majority, ſuch a Senten[ce] or Cenſure would probably be t[he] Conſequence of an Inquiry, whi[ch] might put the Friends of our M[i]niſte[rs]

ters upon defending them by
ms, ſince they found they could
defend them by a Majority of
ices in Parliament.

To this I muſt add, Sir, the Dan-
of his Majeſty's being prevailed
to think, that the Proſecution of
Miniſters proceeded from a Ja-
bite or Republican Spirit in Par-
ment, and that tho' the Attack
s firſt made upon his Miniſters,
was principally deſigned againſt
himſelf, or againſt the moſt eſſen-
al Prerogatives of his Crown. This
lief his Majeſty may the more
ily be brought into, from the Ex-
ple of the Parliament of the
ar 1640. That Parliament, or
leaſt the principal Leaders of it,
certainly, from the very Begin-
g, a Deſign againſt the Crown
lf, but they covered their De-
n under the Cloak of a Deſire to
niſh guilty Miniſters, and a Zeal
that very Conſtitution which
y intended to deſtroy. They at-
k'd the King's Miniſters, and
ſe Miniſters, perhaps, deſerved
Attack, but the Conſequence
wed, that their chief Deſign was
inſt the Crown. In this, it is
certain, they were encouraged
the Court of *France*, and ſome
them, perhaps, were bribed by
nch Gold. May not the ſame
ing happen again? May not the
jority of this Houſe be influen-
d by a Jacobite or Republican
irit, ſupported by *French* Promi-
and *French* Gold? If this ſhould
pen to be the Caſe, his Majeſty
ld be obliged to defend himſelf
his Miniſters by Force of Arms;
ſuppoſe this were not really the
ſe, yet if his Majeſty ſuppoſed it
e, the Effect would be the ſame.
We ſhould therefore, Sir, be ex-
ely cautious of going upon an
iry into the Conduct of Mini-
, unleſs we have ſome very
g Proofs of their being guilty,
ſuch as may give our Sovereign
Reaſon to think they are ſo. Such
Proofs are neceſſary not only in Juſ-
tice to our Miniſters, who ought
not to be ſubjected to the Trouble
and Danger of a Trial, without
any Sort of Proof, but alſo in re-
ſpect to our Sovereign, and in order
to prevent his having any Suſpicion,
that the Inquiry proceeds from Diſ-
affection to him, or from a conceal-
ed Deſign againſt his Crown or Dig-
nity. Such a Caution is neceſſary
at all Times, but eſpecially at pre-
ſent, on Account of the Circum-
ſtances of our Affairs, both domeſ-
tick and foreign. With regard to
our domeſtick Affairs, it is well
known, that there is ſtill a very
ſtrong Spirit of Jacobitiſm in the
Country, and therefore, when a Spi-
rit of Inquiry prevails in Parlia-
ment, the King has Reaſon to be-
lieve, it proceeds from a Spirit of
Jacobitiſm, unleſs by the Proofs up-
on which that Inquiry is founded,
he ſhould be convinced, that there
are very good Reaſons to ſuſpect his
Miniſters having been guilty of Miſ-
conduct. Then with regard to the
Circumſtances of our Affairs abroad,
we are in open War with *Spain*, and
upon very bad *Terms* with *France*,
becauſe of her Apprehenſions leſt
we ſhould defeat her ambitious De-
ſigns in *Europe*, by giving effectual
Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*.
A Diſſenſion between his Majeſty
and his Parliament would prevent
our being able to proſecute the War
againſt *Spain* with Vigour, or to
give any Diſturbance to the Projects
of *France*: It is therefore the Inte-
reſt of both, to raiſe, if poſſible,
ſuch a Diſſenſion; and for that Pur-
poſe to get Jacobites or Republi-
cans, under Pretence of a Zeal for
preſerving, ſecuring, or reſtoring our
Conſtitution, to attack the beſt Mi-
niſters and greateſt Favourites of the
Crown in Parliament. This his Ma-
jeſty has, at this Time eſpecially,
great Reaſon to be jealous of, and

if he ſhould ſee any of his Miniſters attack'd in Parliament without any Proof, without ſo much as an Allegation of any particular criminal Fact, would not he have great Reaſon to conclude, that the Attack proceeded from *French* and *Spaniſh* Gold, and that according to the old Maxim, *Principiis obſta*, he was obliged, both for his own Safety, and the Safety of his Kingdoms, to ſtifle it in its Infancy.

But the Inquiry now propoſed is not, it ſeems, with a Deſign to attack any of his Majeſty's Miniſters, or to diſcover any Crimes or Overſights in their Conduct, but merely to enable us to give his Majeſty our Counſel and Advice upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs. Sir, if the Advocates for this Motion have ſuch a Knowledge of our antient Conſtitution as they pretend, they muſt know, that to counſel or adviſe is the proper Buſineſs of the other Houſe: Our Buſineſs is to conſent: Our very Writs ſhew, that this is our proper Province; and therefore, I think, we ought not to be forward in offering our Advice, except when it is particularly and expreſsly aſk'd by his Majeſty. In his Speech from the Throne his Majeſty has, 'tis true, told both Houſes, for this Part of the Speech is addreſſed to both, that the Poſture of Affairs makes our Counſel and Aſſiſtance neceſſary. Whether theſe two Words ought to be taken jointly or ſeparately is the Queſtion? According to our antient Conſtitution, they ought to be taken ſeparately: The Word Counſel ought to be ſuppoſed to be directed to the other Houſe, and the Word Aſſiſtance to this. The Peers are to adviſe ſuch Meaſures as they think neceſſary: The Commons are to aſſiſt by granting ſuch Sums as are neceſſary for carrying thoſe Meaſures into Execution. But ſuppoſe the Words were to be taken jointly, we are not from hence to conclude, that we are to determine what Points we are to give our Advice upon. We ought to ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty will afterwards communicate to us by Meſſage, the Points upon which he deſires our Advice; and when he do ſo, he will certainly order all neceſſary Papers to be laid before the Houſe, or if they are of ſo ſecret a Nature that they ought not to be laid before ſuch a numerous Aſſembly, he will deſire us to appoint a Secret Committee for inſpecting ſuch Papers as he may think fit to communicate. To which for ſuch a Meſſage would be acting in our proper Sphere, and with due Reſpect to our Sovereign, agreeable to our antient and real Conſtitution. To act otherwiſe, would be a Departure from our proper Sphere, a Breach of our Duty to our Sovereign, and ſuch an Incroachment upon our Conſtitution, as might in this Juncture be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Liberty of *Europe*, as well as the Liberty of our native Country.

After what I have ſaid, Sir, I believe, I may freely declare, that I neither think it my Duty, nor do I think I have any Call to examine how Affairs ſtand between us and the Queen of *Hungary*, much leſs between her and the King of *Pruſſia*; nor do I think we ought to examine how Matters ſtand between *France* and us with regard to our War with *Spain*. When his Majeſty deſires our Advice, it will be then, and not till then, be neceſſary to examine the Papers already laid before us, or ſuch as may hereafter be laid before us, relating to any of the Points upon which our Advice is deſired; and if his Majeſty ſhould require it, but not otherwiſe, I ſhall be for appointing a Select and Secret Committee for examining into ſuch Papers as his Majeſty tells us are not proper to be divulged to the whole Houſe.

The

Thus, Sir, it muſt appear, that the Motion now before us be deſigned as a Foundation for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our Miniſters, it ought not to be complied with; and if it be deſigned only as a Step towards enabling us to give his Majeſty our Ahvice, it is premature. Let us examine it therefore in what Light we will, it appears to be improper. This is my ſincere Opinion of it, and for this Reaſon, I hope, the Hon. Gentlemen will excuſe me, if I give my Negative to their Queſtion.

This was anſwered by C. Marcius Coriolanus, *who ſpoke in Subſtance thus:*

Mr Preſident,

SIR,

IF the Houſe were to be directed by ſuch Reaſoning as an Hon. Gentleman has made uſe of againſt this Motion, we ſhould never inquire into the Conduct of any Miniſter, nor into the State of any publick Affair, foreign or domeſtick, but when the Miniſter ſhould pleaſe to give us Leave; I ſay Miniſter, for there has always been a Set of Gentlemen in this Houſe, who make uſe of the Word Sovereign inſtead of Miniſter, in order to give an Appearance of Reaſon to an Argument which would otherwiſe appear in itſelf ridiculous. To confirm what I ſay, I ſhall repeat the Arguments which the Hon. Gentleman has made uſe of, and by ſubſtituting the Word Miniſter, which is the only proper Word to be made uſe of in this Houſe, when we talk of any publick Affair, inſtead of the Word Sovereign, you will then ſee his Arguments in their true Light.

He ſays, we ought never to inquire into the Conduct of Miniſters, or to ſpeak more properly, of one ſole Miniſter, unleſs we have ſuch Proofs againſt him as muſt convince us that Miniſter of his having been in the Wrong; and the Reaſon for this, he ſays is, leſt that Miniſter ſhould ſuſpect, or rather pretend, that the Inquiry into his Conduct proceeded from a Jacobite or Republican Spirit, or from the Influence of foreign Gold. Sir, upon ſuch a Principle could the Parliament ever inquire into the Conduct of any Miniſter? A Miniſter may be conſcious of his Crimes or Miſconduct; but could the Parliament, previous to any Inquiry, ever have ſuch Proofs againſt him, as would make himſelf confeſs his having been weak or criminal? If the Weakneſs of his Conduct were from its Effects apparent to the whole Nation, he would pretend, that thoſe Effects proceeded from Accidents that could not be foreſeen or provided againſt, or from the Ambition, Obſtinacy, or Weakneſs of foreign Courts, and not from any Weakneſs in the Meaſures he had purſued. Suppoſe we had poſitive Evidence againſt him: Suppoſe we had Letters under his Hand, for proving his having been guilty of the moſt treaſonable Practices, a guilty Miniſter would pretend, that the Letters were forged, or that the Witneſſes were Jacobites, or Republicans, or bribed by foreign Gold, and therefore not to be credited. In ſhort, Sir, the more guilty a Miniſter is, the more poſitively, the more arrogantly, will he inſiſt upon his Innocence, and that therefore he ought not to be put to the Trouble of defending himſelf againſt a parliamentary Inquiry. Thus we muſt never inquire into the Conduct of any Miniſter while he continues in that Station, unleſs it be at his own Deſire, and with a View to juſtify and applaud his Wiſdom and Conduct; nor into the Conduct of any diſcarded Miniſter, unleſs it be to ſatisfy the

the Revenge of ſome ſucceeding Miniſter; and what a pretty miniſterial Tool this Argument would make of a Parliament, I ſhall leave to thoſe Gentlemen who make uſe of it to conſider.

For my part, Sir, I ſhall always be of Opinion, that the leaſt Suſpicion of Wickedneſs, the leaſt Suſpicion of Weakneſs, in the Conduct of any publick Affair, or in the Conduct of our publick Affairs in general, is a ſufficient Foundation for a paliamentary Inquiry. Nay, ſuch Inquiries ought to be often ſet on Foot, even when there is no Suſpicion of any Miſconduct. Shall a Miniſter ſay, I have been a very honeſt and faithful Miniſter, and therefore I ought not to be put to the Trouble of having my Conduct inquired into. Sir, a Steward may as well ſay, I have been a very honeſt Man and a good Steward, and therefore ought not to be put to the Trouble of paſſing my Accounts. Every Gentleman knows, that the proper, and, indeed, the only Way to keep a Steward honeſt, is to make him frequently paſs his Accounts. A good Steward will deſire it, and ſo will a good Miniſter; for a Miniſter is but a Steward for the Publick; and therefore when I find a Miniſter uſing all his Art to evade or prevent a parliamentary Inquiry, it will always give me a Suſpicion of his Conduct, and, conſequently, will with me be a prevailing Argument for ſetting up immediately an impartial and a ſtrict Inquiry. This, Sir, was the Maxim of our Anceſtors: By this Maxim they have handed down to us a glorious Liberty and a ſecure Property: Without this Maxim we ſhall hand nothing down to our Poſterity, but an ignominious Slavery and a precarious Property.

A Civil War, I ſhall grant, Sir, is a terrible Misfortune; but it is far from being the moſt terrible; for I had rather ſee my Country
gaged for twenty Years in a C
War, than to ſee it tamely ſub
but for one Year to miniſterial B
dage; therefore, if this Coun
ſhould ever be reduced to the f
A Dilemma of being obliged to g
up its Liberties, or engage in a
vil War, I hope no *true Briton* wo
balance a Moment in his Choi
Thank God! this is not our Caſe
preſent. I hope the Fate of t
Queſtion will ſhew it is not
B Caſe; for from our Inquiry i
the Conduct of our preſent Mi
ſters, no Civil War, I am ſure,
enſue. If they are innocent,
impartial Inquiry will juſtify th
Conduct. To ſuppoſe otherw
would be offering the higheſt
C dignity to this Houſe, which
never impeached, nor paſſed
Sentence or Cenſure upon a Mini
without a juſtifiable Cauſe. If
Miniſters are guilty, they ought
be puniſhed, and his Majeſty
too much Wiſdom to think of p
D tecting a guilty Miniſter againſt
Juſtice of the Nation. To ſupp
otherwiſe, would be offering an
dignity of a very heinous Nature
his Majeſty.

What Motives Gentlemen m
have for being attached to out p
E ſent Miniſters, I do not know,
ſhall determine; but when Gen
men poſſeſſed of Poſts which th
got by his Favour, and, perha
hold at his Pleaſure, are almoſt
only Gentlemen that appear in
Vindication; the Preſumption
F litates ſtrongly againſt the Diſi
reſtedneſs of their Behaviour,
well as againſt the Uprightneſs
his Conduct; and whatever ſ
Gentlemen may pretend, if his M
jeſty ſhould give his Miniſter up
national Juſtice, I believe, no M
G in the Kingdom apprehends, t
any of them would attempt dr
ing their Swords in his Defen
The Danger of a Civil War is the

not in the leaſt to be appre-
ded from a fair Inquiry into our
iſter's Conduct; but conſidering
Suſpicions and Expectations of
People, if this Seſſion of Parlia-
t ſhould end without ſuch an
iry, a Civil War may very pro-
y be the Conſequence. The
ple will not, but his Majeſty
ſuppoſe, that our Neglect to
ire proceeds from our Opinion
is Innocence. The People feel
Effects of his Miſconduct, and
perhaps, feel them every Day
and more: This will make
ſuppoſe, that our Neglect to
ire proceeds not from our ha-
a good Opinion of his Conduct,
from our having a Share in his
der. On the other hand, his
ſty neither does, nor can feel
Effects: At leaſt, he cannot
them till it is too late to pre-
the Conſequences; and as he
a good Opinion of his Parlia-
, he will naturally ſuppoſe the
uct of his Miniſter to be wiſe
pright, becauſe his Parliament
neither condemned it, nor ſo
as inquired into it. Thus his
ſty may be prevailed on to
inue him at the Head of the
iniſtration, notwithſtanding the
le's being generally convinced,
he is every Day undermining
Liberties, by Means of a ve-
d corrupt Parliament; and if
ſhould be the Caſe, I muſt
lude, that a Civil War will
ily enſue, or I muſt form a
more diſagreeable Concluſion,
h is, that the People of this
try have ſo much degenerated
the Virtue and Courage of
Anceſtors, that they chuſe ra-
to ſubmit tamely to Slavery,
to run the Riſk of aſſerting
Liberties by the Sword.

republican and enthuſiaſtical
join'd together, was, 'tis true,
the ultimate Cauſe of the Ruin
g *Charles* the Firſt, but it
was far from being the original. The firſt and original Cauſe of the Ruin of that unfortunate Prince, was his allowing himſelf to be governed, for the firſt fifteen Years of his Reign by guilty Miniſters, or ſuch as were hateful to the People, and protecting thoſe Miniſters againſt all Inquiries and Proſecutions in Parliament. By this means he raiſed and fomented a republican Spirit in the Nation, to ſuch a Degree, that the People would not be ſatisfied with the Sacrifice of a few wicked Miniſters. They had conceived ſuch a Jealouſy of the Power of the Crown, by the ill Uſe his Miniſters made of it, that nothing would ſatisfy them but a Diminution of that Power; and his taking Arms in Defence of that Power, and in Oppoſition to the prevailing Spirit in the Nation, was what brought him at laſt to the fatal Cataſtrophe he met with: His untimely End ought to be a Warning to all future Miniſters, that have any Regard to their Maſter, to ſubmit in Time to a fair Inquiry, or if they be conſcious of Guilt, to fly from that Fate which ſuch an Inquiry muſt bring them to; and, I hope, it will be an Example to all future Kings of this Country, to let their Favour towards a Miniſter have the ſame Period with the Favour of the People. In a free Country the Prince's Favour ought to proceed from the Favour and Eſteem a Man has acquired among the People, and it muſt have the ſame Period, or the Liberties of the People muſt be overturned; for a free People will not be governed by a Man they hate or diſpiſe.

This, we know, his preſent Majeſty is fully ſenſible of, and therefore we need be under no Apprehenſions, that he will obſtruct an Inquiry, or endeavour to protect a Miniſter after he has been found guilty upon a fair Inquiry into his Con-

Conduct; but ſuppoſe we were ſo unlucky, as to have a Prince upon the Throne, that would obſtinately protect a weak or wicked Miniſter, againſt the Juſtice of his Parliament, and the Reſentment of his People, ſhould we ſit here, and patiently ſee the Nation ruined by the Miniſter's Weakneſs, or our Liberties undermined, and the People plundered and oppreſſed, by his Wickedneſs? Should we, I ſay, patiently bear this, for Fear of involving the Nation in a Civil War? I hope, I ſhall never hear ſuch a cowardly Doctrine inculcated within theſe Walls. It is a Doctrine that breathes nothing but Slavery, and ſuch a Doctrine will never, I hope, be harboured in the Breaſt of any *Britiſh* Subject.

The Fears, therefore, which the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to inſtil into us, are either fantaſtical, or they are ſuch as no Member of this Houſe ought to allow to have the leaſt Influence upon his Conduct, with regard to the preſent Queſtion. Suppoſe a general Inquiry ſhould be the Conſequence of our appointing the Select Committee now moved for: Suppoſe that Inquiry ſhould extend itſelf as far back as the Hon. Gentleman ſeems to apprehend, could it be of any bad Conſequence to the Nation? On the contrary, it would be of great Service, becauſe it would ſhew our future Miniſters, that however quietly they might paſs through the Courſe of their Adminiſtration, their Conduct would ſome Time or other be impartially inquired into; and as former Adminiſtrations have not been free from Suſpicions, no more than the preſent, I hope, it would be of Service to them too, by convincing the World that thoſe Suſpicions were groundleſs.

I hope I have now ſhewn, that the Hon. Gentleman's Arguments againſt this Motion are of Weight, even upon the Suppoſi of its being intended as the Step towards a general Inquiry; his Argument againſt it, upon Suppoſition of its being inten only as a neceſſary Step tow enabling us to give his Majeſty per Advice in the preſent Poſtur Affairs, will appear to be of greater Weight, eſpecially, if the ſame Change of Words, ſtate his Argument in its true Li He has told us, that if we are give any Advice to our Sovere for whether we ought to do ſo ſe with him to be a Doubt, we ou not to think of giving Advice, leſs his Majeſty not only deſire in general Terms, by his Spe from the Throne, but likewiſe Meſſage, directs us to the partic Point upon which we are to our Advice. We all know, Sir, Speeches from the Throne, and ſages from the Crown, are in Houſe ſuppoſed to be the Spee and Meſſages of the Miniſter; therefore, to put this Argumen the Language of Parliament, it ſtand thus: Let us be never ſo convinced of our Sovereign's b miſled by his Miniſter, we o not to give him any Advice, u that Miniſter points out to u Meſſage, the Subject upon w we are to give Advice. I ho will be granted, Sir, that an dreſs to remove a Miniſter is a of Advice, and often a very w ſome Piece of Advice, but acc ing to this Doctrine, we are to adviſe our Sovereign to re his Miniſter, unleſs that very niſter deſires to know of us, ther or no his Maſter ought t move him.

I am really ſorry, Sir, for b obliged to ſet the Abſurdity of Doctrine in ſuch a ſtrong Li but in Juſtice to my Count could not avoid it. If we are

advise our Sovereign in any Case, such as is pointed out to us by Minister, no Minister will ever have the Advice of Parliament but when he is well assured, that they will advise just as he has before resolved on; and such Advice can never, I am sure, be of any Service to the King, tho' it may be of great Service to the Minister, by taking the Scandal and the Odium of a bad Measure off of his Shoulders, and fixing it upon the Shoulders of the Parliament. This, indeed, would be a great Ease to a weak or oppressive Minister; but, I hope, never to see a Parliament in *Great Britain* that will ease the Minister of such a loathsome Burden.

Now, Sir, with regard to the Right we have, or the Obligation we lie under, of offering our Advice to our Sovereign; as the Hon. Gentleman seemed to doubt of it, I hope, I shall be indulged a few Words upon the Subject. To consult and advise is, I shall grant, the Business and the Duty of the other House, perhaps more properly than that of this; but when the other House happens to be deficient in that Respect, it is our Duty to make up that Deficiency; and in many Cases it is our Duty to advise, even when the other House has no Way been deficient. We must know better than the other House what may be agreeable or disagreeable to the People, and it is our Duty, and our Power Province, to give our Advice in favour of any Measure that we think will be agreeable, and against any Measure we think will be disagreeable. But suppose we were in no Case to advise, are not we in all Cases to consent, and have we a Right to refuse that Consent to any Measure we think inconsistent with the publick Good? If we not then a Right, is it not our Duty to examine every publick Measure, foreign or domestick, especially when it is such a one as must be attended with a publick Expence, which is the Case at present? And can we examine any publick Measure, so as to determine whether we ought to consent to it or no, without strictly examining all the Letters and Papers that relate to it?

Suppose we should in this Session be called on, as we probably may, to grant a Sum of Money for the Assistance of the Queen of *Hungary*; can we comply with that Demand, can we determine what Sum to grant, without knowing how Affairs stand between *France* and us, as well as between us and the Queen of *Hungary*? For if we stand upon bad Terms with *France*, we ought certainly to be the more zealous, and to grant the more liberally, for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*. Thus, Sir, it must appear, that even suppose we had no Inclination to inquire into the Conduct of past Affairs, nor to advise about the Conduct of future, yet still we ought to examine, in the strictest Manner, at least the Papers mentioned in this Motion; and as this cannot, I am sure, be done without referring them to a Select Committee, I shall therefore be for agreeing to the Motion.

We shall next give the Speech made by L. Valerius Flaccus, *the Purport of which was as follows*, viz.

Mr. President,

SIR,

THAT this House has a Right to refuse, as well as to give its Consent, to every Measure that can be proposed to us by the Crown, or advised by the other House, is what, I believe, no Man will deny; but that for this Reason we ought to pry into the Secrets of our Government, especially such as relate

relate to foreign Affairs, is what I cannot eaſily admit, becauſe it would be attended with infinite Prejudice to the Publick. As our Buſineſs relates chiefly to domeſtick Affairs, we ought to keep within that Province: We ought never to go out of it, but when his Majeſty is pleaſed to communicate to us ſome foreign Treaty, Expedition, or Tranſaction, in order to have our Advice, Approbation, or Aſſiſtance; and then we ought to content ourſelves with ſuch Lights as his Majeſty may be pleaſed to furniſh us with; for in all ſuch Caſes we may aſſure ourſelves, that his Majeſty will communicate the neceſſary Papers, ſo far as he thinks conſiſtent with the publick Safety. From them we ought to judge, for we can judge from none other; and as the Crown muſt be ſuppoſed to know more of foreign Affairs than have been, or can be communicated to us, we ought in all ſuch Deliberations to have a Bias in Favour of that which appears to be the Judgment or the Opinion of the Crown.

This, Sir, may, perhaps, by ſome Gentlemen, in the Humour they are in, be called a ſlaviſh Doctrine; but ſtill, I think, it is the right Doctrine, and the Doctrine that will be followed by all thoſe who have a greater Inclination to ſerve their Country in Parliament, than to cenſure and find fault with the Conduct of their Sovereign, or the Conduct of Miniſters, call it which you will, for I do not know how to diſtinguiſh, unleſs it be, that we ought to impute to our Sovereign every Thing we think right, and to his Miniſters every Thing we think wrong. With regard to domeſtick Affairs, we have, indeed, a much greater Latitude; becauſe we may more freely call for all Papers relating to any ſuch Affair, and have greater Reaſon to ſuſpect, that Miniſters will, in Affairs of this Kind, give ſuch Advice as may moſt co
duce to their own private Adva
tage. But, I am ſure, it cannot
ſaid, that the Papers now propoſ
to be referred to a Select Committ
have the leaſt Relation to any Af
of this Kind. If we ſhould be
fired to grant Money for the A
tance of the Queen of *Hungary*,
will then be Time enough to co
der whether we ought to do ſo
no. For determining this Queſti
I think, we have no Occaſion
examine any Papers of State,
common News Papers muſt convi
us, that we ought to comply w
ſuch a Demand; and as to
Quantum of that Grant, we m
by the ſame Means, be convinc
that ſhe ſtands in Need of m
than this Nation can grant; th
fore, in this Caſe we are to de
mine ourſelves not by what
ſtands in Need of, but by what
can grant, and for this Purpoſe
have no Occaſion to examine
foreign Paper whatſoever.

Sir, we can have no Occa
to refer the Papers mentioned
this Motion, or any foreign Pap
to a Secret Committee, unleſs
have a Mind to make that C
mittee a Committee of Inqu
and to enable them to inquire
the Conduct of all our Pub
Affairs both foreign and domeſ
for many Years paſt. This I
lieve to be the real Inten
of the Motion, and for this
ſon I cannot agree to it; bec
the Eſtabliſhing of ſuch a Com
tee at ſuch a critical Conj
ture, would be of the moſt
gerous Conſequence to *Euro*
general, as well as to this Nati
in particular. By ſuch an
bliſhment the whole Frame o
Government would be altered,
would continue ſo, during the
tinuance of that Committee.
would be an Eſtabliſhing an
rium in Imperio, or rather a Go

ent ſet up by this Houſe, diſtinct
n, and ſuperior to our conſtituti-
l Government; for this Commit-
muſt either conſiſt of ſuch as
Friends to the King's Miniſters,
ſuch as are their declared Ene-
ies, or at leaſt, no profeſſed Friends A
them. If it ſhould conſiſt of
former, it could be of no Service
the Nation, nor would it give
Satisfaction to the People; and
of the latter, they would pro-
bly in a ſhort Time get the entire
agement of this Houſe, and B
ld then take upon them to
rn our Governours, by accuſing
impriſoning every Miniſter, and
ry Man, that would not be di-
ted by them; for no *Habeas Cor-*
could be pleaded againſt their
mitments, and conſequently C
would in this, as well as a
at many other Reſpects, be in-
ted with a greater Power than
Adminiſtration can now be
this Kingdom.

In ſhort, Sir, I ſhould expect
ſee the Scene of 1641 acted over D
in: I ſhould expect to ſee all
Majeſty's preſent Miniſters
priſoned or forced into Exile, and
y new Miniſter or Officer he
ld name without their Direc-
, together with all thoſe that
ld appear as Friends to the E
wn, declared Delinquents, and
y of them impriſoned and proſe-
ed as ſuch. What Cataſtrophe
Confuſion might end in, God
knows; but in ſuch Circum-
ces, I am certain, we could
her proſecute the War againſt F
r with Vigour, nor could we
in reſtoring or preſerving the
nce of Power in *Europe*. Nay,
could not ſo much as defend
elves: Our *Plantations*, together
our valuable Poſſeſſions in
Mediterranean, would become G
rey to the *Spaniards*, and the
ion itſelf would, at laſt, become
rey to the *French*, who might,
perhaps, ſend the Pretender here,
to convert us by Racks and Gibbets
to their Religion, and to govern us
as Vice-Roy under their Monarch.

In the Year 1715, Sir, we had
no ſuch fatal Conſequences, nor, in
my Opinion, any fatal Conſequence
to fear from the Secret Committee
then appointed. The Nation was
not engaged in any War, nor was
the Balance of Power in any Danger.
The Committee was not to inquire
into the Conduct of the then Admi-
niſtration: They were to inquire
into the Conduct of a Set of Mi-
niſters, who had moſt juſtly been
diſmiſſed by his late Majeſty, and
diſmiſſed with the Contempt they
deſerved. When the Propoſition
was made for appointing a Secret
Committee, it was evident from the
Complexion of the Houſe, that it
would conſiſt of ſuch as were em-
ployed, or of ſuch as were Friends
to thoſe employed in the then Ad-
miniſtration; conſequently there was
no Confuſion in our Government
to be apprehended, nor any o-
ther fatal Conſequence I know of;
for as we were then ſituated, I
do not think, that the Rebellion
was a fatal Conſequence: I think it
was better the Diſaffected ſhould re-
bel, and thereby furniſh the Govern-
ment with an Opportunity to cruſh
them, than that they ſhould remain
concealed, and keep our Govern-
ment in a continual Diſturbance by
their ſecret Practices. If they had not
declared themſelves, they would
have had a great Influence upon
all future Elections, and by being
joined by diſappointed Whigs, might,
before this Time, have got a Jaco-
bite Parliament, which would have
brought our preſent Eſtabliſhment
into much greater Danger than it
was, or could be brought into by an
open Rebellion.

Gentlemen muſt thus ſee, Sir,
that there is a very great Difference
between our preſent Circumſtances,

and thoſe in which the Nation was in the Year 1715; and ſurely no Man will ſay, there is now the ſame Neceſſity or Occaſion for an Inquiry. I am one of thoſe who think there is not the leaſt Occaſion for it, and I am convinced there are many ſuch in the Nation. Complaints and Suſpicions have been moſt artfully and moſt induſtriouſly ſpread and propag ted againſt our preſent Adminiſtration, as there will be againſt all Adminiſtrations; and if I thought thoſe Complaints and Suſpicions could be removed by an impartial Inquiry, I ſhould be for it; but, I am ſure, they cannot. Thoſe Complaints and Suſpicions are entertained by none but the Diſaffected and Diſobliged; as to the former, nothing, I know, will ſatisfy them but a Sacrifice of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; and as to the latter nothing, I know, will ſatisfy them but a Sacrifice of our preſent Miniſters, whether they deſerve it or no. A Juſtification of their Conduct, which, I am perſuaded, would be the Conſequence of an impartial Inquiry, would be ſo far from allaying the Heats and Animoſities without Doors, that it would increaſe them, and would be made a Handle of by the Diſaffected and Diſcontented, for raiſing Suſpicions againſt the Honour of this Houſe, as well as againſt the Conduct of our Miniſters; and this, I hope, will add ſuch Weight to the other Reaſons I have given againſt an Inquiry, as will prevail with the Houſe to put a Negative upon this Motion.

The next, and the laſt Speech we ſhall give in this Debate, was that made by T. Sempronius Gracchus, *which was to this Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

AS this is the firſt Time I have had the Honour of offering my Sentiments to this Aſſembly, I hope to meet with the Indulgence of the Houſe; and I do aſſure you, Sir, however great I may find it, it ſhall not induce me to be often troubleſome.

I have the greater Reaſon to hope to treat this Favour, as I had not received the leaſt previous Intimation upon what Point the Debate of this Day was likely to have turned; I was conſequently in no Degree prepared to have taken this Liberty. But I have endeavour'd to ſupply this Want of Information, by a diligent Attention to what has been urged on both Sides the Queſtion, and the State of the Caſe before me appears to me in this Light, That Gentlemen on the one Side ſuſpect the Conduct of the Adminiſtration, and deſire the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe to clear up thoſe Suſpicions; while on the other Side, the Gentlemen in the Adminiſtration, knowing themſelves ſuſpected, labour what they can to prevent the Houſe from affording that Aſſiſtance.

Now, Sir, as I ſtand in this Houſe by the Favour of my Conſtituents as independent as any Man can be, and as God has placed me in a Condition of Life to maintain that Independence, I have nothing to induce me to be partial in this Queſtion. I am governed by no Views of Party: I am influenced by no Prejudice: I ſhall therefore weigh the Principles which ſeem reſpectively to animate in this Conteſt, and I ſhall adhere to thoſe who appear to act with the greateſt Candour.

And, indeed, I am under no Difficulty to determine this; for on the one hand, thoſe who ſuſpect the Conduct of the Miniſtry, are not only warranted by the Conſtitution to entertain Suſpicions of this Kind with regard to any Adminiſtration, but urged by the univerſal Voice of the whole Nation to diſtruſt the

Con-

onduct of the preſent. They are
ther warranted by the wretched
ondition of this Country in all
ſpects, by the viſible Decay of
rade, by the Diſtreſs of all our
reign Affairs, and by the ill Suc-
ſs of a War, in which we have
en ſeveral Years engaged, with
eat Superiority of Force, againſt
Enemy certainly contemptible
ith reſpect to us: A War in which
e have hitherto reaped neither
onour nor Advantage, and in
hich, from the Manner of its
anagement, we have no Proſpect
acquiring either, tho' none was
er ſupplied with greater Liberali-
, by this or any other Nation.
—Thus the Gentlemen on this
de the Queſtion, ſeem to act no
her Part than what is fair and
, eſſential to the Honour of this
ouſe, and to the Intereſts and
pectations of their Country.

Give me Leave, in the ſame
anner, to review the Conduct of
e Gentlemen who are thus un-
ppily ſuſpected.——Theſe Gen-
men, as I have already ſaid,
owing themſelves ſuſpected, ur-
g even theſe Suſpicions as an Ar-
ment to alarm, and to excite their
iends to ſupport them, as in a
ſe of great Extremity, it is their
eat Endeavour, it is the Point
ey have ſo earneſtly laboured for
many Hours, with the utmoſt
ne of that Eloquence in which
ny of them ſo much abound, to
e left in the State of being ſtill
ſpected.——Is it poſſible that any
ell-meaning Man, any Man con-
dent in his own Integrity, inno-
nt of what is imputed to him,
ould exert himſelf in ſuch a
anner, to prevent your receiving
formations, which might tend to
his Character in its true Light.
, Sir, this Conduct is by no
eans rational, nor is it conſiſtent
ith this favourable Suppoſition.
iniſters, how great ſoever they
may be, know the Importance of a
good Reputation, and they, above
all others, may beſt meaſure that
Importance, who do not ſcruple to
declare, that they now ſtand in
Danger from the Want of it. There
is, therefore, moſt apparently no
Candour in this Conduct; and it
is impoſſible, for any Man in his
Conſcience not to be convinced,
from this uncommon Struggle, that
the Papers now contended for, con-
tain ſomewhat that will fix either
Guilt or Error upon thoſe who have
engroſſed the Direction of the pub-
lick Affairs; and in either Caſe, it
it our Duty to inquire, that we may
be enabled to do Juſtice to our
Country, or, at leaſt, to prevent fu-
ture Miſchief to it.

The Neceſſity, therefore, of ſome
Inquiry being apparent, as well from
the Nature of the Thing, as from
the Conduct of thoſe who endeavour
to prevent it, I ſhall take no farther
Time to enforce that Point; but
I muſt beg Permiſſion to ſay a few
Words in Anſwer to thoſe Objections,
which are made to the Manner
of the Inquiry now propoſed.

One Hon. Member has told you,
that 21 Perſons cannot be found
among the Members of this Houſe,
proper to be intruſted with ſo great
a Power; and yet, it ſeems, that
one Man may be found proper to
be intruſted, for 20 Years together,
with the whole Revenues, the ſole
Direction of all Affairs, both abroad
and at home, the ſole Power of this
Government without Controul. The
ſame Gentleman has told us, that
the Commons cannot delegate ſuch
a Power to a Committee. Upon
other Occaſions I have alſo heard
that Hon. Gentleman aſſert, that
this was not a proper Buſineſs for
the Houſe, who were too numerous
to be truſted with thoſe important
Secrets, which muſt, in Conſequence,
be laid before them. If, therefore,
neither the Houſe ought, nor a

Com-

Committee can peruſe thoſe Papers, which are neceſſary for an Examination into the Meaſures of a Miniſter, the Reſult is plainly this, that Miniſters, in this unhappy Country, muſt be left to act in what Manner they think fit, without any Apprehenſion of being ever called to Account, which Argument certainly proves ſo much, that it proves nothing, and ſo, I hope, the Houſe will think of it.

Another very Hon. Gentleman has ſaid, that the Authority of ſuch a Committee would be greater than any miniſterial Authority ever known, in this or any other Reign. I am very much ſurpriſed, that this Gentleman ſhould ſo ſoon forget the many Inſtances of a like Nature, which have been already urged in this Debate; but I am more ſurpriſed, that he ſhould not remember that famous Committee, conſiſting of the ſame Number, and inveſted with the ſame Powers, appointed by this Houſe at the Beginning of the Reign of the late King. Surely that Hon. Gentleman, whoſe Friends ſeem to think him the Object of this Debate, will not forget it; for if I am not miſtaken, he was himſelf the Chairman of it, and was, in the Opinion of many who wiſh well to this Government, the Author of much good to us in that Station.

Gentlemen ſeem not to reflect to whom they ſpeak, when they advance ſuch Doctrines. Sir, I am confident that the very youngeſt and moſt unexperienced Member of this Aſſembly knows, that no Committee of any Kind has Power farther than to prepare Matter for the Houſe: That no Act of a Committee is of any Force, till confirmed and ratified by the Houſe: That its Powers are derived from the Houſe, and muſt revert to the Houſe again; and God forbid! Sir, that the Time ſhould not be now come, when they ſhall not be found greater than any miniſterial Authority known in this Kingdom.

Men of Senſe, Sir, will not be frightned at theſe Phantoms. Our Conſtitution knows far greater Powers. The Charter of King *John* directs, in Caſes of Extremity, that 21 Perſons ſhall be appointed to inſpect the publick Papers, and to report to this Houſe the Matters which they ſhall diſcover therein; but preſcribes, that *five and Twenty* Perſons may be appointed to take the Regency into their own Hands and to exerciſe the higheſt Functions of this Government, in which the whole Nation is required to maintain them, till the publick Grievances ſhall be totally redreſſed. This is a Power which was not only preſcribed but often exerciſed in the Reigns of King *John*, King *Henry* the Third, King *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second. This is, indeed, a Power of a very high Nature, and which I ſhould be ſorry to ſee exerted again in this Country; but for aught I know, a proper Uſe of that moderate Power which we now contend for, may be the only Means to prevent the Neceſſity of having Recourſe to that hereafter.

Sir, I am ſenſible I have troubled you too long, but I could not refrain from it, when I found a Motion that appeared to me ſo reaſonable, ſo unreaſonably oppoſed; and therefore, as I ſee a great Neceſſity for the Inquiry itſelf, and nothing new or dangerous in the Manner of that propoſed, I ſhall heartily give my Affirmative to the Queſtion.

As there were two other Debates in the Political Club *upon Queſtions that bore a great Reſemblance to this, we ſhall, becauſe of the Connexion give an Account of them, before we enter upon any other Subject, beginning with that which happened on the 9th* Mar

arch laſt, which was introduced by Cinius Menenius *in a Speech to the* *owing Effect, the Members of the* *b having been firſt ſummoned to* *ad, in the uſual Manner.*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

AMONG the many important Duties of this Houſe, there is t one, which, when faithfully diſ-harged, can contribute more to e Good of our Country, and the ſety and Security of our Sovereign, n that of inquiring ſtrictly and partially into the Conduct of thoſe o are intruſted by the King with e executive Part of our Govern-ent. In all Countries, Sir, the l Intereſt of the King, and that the People, depend ſo much up-one another, and are ſo inſepa-ly connected, that no King, even e moſt arbitrary, would ever neg-t, or act in Oppoſition to the In-reſt or Happineſs of his People, if were well adviſed, and well ſerv-by his Miniſters; but as the pri-te Views of Miniſters are gene-ly inconſiſtent with the true Inte-t of the People, they often by attery, or ſome other Means, pre-il upon their Maſter to act in di-t Oppoſition to his own Intereſt, well as that of his People; or y encourage his Indolence, or vert his Attention, that they may e more freely oppreſs thoſe whom e is, both in Intereſt and Duty, bliged to protect. As Kings are nerally beſet by their Miniſters, e Misfortune is, that the King ldom hears of the Grievances or mplaints of the People, till by an ſurrection he is tumbled headlong om his Throne, or forced to ſe-re it by the Maſſacre of great mbers of his Subjects; but by r happy Conſtitution, the Sove-gn of theſe Kingdoms is ſecure ainſt this Misfortune, becauſe by eans of this Houſe, while it re-mains independent of Miniſters, the King muſt hear of, and may in Time redreſs the Grievances of his People; and if any of his Miniſters have been guilty of Miſconduct, it will be diſcovered by a fair and an open Inquiry.

Thus, Sir, it muſt appear, that in Duty to our King as well as our Country, we ought to inquire often into the Conduct of his Miniſters. This is our Duty at all Times, but it becomes more indiſpenſably ſo, when the People appear generally diſſatisfied with the Adminiſtration, and call aloud for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs. From this Introduction, Sir, it may be preſumed, that I am to conclude what I have to ſay, with a Motion for an Inquiry; but to ſhew, that this Inquiry ought to go as far back as I deſign it ſhould, I muſt beg Leave to make a few Remarks upon the Conduct of our Miniſters for twenty Years paſt; and in order to obviate the common Objection, that our Meaſures have been all approved of by Parliament, I ſhall begin with obſerving, that it is, and may be juſtly ſuſpected, that during the Time I have mentioned, our Miniſters have taken moſt unjuſtifiable Methods for gaining a corrupt Influence, both at Elections and in Parliament. While our Conſtitution ſubſiſts in its full Force, it is certain, that the Parliament, or at leaſt this Houſe of Parliament, will always be of the ſame Complexion with the Generality of the People. It is from this Houſe his Majeſty is to know the Sentiments as well as the Complaints of his People; therefore, when Meaſures generally diſliked by the People, meet with an Approbation from this Houſe, it may be juſtly ſuſpected, that ſome illegal Methods have been taken for obtaining that Approbation; and if upon a new Election a Miniſter, who

who by his Crimes or Imprudence has rendered himſelf generally obnoxious to the People, ſhould nevertheleſs get a Majority of his Friends, or rather Creatures, returned as Members of this Houſe, we muſt ſuppoſe, that ſome illegal Methods were taken for obtaining thoſe Returns.

This Conſideration alone, Sir, without any Proofs, is ſufficient to convince every impartial Man, that for twenty Years paſt an illegal Influence has prevailed both in Parliament and at Elections; for during that whole Time we have been governed by a Miniſter, who as ſoon as he got into the Adminiſtration, rendered himſelf unpopular, and who has every Year, ſince that Time, increaſed that Unpopularity, by purſuing Meaſures both at home and abroad, which were inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution, or with the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation. It is very well known, Sir, what a Ferment was raiſed in the Nation by the Execution of the *South-Sea* Scheme in the Year 1720: It is known, that the Ferment then raiſed was far from being allayed by the Meaſures taken, the Year following, for puniſhing the Guilty and reſtoring publick Credit. The Diſcontents were ſo great that, from his late Majeſty's own Authority, in his Speech at the Beginning of the next Parliament, I can ſay, they gave Hopes to the Diſaffected amongſt us, and encouraged them to enter into a Conſpiracy for overturning our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. The Nation being in theſe Circumſtances, one would have expected, from the Nature of our Conſtitution, that the new Parliament, which was ſummoned in the Year 1722, would generally have conſiſted of ſuch as were no Friends to the Adminiſtration; but when the Parliament aſſembled, this Houſe ſoon appeared to be of a miniſterial, inſtead of being of a popular Complexion; from whence one muſt naturally, and, I think, neceſſarily conclude, that our Miniſters had found Means to corrupt a Majority of our Elections; and this Concluſion is very much ſtrengthened by the large Sums granted for paying off the Debts of the Civil Liſt before, and ſoon after the chuſing of that Parliament; for in the Year 1720, the Sum of 300,000 was paid for this Purpoſe by the two Inſurance Companies; in the Year 1721, 500,000 *l.* more was granted by Parliament for the ſame Purpoſe, and in the Year 1725, another Sum of 500,000 *l.* was granted for the like Purpoſe.

Beſides theſe large Sums, Sir, which were granted openly and expreſsly for paying off the Debts and Incumbrances of the Civil Liſt, by a Clauſe artfully ſlipt into an Act of Parliament in the Year 1721. An annual Sum of above 36,000*l.* was added to the Civil Liſt, by ordaining, that the old Penſions and Annuities charg'd upon the hereditary Revenues ſhould, for the future, be paid, without being deemed to be Part of the 700,000*l.* ſettled upon his late Majeſty for his Life; and in the Year 1725, the Sum of 101,800*l.* was taken from the Sinking Fund, to compleat his late Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenue to 700,000 *per Ann.* and ſoon after there was 42,200*l.* taken from the Poſt-Office Revenue on the ſame Account.

Thus, Sir, it appears, that in the laſt ſeven Years of his late Majeſty's Rign, there was no leſs than 1,444,000*l.* extraordinary Grants made to the Civil Liſt, beſides their being freed from the Payment of 36,000*l.* yearly, which it was before charged with; and it is very remarkable, that in the Year 1727 the ſame Miniſter, who has ever ſince, I may ſay, preſided in our Councils, forſook being a Country Gentleman, as he had before poſſeſſed

ſed himſelf, and again began be- affected to his Majeſty, but it was
a Miniſter of State. This, I not to be expected, if they were left
very much ſtrengthens the Con- to a free and uncorrupted Choice,
ion, that in the Year 1722, when that they would generally chuſe ſuch
new Parliament was choſen, the as were known to be attached to
iniſter had found Means to cor- the former Adminiſtration. Yet
t a Majority of our Elections; A nevertheleſs, it ſoon appeared, that
this will anſwer for that Parlia- ſuch Men were generally choſen,
ent's having made ſuch extraordi- which of itſelf is a ſtrong Argu-
y additional Grants to the Civil ment againſt this Parliament's being
t, without having ever ſo much freely choſen, and this Argument
once enquired, in a proper Man- receives additional Strength from the
, into the Produce of the Civil memorable extraordinary Grant of
Revenues, or into the Manage- B 115,000*l.* which was made to the
nt of thoſe Revenues: It will Civil Liſt, at the Beginning of his
rwiſe anſwer for that Parlia- preſent Majeſty's Reign.
ent's having approved of the The very ſame Adminiſtration
aty of *Hanover*, without ap- being continued by his preſent Ma-
inting a Secret Committee to in- jeſty (for the few new Members
ire into the Truth of the im- added by him have always been
ubtable Facts pretended as the C look'd on as Cyphers) and this new
uſe of that Treaty; and it will Parliament being likewiſe of a mi-
ſwer for the Miniſter's aſking niſterial, inſtead of being of a po-
n, and that Parliament's grant- pular Complexion, the Civil Liſt, by
, an Addition of 120,000*l. per* this Means, got ſome new Acquiſi-
. to the Civil Liſt, during his tions, during this Parliament; the
ſent Majeſty's Life. vaſt Expences the Nation was put
I come now, Sir, to the ſecond D to in paying foreign Subſidies, and
liament which was choſe under maintaining foreign Troops, for ſe-
ſame Miniſter's Influence. By curing us againſt chimerical Dan-
Conduct of our Miniſter, and gers, were approved of; and the
Compliance of the laſt Parlia- Treaty of *Seville*, by which a Foun-
nt, it may be ſuppoſed, the Diſ- dation was laid for ruining the Houſe
ents of the People were no Way of *Auſtria*, without gaining any one
yed: It is certain they were E Advantage to this Nation, met with
her increaſed, when a new Parlia- a parliamentary Approbation; and
nt came neceſſarily to be choſen the Loſſes and Complaints of our
the Year 1727. His preſent Ma- Merchants, occaſioned by the *Spa-*
y's happy and peaceable Acceſ- *niſh* Depredations, both before and
n to the Throne had, 'tis true, after that Treaty, met with no Re-
n great Joy to every good Sub- gard from Parliament, at leaſt none
; but that Joy had no Sort of F but what was, I may ſay, dictated
ation to the Miniſters of the by our Miniſters. Thus the Beha-
er Reign: On the contrary, it viour of this Parliament became, I
very much increaſed by its be- think, a convincing Proof of the
generally preſumed, that the Methods by which it was choſen;
niſters, or at leaſt the chief Mi- and its continual Compliance gave
ter of the former Reign, would our Miniſter, at laſt, the Courage to
diſmiſſed and called to a ſtrict G bring a Scheme into Parliament,
count; therefore it was to be ex- which would at once have abſolute-
ed, that the People would chuſe ly ruined our Conſtitution, by giv-
Repreſentatives as were well ing all future Miniſters the Direc-

tion of moſt of our Elections. When I ſay this, Sir, I believe, every Gentleman that hears me will ſuppoſe, I mean the Exciſe Scheme, which owed its Diſappointment, not ſo much to the Virtue of this Houſe, as to the Virtue of ſome noble Lords of the other Houſe, who openly declared againſt it, and not only perſuaded their Friends here to be againſt it, but would probably have prevented its being agreed to in that Houſe, if it had been paſſed in this.

This moſt wicked and deſperate Scheme, Sir, work'd the Diſcontents of the People almoſt into Madneſs. It raiſed ſuch a Ferment in the Nation, that the Miniſter and his chief Supporters in this Scheme, were burnt in Effigy at many Places in the Kingdom; and as this happened in the Summer 1733, one may eaſily judge, what Temper the People were in, with regard to our Miniſters, the Summer following, when a general Election for a new Parliament came neceſſarily on; for no one can pretend, they had in the mean Time done any one Thing, either at home or abroad, for reconciling themſelves to the People, but, on the contrary, ſome Officers had been diſmiſſed for no other Reaſon, that could be ſuppoſed, but their appearing againſt the Exciſe Scheme, and ſeveral neceſſary and popular Motions had been rejected in the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament by the Influence of our Miniſters, as was generally believed.

In theſe Circumſtances, Sir, can it be imagined, that the People, if left to a free and uncorrupted Choice, would return a Majority of thoſe who were the profeſſed Friends and Supporters of our Miniſter? Yet a Majority of ſuch were returned as Members of this Houſe, and ſome of them were rechoſen at the very Places where they had, but the Year before, been burnt in Effigy. This Parliament accordingly be[lie]ved as the former two had do[ne] They agreed to every Thing t[he] Miniſter propoſed: They approv[ed] of every Thing he did, both abro[ad] and at home; and they rejec[ted] every Motion, and every Bill, wh[ich] he but ſeemed to diſlike. T[hey] furniſhed Money for Fleets and A[r]mies to aſſiſt the *Emperor*, and th[ey] approved of our giving him Aſſiſtance: They made a conſi[der]rable Addition to the Civil L[ist] under Pretence of its ſuffering by the Gin Act: They took no Not[ice] of the deluſive and provoking Tre[at]ment our Commiſſaries had m[et] with in *Spain*, becauſe our Mini[ſter] ſeemed reſolved to put up with a[ny] Thing rather than enter into a W[ar] And to ſum up all, Sir, they [ap]proved, as much as our Miniſter [de]ſired, of the Convention.

From hence, Sir, I think, it m[ay] be preſumed, that this Parliam[ent] was choſen by the ſame Sort of [In]fluence the two former had be[en] and upon the Choice of this Par[lia]ment, I muſt make one Obſervat[ion] which ought to be taken partic[ular] Notice of. I have before obſerv[ed] that ſeveral noble Lords of the ot[her] Houſe declared themſelves ope[nly] againſt the Exciſe Scheme, and p[er]ſuaded ſome of their Friends in t[he] Houſe to vote againſt it; and [I] ſhall now obſerve, that among th[ose] there were ſeven or eight of the ſ[ix]teen Peers for *Scotland*. What [In]fluence our Miniſter had upon [the] Election of the ſixteen Peers, to [re]preſent the Peerage of that Par[t] the Iſland in the next enſuing P[ar]liament, I ſhall not pretend to [de]termine; but it is very remarka[ble] that no one of theſe ſeven or ei[ght] could get himſelf rechoſen at [the] next Election, tho' they were of [the] good Families, and had as g[ood] Characters as any Lords in [the] Kingdom; and every one kno[ws] they were turned out of every

or Employment they held at Pleaſure of the Crown.

Whether any corrupt Practices ve been made uſe of for influ- cing Gentlemen in their Way of ing, I ſhall not pretend to de- e: I hope, every Gentleman A ld diſdain being ſo practiſed n, and would reſent the Attempt a Gentleman-like Manner; but n what I have ſaid, I hope, re will appear ſomething more n a Preſumption, that ſome ſuch dices have been made uſe of at B ctions for twenty Years paſt; and n we ſee Gentlemen turned out honourable or lucrative Employ- nts, for no other aſſignable Rea- , but becauſe of their voting a- inſt miniſterial Meaſures in Par- ment, it muſt be allowed, that C thout any perſonal Threatenings, even without a perſonal Applica- , it will have ſome Influence n thoſe whoſe Subſiſtence chiefly ſults from the Employments they ſes at the Pleaſure of a Prime iniſter. Therefore, I hope, it will D be made uſe of as an Objection the Motion I am to make, that theſe laſt twenty Years, Accounts ve been regularly laid before, and our Meaſures approved of by Par- ment. On the contrary, as there ſo much Ground for Suſpicion of E rrupt Practices having been made of, and as thoſe Practices can be ected by nothing leſs than the wer and Authority of Parliament, s very Approbation becomes one the ſtrongeſt Reaſons for a par- mentary Inquiry.

After what I have ſaid, Sir, I nk it unneceſſary to enter into rticular Examination of the ma- ſteps in the Conduct of our pub- Affairs, that have given great quiet to the Nation; and for ich no Reaſon could ever yet G ſſigned that was ſatisfactory, ſo much as ſeemed ſatisfactory to ſe who neither poſſeſſed nor expected any Place under the Government. Some I have curſorily mentioned, and if upon this Occaſion an Attempt ſhould be made to juſtify any of them, I hope, the Arguments made uſe of for that Purpoſe will be fully anſwered by thoſe whoſe Sentiments are the ſame with mine. An impartial and ſtrict Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs is what the whole Nation expects from this new Parliament; and I have ſhewn a very good Reaſon, why this Inquiry ſhould be carried back for at leaſt twenty Years; therefore I ſhall conclude with moving, *That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of our Affairs, at home and abroad, during the laſt twenty Years.*

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

BESIDES thoſe inſerted or mention'd in our laſt, p. 546—550, there have been Inſtructions and Repreſentations ſent from the Magiſtrates and Town Council of *Stirling*; from the Provoſt, Bailies and Town Council of the City of *Aberdeen*; from the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Canterbury*; from the Freemen of the City of *Coventry*, &c. to their reſpective Repreſentatives, all in the ſame Strain as the former, referring to, and recommending the *London* Inſtructions. We muſt likewiſe inform our Readers, that there were Inſtructions of another Stamp from ſome Places, particularly from *Nottingham* and *Briſtol*. Thoſe from *Briſtol* were as follows.

To the Right Hon. EDWARD SOUTHWELL, *Eſq; ſurviving Repreſentative in Parliament for the City of* Briſtol.

IN the preſent difficult Conjuncture, when the Honour of the

Crown, the Intereſt of the Kingdom, and the Tranquillity of *Europe*, demand the Attention of the Legiſlature, We, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common-Council-Men of the City of *Briſtol*, in Common-Council aſſembled, take the Liberty of addreſſing ourſelves to you, who have the Honour to repreſent this City in Parliament; and we flatter ourſelves you will not be diſpleaſed that we uſe a Freedom on this Occaſion, not unbecoming Perſons ſenſible of the Importance of the preſent Criſis, and concerned for the Welfare of their Country.

It has been for more than an Age paſt, the ruling Ambition of a neighbouring State, to render all the other Potentates of *Europe* the mere Creatures of her Power, and Miniſters of her Will: Upon this Syſtem all her Politicks have turned; to this Point have all her Councils been directed; with this View ſhe hath been lately kindling the Flame of a general War in *Europe*: And to facilitate this Scheme of Univerſal Monarchy, ſhe has actually invaded a natural and antient Ally of this Kingdom, in open Violation of the moſt ſolemn Engagements. And tho' with the utmoſt Duty and Gratitude we acknowledge the Wiſdom, Equity, and Magnanimity of his Majeſty's Councils, and rejoice in the great and glorious Effects of them; yet we cannot reflect on the Dangers which but lately engaged the Attention, and awakened the Fears of good Men of every Party in the Kingdom, without a very ſenſible Concern for the future Event of Things; for it will ſtill depend on the Conduct of *Great Britain*, and on the Part his Majeſty may further be enabled to take in the preſent uncertain State of Things, Whether the Balance of *Europe* ſhall be yet maintain'd: Or, in other Words, Whether *Great Britain* ſhall for the future be a free or a depende Nation.

Your known Attachment to t Intereſt of your Country, unbiaſſ by perſonal Views, nor moved popular Clamour, leaves us no Roo to doubt, that at this critical Jun ture you will ſteadily and uniform perſue ſuch Meaſures as condu to the Stability of his Majeſty's G vernment, the Protection and A vancement of our Trade, and to t Safety, Honour, and laſting Inter of the Kingdom, particularly, th you will cheerfully concur in gra ing to his Majeſty early and effe tual Supplies for the Service of t enſuing Year. This is a Servi the preſent State of Publick A fairs, and the high Truſt you be require from you: And did not preſume, that your own Senſe the Importance of the Service re ders all other Motives unneceſſar we could in the moſt earneſt Ma ner recommend it to you.——F without the neceſſary Supplies, *Gr Britain* muſt be wholly unacti at a Seaſon, when the utmoſt P dence, Vigour and Reſolution is n ceſſary, to avert the Dangers th threaten her and her Allies: T War with *Spain*, a War undertak by his Majeſty in Defence of o moſt valuable Rights, and with t concurrent Voice of the whole Kin dom, muſt end to the eternal R proach of this Nation, without Sat faction for paſt Injuries, or Secur againſt future Inſults; and the L berties of *Europe* will, we fear, b come an eaſy Prey to the Ambiti of a formidable Power, ever jeal of the Proſperity of *Great Brita* and equally a Foe to our Civil a Religious Rights. In this Vie of Things, we cannot fear that t neceſſary Supplies will be denie or even, that they will be poſtpon to Conſiderations of a more c meſtick Concern.

We are not ignorant that th Me

ſure hath been recommended ſome of our Fellow-ſubjects with uncommon, (we wiſh we could ſay) an indecent and unreaſona- Zeal. For our own Parts we de- re, that as we eſteem the Free- and Conſtitutional Independen- of the Commons in Parlia- nt among the moſt valuable of legal Rights, if not the Founda- of all the reſt; ſo we are vinced, that every conſiſtent Ad- ate for *Britiſh* Liberty, muſt pay juſt Regard likewiſe to the Free- and Conſtitutional Indepen- cy of the other Branches of the egiſlature. And ſince a perem- y Demand of new Laws, as preli- inary to the Granting the neceſ- y Supplies in a Time of actual ar, hath in our Opinion a fatal endency, either to deſtroy that reedom and Independency, or to ave the Nation defenceleſs, we are ourſelves you will not give in- a Meaſure ſo repugnant to our onſtitution, and in its Conſequences deſtructive to your Country.

We cannot, we ought not, to nclude this Addreſs without mak- our publick Acknowledgments you for your unwearied Atten- nce to the Duties of your Truſt, nd the conſtant Attention you have iven to every Point in which he Trade of the Kingdom, or the nterest of this City, have been con- rned.

CANN, *Town-Clerk.*

There were alſo ſome counter Re- reſentations from the ſame Places, articularly the following, in Oppoſi- on to the *Worceſter* Inſtructions, . 548.

To the Right Hon. SAMUEL SANDYS, *Eſq; and the Right Hon.* THOMAS WINNINGTON, *Eſq;*

The Repreſentation of the Corporation of Guardians in the City of Wor-ceſter, *elected annually, according to Act of Parliament, by the Pay-maſters in the ſeveral Pariſhes.*

Gentlemen,

A IT is with much Reluctancy that we preſume to take up a few Moments of your Time ſo precious, and of ſo great Conſequence; but having ſeen in Print a Repreſentation addreſs'd to you, of ſo aſſuming, ſo menacing, and ſo indecent a Nature, ſo derogatory to your Ho- B nour and juſt Merits, ſo repugnant to Truth and Juſtice, and, we believe, diſagreeable to almoſt all your Conſtituents, we think it our indiſpenſable Duty, for the Sake of Strangers into whoſe Hands the ſaid Repreſentation may fall (being well aſ- C ſured it will meet with juſt Contempt from all Perſons well affected to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and who have true Ideas of your Characters) thus briefly to trouble you with our Sentiments, in relation to your paſt and future Conduct, in D that Station wherein you do us ſo much Honour, by repreſenting us in Parliament.

And in the firſt Place to you, Mr. *Sandys*, who have long been our Member (but always to the Mortification of moſt of thoſe who joined E in the aforeſaid Addreſs) we render you our hearty Thanks for your unwearied and conſtant Attendance in Parliament, and for your manifold Services there; which, we are firmly perſuaded, have always been with a View to the Eſtabliſhment of the F preſent Royal Family, the improving and confirming our happy Conſtitution, the Intereſt of your Conſtituents, and the general Welfare of *Great Britain*. We alſo take the Liberty, Sir, to congratulate you on your Advancement to thoſe Pla- G ces of Truſt and Honour, which his Majeſty hath conferred on you. We who have ſo long ſeen and experienced your Virtue, Prudence, Probity,

bity, Juſtice, Honour, and ſtrict Oeconomy in private Life, cannot help flattering ourſelves, that you will diſcharge thoſe high and important Truſts committed to you with equal Aſſiduity, Candour, and Integrity, conſiſtent with yourſelf.

And to you, Mr. *Winnington*, who have only repreſented us in the preſent Parliament, we much approve your Conduct, gratefully acknowledge your Service, and highly applaud your Eſpouſal of thoſe Principles of Liberty and publick Spirit ſo eſſential to the Happineſs of *Britons*, and which are the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſticks of true Patriotiſm.

Gentlemen, Although we muſt own that our proper Province and that of our Brethren Addreſſers is, in the firſt Place to look well at home, and there to diſcharge our Duty in Sincerity and Truth to God and Man; yet as inſtructing Superiors in Politicks is become ſo faſhionable, we deſire you will pardon our Freedom in taking the Liberty to remark, that as all who are not wilfully blind muſt ſee, that by the wiſe Conduct of his Majeſty (for the Enlargement and Lengthening of whoſe Tranquillity we pray) by the vigorous Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament, and the prudent Adminiſtration of the Miniſtry, the Face of Affairs both at home and abroad are much changed for the better, and our Fears of becoming Vaſſals to unbounded Ambition, and the Projectors of univerſal Monarchy, are in ſome Degree diſſipated, ſo we humbly requeſt, that you will contribute by your beſt Endeavours to compleat the glorious Work ſo happily begun; and whatever additional Laws are requiſite to confirm and ſtrengthen *Britiſh* Liberty, ſo dear and valuable (although ſo wantonly ſported with by many) we doubt not of your Concurrence therewith, and Promotion thereof; wherein, Gentlemen, you will lay a laſting Obligation on us.

To which we the Guardians have affixed our Common Seal, at our General Court held in this City, *December* 2, 1742.

(L. S.)

Of the late Change in the Miniſtry, and a Parallel between the old and new Adminiſtration. Extracted from a Pamphlet, intitled, Miſcellaneous Thoughts on the preſent Poſture both of our Foreign and Domeſtick Affairs, *&c. Suppoſed to be written by a Perſon of Quality.*

MOST People have ſaid, and I believe take it for granted, that the Complexion of the preſent Parliament, differing ſo much from that of the laſt, was occaſioned principally by the Weight and Induſtry of the P. of *W.* as well as that the firſt Uſe his R. H. made of this Succeſs, was to inſiſt on theſe two Points; That Sir *R. W.* ſhould be removed from Court, and that his own Revenue ſhould be made equal to what his Father's was in his Situation; knowing at the ſame Time his own Strength ſo well, that he even refuſed the Acceptance of the laſt, without a Compliance with the firſt. Reſiſtance was thought to be try'd, but Reſiſtance proving vain theſe Demands were yielded to: Sir *R. W.* retir'd, and 50,000*l.* a Year was added to his R. H's. Income.

The whole Management of Affairs upon this Change, during the laſt Winter, was thought to fall into the Hands of a *Triumvirate*. The Word *Triumvirate*, together with ſome other Circumſtances, naturally puts me in Mind of that ſo famous in Antiquity, of *Octavius*, *Antony* and *Lepidus*. Who the *Lepidus* of this Triumvirate was, few People are ſo little converſant in Hiſtory as not to be able to gueſs; ſince

Lepidus

pidus is known to have been a
an of ſuch Abilities, as neither
the other had Reaſon to appre-
nd as a Rival; of ſuch as they
uld eaſily impoſe upon and work
their Purpoſe; and was caſually
ſſeſs'd of ſuch Sort of Strength A
they could make uſe of in pre-
nt, and diveſt him whenever they
ought fit.

Anthony was a Man of great na-
ral Talents, of a moſt reſtleſs Am-
tion, violent Paſſions, great Pride,
d little Judgment: Before the B
eath of *Cæſar*, he was indefati-
bly in the Purſuit of Power; and
o', ſoon after *Cæſar*'s Death, he
nd himſelf in full Poſſeſſion of
at he had ſo long aim'd at, the
hole being in his Hands; yet his
haviour in that Situation, was C
ch, that he ſunk in the Eſtima-
n of Mankind, as well as in the
fections of the People, as faſt as
had riſen; and loſt at laſt, either
his own Miſmanagement, or the
ns of *Octavius*, or both together,
en that Power that had been the D
ccaſion of his firſt loſing his Cre-
it.

Octavius, who, from the Begin-
ng of his entring into this Alli-
ce, had nothing in View but the
e Sovereignty, and of making uſe
the other two by temporarily flat-
ing them in their Demands, and
mplying with their Inclinations,
he was ſtrong enough to avow
s Deſign, knew that *Rome*, the
pital of the *Empire*, into whoſe-
ver Poſſeſſion it fell, would en-
e the Poſſeſſor to get the better F
any Rival; and therefore ſeiz'd
t as his own Province. The *Oc-*
vius of this *Engliſh Triumvirate*
thought to look on *the Cloſet*, as
Roman did on *the City*; every
this *Engliſh Triumvirate* met,
atever Houſe they met at, it ſtill G
mbled that little, famous Iſland,
n'd by a River near *Bologna*,
ere it was determin'd what good
Men ſhou'd be proſcrib'd, what in-
ſignificant People tolerated, and what
ſervile Tools and hungry Flatterers
ſhould be promoted. During theſe
Tranſactions, the *Engliſh Octavius*
knowing he could make no Way,
nor gain any Credit in the Cloſet,
by any Part he could act in this
Chaos of the home Affairs, left the
Diſpoſition of all thoſe Things to
Anthony, and turn'd his Thoughts
ſolely to the making his Court in
foreign Politicks; whilſt *Anthony*,
graſping at too much, loſt all; for
whilſt he aim'd at acquiring Credit
and Power in the Palace, as well as
keeping up his Popularity out of it,
he only did enough, in ſerving the
Court, to hurt him with the Peo-
ple, without doing enough to ſatisfy
the Court; and endeavour'd, by
ſuch Methods, to ingratiate himſelf
with the Publick, and preſerve his
Influence in his Party, as ſour'd the
Court, without obliging the People;
by which Means, as he had Power
at Court without Favour, ſo he had
Influence in P. without Credit, the
laſt ſubmitting to be ſtill led rather
from Habit than Confidence; and
the firſt yielding from Fear, not
complying from Inclination.

This Situation (as it was univer-
ſally believ'd, at leaſt) ſoon made
theſe three Men, who ſeem'd to E
draw together with the greateſt Con-
cord and Cordiality, as little agree-
able to one another, as their Pro-
ceedings made them to the reſt of
the World; and occaſioned their
feeling as great a Degree of inward
Hate towards one another, as they F
carry'd of outward Friendſhip: In
this Article again reſembling the
ancient Triumvirs, who, in their
ſudden Junction, and ſuppoſed U-
nion, were all three ſo reciprocally
diſtruſtful of Perfidy and Treachery
in each other, that they not only G
cauſed the Place where they met to
be examin'd, for Fear of Ambuſ-
cades, but ſubmitted to be treated
like

like ſuſpected Aſſaſſins, by having even their Perſons ſearch'd for concealed Daggers.

The particular Reaſons aſſign'd by the Generality of the World (with what Foundation I know not) for the Diſguſt and Diſtruſt that aroſe among our modern Triumvirs, were theſe: He who found he had all the Strength, Favour, and Confidence of the Cloſet, who had gain'd thoſe Advantages, and endeavour'd to cultivate and preſerve them, by making his Court in projecting and proſecuting fine Syſtems and Schemes of Policy in foreign Affairs upon the Continent, cou'd not but feel all the Difficulties he met with in the Proſecution of theſe Meaſures, from the Trouble given him in the home Affairs; which made him hate the Man to whom they were owing, or who did not at leaſt go ſo faſt as he would have had him, to remove them; tho' he went faſt enough to entangle himſelf in ſuch Difficulties as few People imagine he will ever get over; and to remove ſuch Difficulties for the other, as no Miniſter but himſelf, I believe, ever did get over; which were the finding Means to raiſe near ſix Millions and a Half of Money, to defray the Charge of his expenſive Schemes for the current Service, by a Minority in Parl———t.

On the other hand, the Man who found nothing could be done in Parliament for the Court, without his Aſſiſtance, felt himſelf in this very diſagreeable Situation, that he loſt Ground with his own Party, without gaining any with the other; that he was reproach'd by thoſe, whoſe Views he travers'd, without being thank'd by thoſe whoſe Views he favour'd; and whilſt he neither anſwer'd the Expectations of the Publick, nor gratified the Inclinations of his old Friends, that to his new Allies he was at the ſame Time both uſeful and diſagreeable. For tho' in the Palace, he had Power enough to extort many Conceſſions, he had not Intereſt enough to carry any one Point any other Way; and eaſily perceiv'd, on every Occaſion, tho' he met with Compliance, it was without Approbation; that Acquieſcence was not accompany'd with Conviction or Satisfaction; that he was often conſulted without being truſted and not only indulged, without the Poſſeſſion of the leaſt Degree of Favour, but mortify'd with frequent and even publick Tokens of the Reverſe.

At the ſame Time the third Perſon in *this Triumvirate*, finding himſelf quite out of the Queſtion as to Power or Favour, and that under the Appearance of being advis'd with, he was only dictated to by one of theſe Men, with regard to foreign Tranſactions; and by the other, made to obey in Parliamentary and domeſtick Affairs, grew to labour under all that Uneaſineſs which Ambition muſt neceſſarily ſuffer, when it is not joined to natural Talents that are good enough to feed and gratify it; and found himſelf in the ſame Situation between theſe two Men, that the old Fable of the Schools repreſents the Philoſopher's Aſs, betwixt two equal Bundles of Hay; propoſing at firſt, to feed upon both, and yet ſtarv'd between them at laſt.

The Affairs of the Palace, ſuppos'd by the Conjectures of the ſpeculative Part of Mankind, to be thus circumſtanc'd; let us with a little Retroſpect turn our Eye to the more known Facts and Tranſactions in Parliament.

Sir *R. W.* had now reſign'd his Employments, and was retir'd from Court: But to procure this Removal, I think, whatever Variety of Opinion there may be on his Meaſures as a Miniſter, every body muſt allow, that the moſt juſtifiable Methods in many ſtan-

nces had been formerly purſued; ce no body can deny the not ly ungentleman-like Treatment had often met with, but the in- man Manner in which he had en frequently attack'd; when ined to all the Ribaldry that uld caſt Odium, all the coarſeſt ire that could give Ridicule, and the ſtrongeſt Invectives that could ſe the Indignation of the Peo- , his Enemies after menacing the own with Rebellion, and hardly guarded Terms, even adviſing d inſtigating Rebellion, in caſe was not remov'd, went ſtill far- r, if poſſible, in Iniquity; whilſt, h a Rancour, as little to be war- ted as parallel'd, they publickly d frequently in Print, recommend- Aſſaſſination; and whilſt they tended to juſtify it, by Example, d Advocates for that baſeſt of Crimes, which few, in latter es, have had Wickedneſs enough commit, and none but theſe Wri- , in any Times, Impudence e- gh to defend.

But every low and wicked Art this Kind proving abortive, his emies reſolving that they would at leaſt as ſingular in ſhowing ir Reſentment as they repreſent- him to be in deſerving it, moſt itably and modeſtly propos'd, by Motion in both Houſes of Parlia- t, on the ſame Day, to pro- nce him a Criminal, without al- ging a Crime; to convict him thout Evidence, condemn him thout a Trial, and puniſh him thout hearing him.

Whether thoſe who attack'd, or e who defended Sir *R. W.* on Occaſion, were moſt in the t in their Arguments and Way reaſoning, let the Tranſactions of Winter decide: The imme- Joſtling and Scramble for Places ng theſe Men the Day after his moval, ſhow'd at leaſt what was r firſt View. A Set of Gentle-

men were afterwards appointed to enquire into his Conduct for ten Years paſt; and in order to make that Enquiry effectual, were poſſeſſed of ſuch Powers (whether all delegated, or ſome aſſumed, is not for me to determine) as no Set of Men were ever before poſſeſs'd of in this Country upon any Occaſion; and ſeem'd to reſemble only that ſupreme and deſpotick Authority of the *Decemviri*, during the Exerciſe of which, the Force of all Laws, and the Power of all Magiſtracies but their own, was ſuſpended.

I cannot help ſaying, that even what thay went about to find and prove againſt him, after all they had accus'd him of, ſeem'd to me as odd, as if any one, after accuſing a Man of Adultery, Inceſt, Sacrilege, Blaſphemy, and all Sorts of Profaneneſs and Immorality, ſhould, when he was called upon to make good this Charge in the Spiritual Court, only labour to prove that the Man had play'd at Cards on a *Sunday*, or taken God's Name in vain; two Things which nobody can ſay are not criminal, but of ſuch a Nature, that if they were to be puniſhed only by thoſe who were innocent of them, it would be like the Goſpel Story, where thoſe who were innocent being order'd to throw the firſt Stone at the Woman taken in Adultery, ſhe went away yet more unmoleſted than ſhe came. And that this Example has ſome Analogy to Sir *R. W.*'s Caſe I believe few People will deny, and fewer ſtill not perceive; when, after all the Outcry that had been raiſed againſt him for national Crimes, when there was hardly a Species of miniſterial Guilt that had not been laid to his Charge, the only Thing even endeavour'd to be proved againſt him as a Crime, was Bribery at Elections; (for his having been over-reach'd in a *Weſt-India* Contract, if it had been ſo, or

letting the King have his own Money for his own Uſe in the legal Method, and with proper Authority, I can never look upon as Crimes) to have this Crime, I ſay, of Bribery at Elections, the only one endeavour'd to be prov'd againſt him, does, in my poor Opinion, bear great Reſemblance to the ſuppoſed Caſe I put, of the Man proſecuted in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, for breaking the third Commandment; and would, I fear, have made Sir *R. W*'s Situation, if this Crime had been proved upon him, (which, by the by, it was not) ſo like the Situation of the Woman taken in Adultery, that I chuſe rather to leave it to my Readers to determine, than to ſuggeſt myſelf how many Stones would have been thrown at him out of the H——e of C————s, if thoſe who were quite innocent of that Offence, had only been order'd to caſt one at him, and whether he would have been in any Danger of dying the Death of St. *Stephen*.

I will now (without entring into the old, inexhauſtible Diſpute of juſtifying Sir *R. W*.'s Adminiſtration on all the Heads of Declamation againſt him) take the Liberty, by a few Interrogatories, comparatively to examine how far the Complaints againſt him have been conſider'd by his Succeſſors, and whether Redreſs, or increas'd Subject for them, has been thought of; or may probably, from the Tendency of the preſent Councils, Policy, and Meaſures, be expected from our new Adminiſtration.

In the firſt Place then, as to *Negotiations* and *Treaties*, I ſhould be glad to know, tho' a great General and Ambaſſador, and a great Miniſter and Secretary of State, have condeſcended to act the Part of common Couriers to and from *Holland*, what Advantages we have reap'd from our Negotiations there? What Spirit their Vivacity has been a[ble] to infuſe into *Dutch* Phlegm? Wh[at] Influence their Eloquence has h[ad] in the Conferences held there? Wh[at] Weight their Arguments have c[ar]ried in the Deliberations of t[he] *Dutch* Miniſters? And what hap[py] Turn their Art and Dexterity ha[ve] given to the Councils that beſ[t] prevail'd, and the Meaſures beſ[t] purſued at the *Hague*? And whet[her] the *Dutch* have not been ſo far fr[om] being made Converts to their po[li]tical Tenets, that they have ope[nly] renounc'd them, and inſtead of [a]dopting their Schemes, and joini[ng] in their Meaſures, publickly d[o] avow'd them? That the *Dutch* [are] tred into a neutral Treaty w[ith] *France*, during the *Poliſh* War in [the] Reign of the late Emperor *Cha[rles]* VI. was ſaid to be owing to th[eir] being convinc'd we intended to [do] nothing towards the Support of t[he] Houſe of *Auſtria*; and that e[ven] their not being induced afterwa[rds] to break that Treaty, was ow[ing] either to Sir *R. W*.'s extreme Ig[no]rance in not diſcerning our Inte[rest] enough to labour that Point in *H[ol]land*; or his Want of ſufficient A[bi]lities and Knowledge in foreign A[f]fairs, to make *Holland* diſcern [its] own Intereſt, and co-operate w[ith] us in entering into that War. Is this Reaſoning carried any Edge againſt Sir *R. W*.'s Skill and Abili[ty] in Negotiation, how much deep muſt it cut in Arraignment of [the] preſent Negotiators? For if, a[fter] all our wiſe Overt-acts, the *Du[tch]* Miniſters cou'd doubt of our be[ing] in earneſt, in reſolving to ſupp[ort] the *Houſe of Auſtria*, they muſt [be] poſſeſs'd with an Incredulity exce[ed]ing even that of St. *Thomas*. Whe[re] then can their Backwardneſs p[ro]ceed, according to that Dilem[ma] juſt mentioned, to which our P[re]ſent Directors in foreign Affairs [re]duced their Animadverſions on *R. W*.'s Behaviour, in the Time

Poliſh War, but the Want of Will and Ability to urge properly and forcibly to the *Dutch* the evident Expediency of their taking a part in the Queen of *Hungary*'s Cauſe? And how much more eaſy was this Part to the preſent Adminiſtration than the laſt; ſince they found the *Dutch* looſe from that neutral Engagement, by which Sir *R. W.* found them ſhackled and confined?

From our *Dutch* Negotiations then little Honour can redound to our preſent able Negotiators. I know there is a Treaty from which they pretend to plead great Merit, which is the Treaty of Accommodation between the *Queen of Hungary* and the *King of Pruſſia*. But, in the firſt Place, I may have my Doubts whether *the Councils of England* had any greater Share in concluding that Treaty than *the Councils of Pekin*; and whether it was not merely owing to a Variety of Circumſtances and Events, the Cauſes of which we had abſolutely nothing to do with. In the next Place, if *England* had any Merit in that Treaty, it was moſt certainly not the Merit of the preſent Adminiſtration; ſince I deny them to have made uſe of any Arguments at the Court of *Vienna* to produce this Accommodation (or at leaſt of any good ones) which may not be found in thoſe Letters of my Lord *Harrington* that were laid before both Houſes of Parliament laſt Winter. Our preſent Miniſters (on this Suppoſition) only went to the ſame Market, and thro the ſame Paths, to make a Purchaſe for the Queen of *Hungary*, which our Miniſters had frequented and chalk'd out before; and made that Purchaſe the Year with ſuch excellent Skill and Oeconomy, that ſhe was offer'd double the Acquiſition during Sir *R. W.*'s Adminiſtration the Year before at half the Price: For then ſhe might, for *half Sileſia* only, have had the *King of Pruſſia*'s *Aſſiſtance*; whereas now, for *all Sileſia*, ſhe has bought nothing but *his Neutrality*, and inſtead of having him for her, has him only not againſt her. May it not from theſe Premiſes then be juſtly concluded, that ſince our preſent Miniſters are ſo ready to plume themſelves with theſe *furtivis Coloribus*, and ſo ſolicitous to pick up ſome little Scraps of fictitious or borrow'd Merit to boaſt of in Negotiations, they are but too conſcious they have no genuine and real Merit of their own?

The Parallel between the Conduct of the old and new Adminiſtration with regard to *ſtanding Armies in Time of Peace*, is almoſt as little neceſſary, as difficult to ſtate; ſince every body knows the vaſt Augmentations that have been made this laſt Year of our Land Forces; which, conſidering the Danger of the Sea is all the Danger they have been expos'd to, might more properly, perhaps, be call'd *Marines*. And however People might have differ'd, or for Reaſons I ſha'n't mention, might pretend previouſly to have differ'd about the Uſe, there might be for them, there can be no Variety of Opinion about the Uſe, or to ſpeak more correctly the *no Uſe* that has been made of them. If it ſhould be alledg'd that we are leſs at Peace at preſent than we were during Sir *R. W.*'s Adminiſtration, to take off the Odium of this Augmentation; I ſhould be glad to be inform'd, by Way of outward and viſible Signs of our being ſo, What warlike Exploits have been performed? What have been our military Atchievements, or even our military Undertakings? That our Troops have been ſent to *Flanders* is true; ſo much the worſe if they had nothing to do there; as a ſtanding Army in *Flanders* is worſe than a ſtanding Army in *England*; in the firſt Place, on Account of the addi-

additional Expence to tranſport them; and, in the next, becauſe all the Money ſpent by themſelves, or by the Publick to ſupport them, is ſpent abroad to enrich Strangers, inſtead of being ſpent at Home. Under what Denomination this Army in *Flanders* is to be deſcribed or mentioned, I am quite at a Loſs to gueſs. It cannot properly be called *a Confederate Army*, ſince there is not, and I believe will not be, a Man in it who will not be paid out of *Engliſh* Money: Nor *an Auxiliary Army*, ſince it does not appear that they have given any Aſſiſtance to any body: Nor *an Army of Obſervation*, as they have not been in any Place where any hoſtile Motions have been to be obſerved: Nor *a Defenſive Army*, becauſe I do not know of any Body or any Thing attack'd where they are. Nor can it properly be call'd *an Offenſive Army*, ſince I know of no body but the Butchers and Tradeſmen of *Ghent* or *Bruges* whom they have offended; unleſs we reckon the *Dutch* among the Offended, who have publickly diſavow'd their having given their Conſent to the Embarkation of theſe Troops, or even their being acquainted with the Meaſure before the Reſolution was taken to execute it. There is therefore but one Title I can think of, under which it is poſſible to ſpeak of this Army, which is, ſince *making a Diverſion* is a military Term, to call our Army in *Flanders* an *Army of Diverſion*.

The Article of *foreign Subſidies* is ſo blended with the laſt Subject I have treated, that I ſhall ſay no more upon it than this, That during the as yet ſhort Reign of the preſent Adminiſtration, conſidering what has been paid, and remains to be paid on that Head, I believe double the Sum has gone out of the Kingdom for theſe Services, that, during all Sir *R. W.*'s Adminiſtration, ever went out of it in double the Time. And as to any Vie to the *K—g's E——l Dominions* i theſe Tranſactions, I ſhall, on th very delicate and tender Topick ſay no more than this, That if h M——y has any Bias of Partialit in this Article, (and I grant it n tural for an *Engliſhman* to ſuſpect h may have ſome) as Sir *R. W.* h been thought never to have wea ened his Intereſt in the Cloſet b any Thing ſo much as by oppoſin that Bias; ſo it is now general believed, that he who has the be Intereſt there at preſent, never pr moted or endeavour'd to promo his Intereſt by any Thing ſo muc as by indulging, if not ſtrengt ning, any Partialities of that Sort.

As to *Votes of Credit*, I muſt ow the preſent Miniſtry have gone fa ther in that Article than any oth whatever, to ſhew how ready th were to truſt the Crown, and wa tonly to infringe the parliamenta and conſtitutional Forms of grantin Money: Since for the ſame Purpo (I mean for the Queen of *Hungar* that during Sir *R. W.*'s Adminiſtr tion the Year before, 300,000*l.* w given, aſk'd in a Speech from t Throne, and granted in the com mon Method of granting Aids a Supplies to the Crown; the preſe Adminiſtration, not only increas the Sum to 500,000*l.* but choſe give it by a Gentleman's fumblin in his Pocket at Ten o'Clock Night, and producing a Paper, (whi Wearineſs and Noiſe hinder'd m People from examining, or knowi the Purport of) and begging no bo would ſay one Word againſt it; t it was, with regard to the Appli tion of the Money, the moſt exte five and unlimited Vote of Cre that ever paſs'd in Parliament; a tho' he himſelf, as well as th who were the foremoſt to ſupp and puſh this Meaſure, (as well thoſe, who, I believe, adviſed had always oppoſed every oth

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Vote of Credit, during Sir *R. W.*'s Adminiſtration, with the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Warmth, and conſtantly repreſented that Manner of granting Money, as the moſt dangerous to the Conſtitution, and the moſt likely to prove ſubverſive of what they eſteem'd its moſt valuable, as well as fundamental Principles.

It would be natural here, to aſk and enquire, how much of this 800,000*l.* given *for* the Queen of *Hungary*, has ever been given *to* her? But as that is a Queſtion which few can anſwer; and thoſe few only, I believe, will anſwer to thoſe who can force them; ſo I ſhall leave ſuch Interrogatories to the Parliament.

As to the vigorous Proſecution of the *Spaniſh* War in the *Weſt-Indies*, that ſeeming favourite Point of our new Miniſters, before they became ſuch; ſo little has been done there ſince the Change of the Miniſtry, and ſo little been ſaid about the *Weſt-Indies*, that there is no Appearance of their having been more thought of in this Iſland ſince that Period, at leaſt by our new Directors, than they were before *Columbus* diſcover'd them. And the new Miniſters, in this, as well as in moſt other Things, ſeem ſo totally to have chang'd their Opinions, as well as their Situation, and their Manner of Acting, as well as their Manner of Talking, that when they chooſe theſe Words, *Take* and *Hold*, for their *Motto*; and we poor, blundering Dupes, fancy'd they meant only, with regard to the *Weſt-Indies*; for it is plain it was nothing more than a cant Expreſſion among themſelves; importing, that they would all *Take* Places at Court as ſoon as they could get them, and *Hold* them as long as they could keep them. This Conſiſt in the new Miniſtry, with regard to their Neglect of the *Spaniſh* War, and all their expenſive Attention to the Diſputes on the Continent, in which our Intereſt is ſo much leſs concern'd, and muſt be ſo much more remotely affected, brings to my Mind two very ſilly Lines, with a ſmall Variation, put by *Dryden* into the Mouth of *Cortez*, when he firſt lands in *America*.

As if our old war quietly withdrew,
And here, in *Europe*, had brought forth a new.

If ever then that Reproach of our being at all the Expences of War, whilſt we remain'd in all the Supineneſs of Peace, carry'd any Weight againſt Sir *R. W.*'s Miniſtry, how much heavier muſt it fall on the preſent, when ſo much more is expended, and ſo much leſs perform'd? When we are ſo evidently expoſed to the Diſadvantages of both, without a Poſſibility of reaping the Profits of either; that with regard to the *Weſt-Indies*, where we are engag'd in a declared War, we do not wage War; and ſeem (if it were not for our loſing *Georgia*) to ſink into Peace, without making Peace: Whilſt in *Europe*, we are, with a laviſh *Don Quixotiſm*, putting ourſelves to an immenſe Charge only to irritate our Foes, without hurting them; and exceeding fourfold thoſe Expences for our Allies, which our Engagements require, [without aſſiſting them.

I come now to compare, in the laſt Place, the Conduct of our old and new Miniſters, with regard to the *National Debt*, and the Application of the *Sinking Fund*; and am very ready to own, that I have often thought, and often ſaid, If the Conduct of the laſt Adminiſtration in theſe Articles was not leſs juſtifiable than in any other, at leaſt our Situation in theſe Particulars was much more to be lamented, as the Reduction of our Debts was ſo ſmall, and our annual Expences ſo great, that the Produce of the Sinking Fund could ſo ſeldom be apply'd to the firſt Uſe, and was ſo

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frequently taken towards defraying the current Services of the laſt. But in theſe Points too, the new Miniſtry have ſo enhanc'd on this Miſconduct or Misfortune, that, as if they reſolv'd to make their Behaviour in every Thing a Climax of Error and Prejudice to this unhappy Country, they have not only augmented our Expences, and neglected all Thoughts of paying our Debts; but with a ſhameleſs Contradiction to all their old Profeſſions and Declarations, to all the Maxims they laid down, and the Conduct they recommended before they were in Power, they ſet out with concerting ſuch Meaſures, purſuing them in ſuch a Manner, and ſupporting the Charge of them by ſuch *Ways* and *Means*, as muſt, if continued, not only temporarily ſuſpend the Payment of any Part of the publick Debts, but likewiſe make it impoſſible they ever can be paid by the moſt frugal Miniſters that can ſucceed them; the Conſequence of which, every one can perceive, muſt neceſſarily be, that the Nation muſt be Bankrupt, or at leaſt Inſolvent; and between a Bankrupt Nation and an Inſolvent Nation, the Diſtinction is ſo nice, and the Difference ſo ſmall, that I think it is not worth contending for; eſpecially ſince there can be no Remedy for either, but a Spunge; and that ſooner or later, that Remedy muſt, and will, in this Caſe be applied.

From what I have ſaid, every one muſt know, that the Crime I have here charged the new Miniſters with, is their not only taking the Produce of the Sinking Fund laſt Year for the current Service, but their having likewiſe had the Aſſurance to re-mortgage the Sinking Fund for 800,000*l.* and this Conduct, held by thoſe very Men, who had endeavour'd to ruin Sir *R. W.*'s Credit, and blaſt his Reputation, by barely ſuggeſting, that he meditated ſuch Schemes, and would ſome Time or other, to fill up the Meaſure of his Iniquity, (as they call'd it) put them in Execution; of which, inevitable Ruin to this Nation, was the manifeſt and certain Conſequence. By theſe Means, therefore, our new Miniſters, with a Modeſty equal to their Prudence, and Wiſdom equal to their Honeſty, have ſhown the World, that they dared to ſet out with a Step, with which they had ſaid, Sir *R. W.* only dared to conclude; and made that the *firſt* Token of their Guilt, which they had propheſy'd (as the ſtrongeſt Reflection they could caſt) he meant to make the *laſt* of his.

And ſince I am upon this Subject, and that I have always thought this Nation could never be plung'd in Difficulties beyond the Poſſibility of future Extrication, and be irretrievably undone, but by re-mortgaging the Produce of the Sinking Fund; ſo I cannot help ſaying, that if the Scheme of the preſent Adminiſtration be to find Money to defray their laviſh, enormous Expences in this Method, I hope thoſe who project, thoſe who promote, and thoſe who execute that Scheme will be made ſuch Examples of national Reſentment, that this Good at leaſt may be extracted from ſuch Meaſures, that the moſt vicious and boldeſt Miniſters, for the future, will never dare to make the ſame Attempt.

I have now gone thro' the Parallel I propos'd, between the late and preſent Adminiſtration, in all the moſt important Articles; and have, I think, inconteſtably prov'd, that the new Miniſters have not only given the Lye to the Language they formerly held, not only gone counter to all their former Profeſſions, inverted their former Maxims, and ſwerv'd from all their former boaſted Principles; but have likewiſe ſhown

hown the World, that if the Cauſes f their former Complaints, during he late Adminiſtration, did truly ubſiſt, they have increas'd them, nd if they were only imaginary, hey have realiz'd them. What I hould therefore recommend to them A o the beſt Atonement they can ake for the Uſe of their ill-gotten, ll-exercis'd Power, during their as et ſhort Poſſeſſion of it, would be, ith all Humbleneſs and Penitence o come to the Parliament, and, in he Stile of the Liturgy, to ſay, B *lmighty and moſt merciful Parliament, e have erred and ſtrayed from the ight way like loſt Sheep: We have of- ended againſt the Laws of Truth, enſe, and Honeſty: We have left ndone thoſe Things which we ought to ave done; and we have done thoſe C hings which we ought not to have one, and there is no Merit in us: But ou, O Parliament, have Mercy upon s miſerable Offenders, and ſpare thou hem that thus confeſs their Faults.*

And if after this Confeſſion, and heir retiring to thoſe private Sta- D ions from whence they came, the arliament would think fit to give hem Abſolution, I ſhould not grudge s *Cato* ſays) myſelf to mount the *oſtra* in their Favour, and ſtrive to ain their Pardon from the People.

I cannot help adding a few Words E o explain, according to my poor udgment, the moſt beneficial Prin- iples, and the moſt ſalutary Maxims which any Miniſter can act for his Country. With regard to our cquiſitions, he ſhould, in my Opi- ion, think of none but what will F rife from encouraging, promoting, rotecting, cultivating, and extend- g every Branch of our Trade; d truſt to no Strength or Force here Strength or Force may be anting, but our naval Power. For e firſt of theſe Reaſons I think all G ars ſo induſtriouſly to be avoided, poſſible, that there are few Occa- ons in which I ſhould not be tempted to ſay with *Cicero* in one of his Letters to *Atticus*, *Ad Pacem hortari non deſino, quæ vel injuſta utilior eſt quam juſtiſſimum Bellum.* And tho I grant the *Spaniſh* War became neceſſary, and even perhaps expedient, and proper to have been undertaken ſooner than we enter'd into it; yet with regard to the Continent, as all Nations muſt be in a State either of War or Negotiation, ſo I was always of Opinion that the hackney'd Phraſes ſo frequently made uſe of, by Way of Reflection on Sir *R. W.*'s Adminiſtration, as endleſs *Negotiations*, and frequent *Treaty-making*, &c. were ſo far from being any real Satire on his Conduct, that they were the higheſt Encomiums on his Policy; ſince the firſt Article in my political Creed will always be, *From a Warlike Genius, and an Enterprizing Miniſter, Good Lord deliver us:* Becauſe I know nothing in the End we can ever get by Wars upon the Continent; and that whilſt they laſt we muſt always be temporary Loſers; negatively, by the Suſpenſion, or at leaſt Interruption of our Trade, and actually by the Expence we muſt be at to ſupport them. If we are upon every Diſpute on the *Continent* to make our Appearance, like the Picture of Juſtice, to regulate and determine them, I could wiſh, on theſe Occaſions, our Miniſters would borrow her Scales, and not her Sword; and nine Times in ten ſhall be apt to imagine, when they hold a contrary Conduct, that they have at leaſt borrow'd the Bandage ſhe wears on her Eyes, and bound it on their own, inſtead of opening them to the real Intereſt of this Iſland.

With regard to the preſent unhappy Situation of the Empire, and the waſteful Conteſts now ſubſiſting there, I am of Opinion, that no Part can be ſenſibly, prudently, and judiciouſly acted by *England*, but that of endeavouring to unite the Princes of *Germany*, in order to prevent

vent the total Ruin of the whole Empire. But if this Union cannot be effected, and the *Germanick* Body is to be ſtill lacerated by its own Limbs, I think it ſignifies not one Farthing to the common Cauſe, whether the Arms break the Legs, or the Legs the Arms; the Work of *France* is equally perform'd in either Caſe; and thoſe who lend their Aſſiſtance to one of theſe Limbs againſt the other, are the real Auxiliaries of *France*, tho' they may ſeem only to aſſiſt any other Power.

The popular Sound of ſupporting the Houſe of *Auſtria* is become, as now applied, mere Sound. When it firſt took its Riſe, a Branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria* was on the Imperial Throne, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* meant the *Empire*. The Houſe of *Auſtria* is now become but one Power, like many other Powers in the Empire, and a Limb, not the Head of the Whole: Conſequently, if our ſole View is the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt the other Powers of the Empire, we are fighting for the Name only, againſt the Thing we formerly fought for: And if we enter into a War upon this Foot, without propoſing to depoſe the Emperor, or diſmember *France*, we ſhall aim at too little; and if we propoſe the other, it is not very neceſſary, I think, to do more than aſſert, (all our preſent Circumſtances conſider'd) that we undertake too much. Such Pindarick Flights are not only beyond the Reach of my humble, political Wing, but as far above my Comprehenſion, as my Hope of their being effected; and they whoſe elevated Genius's mount on ſuch Pinions, will, I fear, find their Flight like that of the *Icarian* Wings, too lofty not to end in their own Ruin, and the Ruin of their Country.

We ſhall only add one Paragraph more, which is in p. 21. *of this Pamphlet, where the Author, in juſtifying perſonal Reflexions on Men in Pow ſays:* Suppoſing, for Example, th the preſent Court and Adminiſtr tion were the Reverſe of what the are, and that ſome of the worſt Men preſided there inſtead of th beſt: Suppoſing the Palace was di vided into Factions, intangled in I trigues, agitated by Cabals, and ſpl into Knots, Parties, Sets, and litt Gangs of Men, all with differe Views; of different Denomination and different Principles, (if the had any) purſuing different Scheme ſcrambling for Places, grappling f Power, cringing for Favour, all them careſſing and hating, profeſſi and deceiving, affecting to ſuppor and endeavouring to ſubvert eac other; all equally negligent both their Prince's and of the Peoples I tereſt, and confin'd in every Act an Thought to the narrow, dirty Pat of what they thought their ow exclufive of every other Conſider tion: Suppoſing the Council-Boar and what is call'd the Adminiſtr tion, was compoſed of Parts as i congruous, of ſome concealed Jac bites, ſome avow'd Republicans, ſom treacherous Friends, ſome timid F nemies; ſome with too little Sen to be uſeful, others with too muc not to be hurtful, unleſs their I tentions were better; together wit many who had forc'd themſelv into Offices contrary to the Inclin tion of their Maſter, and remain there on the ſame Terms; hate by thoſe from whom they had d ſerted, deſpiſed by thoſe to who they had fled, and equally the O jects of a betray'd People's Reſen ment, and their Maſter's Diſlike the firſt not being able to broo their preſent Conduct, nor the la to forget their former Behaviou or ever to forgive their havin through a long Courſe of Years, e deavour'd to make him as odious the People as they had at laſt ma themſelves. If this Caſe did exi

ever ſhould exiſt, would it be meable, or would it not be merious in any one to exhibit the epreſentation of ſuch Scenes to the blick, whatever Reflections ſuch Exhibition would carry on the rticular Characters of the *Drama-Perſonæ*?

BSTRACT *of the* OBSERVATIONS *upon the foregoing Pamphlet. In a* LETTER *to the Noble Author.*

My Lord,

I SHALL in this Addreſs treat your Lordſhip with as little Ceremo-, as your Lordſhip treats the hole People of *England*. I declare yſelf of an Opinion diametrically poſite to that of your Lordſhip, hen you *declare that you are careleſs what Cenſures may be paſt upon r Work*; becauſe, I think a Wri- owes ſo much Decency to the blick, as not to expreſs any Un-cern with regard to their Opini- s to his Abilities.

You ſay, *you ſhall plainly deliver r Thoughts on theſe Subjects accord- to the beſt Judgment you have been le to make, on the Intelligence you ve received from People much bet- informed than yourſelf, of the oc- Springs on which theſe State-En- s move.* Who can read this Paſ- without imagining, that the thor was but a *Philoſophical cool ator* in all the Scenes, which ceeded and followed the late ange of Perſons in the Admi- ration? One ſhould not imagine t you had been the *intimate* end, the *Boſom Confidant*, and the *petual Champion* of the late M——r, all his *dirty ſcandalous Conduct*. e would not imagine that the you poſſeſs'd under him, had n you the very beſt Opportu- es of being informed of the *Springs, upon which all the Engines of this Nation move.* e would not think that in or-

der to obtain that Poſt, you had ſubmitted to Meanneſſes even *below Contempt itſelf*; and that when you *could not ſucceed*, you fell into a Deſpair, which *drove you into Expreſſions injurious to the R——l Perſon, whoſe Knees you were then embracing.*

As to the Character your Lordſhip draws of a certain Court, p. 21. I am ready to ſubſcribe to it with all my Heart; and as you have drawn it from the Life, I think it by far the beſt Part of your whole Performance. But, my Lord, it puts me in mind of one of *L'Eſtrange*'s Stories, where a monſtrous fat Fellow is brought in ſweating, and curſing in a Crowd at the People for preſſing ſo cloſe upon one another: *And what the D——l have you to do here*, ſays one, *you great gutted Son of a B——ch? for you make more Crowd yourſelf than half the People who are here.* I will leave this Story to be apply'd by your Lordſhip, after taking Notice, that I believe the Court you hint at is not a whit *worſe*, more *debauch'd*, more *inſincere*, or more *proſtitute*, than when your Lordſhip made a very principal Figure in it, or when you was *the Serpent at the Ear of Eve* to direct and model it.

Tho' I am not ſo much in the Secret of Affairs as your Lordſhip, yet I will venture to ſay, it was never generally underſtood, that the Oppoſition formed to the Court by his R. H. was the principal Cauſe of a Change of the M——y; that it concurred in bringing about that Event, I make no Diſpute, but I believe there is not a Man who knows what the State of Affairs were when this Change happened, who does not know that it muſt have been effected, even tho' his R. H. had oppoſed it. The Alteration of Numbers on both Sides, which have ſince happened within Doors, is no Proof of the contrary. It only proves, that his

R. H. has more Influence there than before, which is no Wonder, if, as your Lordſhip ſays it is, his Revenue is encreaſed 50,000*l.* a Year ſince that Time.

The Conduct of the Patriots you mention, whatever it might be to your Lordſhip, was, I aſſure, no great Diſappointment to the Friends of the Oppoſition, either within Doors or without. The Friends of their Country, whatever Notion they had of their Abilities, had never any high Opinion of their Virtues. *The reſtleſs Ambition*, the violent Paſſions, the great Pride and little Judgment of your *Antony*, are no new Diſcoveries in his Character; they betrayed themſelves often among his Friends, and very few People were ſurpriſed when they broke out into all their native Violence, and thereby ſunk him to that Contempt on all Hands under which he now labours. Your *Octavius*, my L—d, while he was in the Oppoſition, had no Credit with either Party, only got in becauſe he was looked upon as a worſe Man than any that was to be found in either Party. As to your *Lepidus*, the Publick, I find, is at a Loſs to know who the Archtype of this Character is: Some People think he ſits among the L—s, others among the C——s. But however that may be, I will venture to ſay, that neither the one, or the other Perſon ſuppoſed to be figured under this Character, was of Conſequence enough to the Country Party, as to ſtrike them either with Surpriſe or Deſpair, when he left them.——If the latter of theſe two be your *Lepidus*, the plain Story of this Gentleman's Advancement is, not that he was of Importance, or had Strength enough to force himſelf into the M——y, but that he had ſo little Conſcience and Shame as to offer to betray his Party. There are fifty Men now in the C——y Party, my Lord, whom I could name, in the Houſe of C——s, who might have been as conſiderable in the Government as this *Lepidus*, and whoſe Apoſtaſy from the Cauſe of their Country, would have been attended with much worſe Conſequences to their Party. Any one of theſe Gentlemen, had he made the ſame Advances, would have been received with the ſame Diſtinction, and might have made the ſame Bargain, had they been as much abandon'd by all Senſe of Honour.

As to the Manner of oppoſing Sir *R. W.* your Lordſhip ſhould have given the Publick an Account of any one unjuſtifiable Method that had ever been purſued againſt him. The Gentlemen in the Oppoſition look'd indeed upon him as an overgrown, imperious Miniſter; they thought that it was unſafe for the Nation, that he ſhould poſſeſs ſo much Power as they perceived he had; they found it impoſſible to attack him in the ordinary Method of bringing leſs important Offenders to Juſtice; it was therefore wiſe and ju[ſ]tifiable to purſue ſuch Meaſures in their Oppoſition, as ſhould point the whole Weight of national Reſentment againſt his Perſon. He ſubmitted to have had his Innocence clear'd, or his Demerits try'd before a competent Tribunal; then indeed any extraordinary Method of attacking him, would have been as *unjuſt*, as *unneceſſary*: But the Inſolence of his Behaviour, his defying the very Reach of Juſtice, and the abſolute Impoſſibility of bringing him within it while he was poſſeſt of a dead Majority, rendered it prudent, neceſſary, and wiſe, to diſtruſt him in every reſpect. This was no more than an equitable Retaliation upon him; he had given the firſt Provocation, by ſetting himſelf above the Juſtice of his Country. But ſtill, my Lord, he was treated with more Decency, than other Miniſters far leſs guilty had ever been. This however had no other Effect, than to puſh him upon the Expedient of *miniſterial Guilt*; I mean, having recourſe to *Numbers*. Still the oppoſite Party ſubmitted, while every new Step added to the Inſolence and the open Contempt, which the other profeſs'd of all Reaſon and Rectitude. Yet ſtill the Gentlemen in the Intereſt of their Country, were ſo far from expreſſing any Diſaffection, far more from *menacing the Crown with Rebellion*, as your Lordſhip aſſerts; that, next to the Regard they had for their Country, that for the Honour of his Majeſty had the greateſt Share in the Motives of their Oppoſition.

But a Charge of a more infamous, and poſſible a fouler Nature, cloſes your remarkable Paragraph; I mean that of *recommending Aſſaſſination*. Your Lordſhip wou'd have done well to have inform'd the World, in what Manner this Recommendation of *Aſſaſſination* was convey'd; whether in a Penny-poſt Letter, or a Two-penny Journal. If in the former, you would do well to prove to the World, that your Friend and Patron was quite guiltleſs of writing the Letter himſelf. If in any Journal or Pamphlet, your Lordſhip ought to have nam'd them; that the World may not be left with an Opinion that the whole Charge is a low, ſneaking Quibble, invented to throw Dirt upon the beſt and moſt virtuous Part of the Nation. But taking it for granted, that ſuch a deteſtable Scheme had ever been broach'd, or had ever appear'd in Print; ought the Madneſs and Fury of perhaps a low, needy, raſcally Writer, to be charg'd as a Crime upon the whole Party? To conclude, my Lord, I ſay, whether, upon the beſt Inquiry, could light upon any Paper or Pamphlet that recommends the Crime you mention; and if there is any ſuch, I am apt to believe it either came from ſome Madman, or from ſome very pro[ſ]tituted Rogue of a certain great Man's Acquain[ſ]tan[ce]

...ace, to raiſe his own Importance, and ...row an Odium upon the other Party.

Your next Charge againſt the Oppoſition, ...y Lord, is founded upon the Injuſtice, ... you will have it, of the Motion for ...oving him from his Majeſty's Councils. ...he Reaſons alledged in ſupport of this Mo... were, according to your Lordſhip, *That ... Notoriety of his Guilt being ſuch, that every ... was convinc'd of it, and none but his Hire... diſputed it; it was unneceſſary farther to ...ve what all Mankind knew; and that whilſt ... continued in Power, what was call'd le... Evidence being in his own Hands, it was ...ſſible to come at it, or any way but this ... at him. That ſuch Papers, as would ...ve manifeſted his Crimes, had been often ...anded, but always refuſed.* I have heard ... a certain eminent Divine, my Lord, who ... writing againſt Atheiſm, ſtates the Ob...ctions brought by his Antagoniſt againſt ...riſtianity ſo ſtrongly, that he found himſelf ...able to anſwer them. Tho' your Reaſons, ... ſtated here, are far from being of the ſame ...ength with thoſe for the Motion; yet ...ur Lordſhip would have done well to have ...ſwered them, even weakly as you have ſta...d them. If a Man in the Face of a Court ...uld be guilty of Indecency, Perjury, or ...y other Offence, of which the Judges ...emſelves are Ear and Eye witneſſes, may ...ey not puniſh him under ſuch Circum...nces, without a Verdict of a Jury? The ...t M——r was under thoſe very Cir...umſtances; the Members of the Houſe ...ere his Judges; he had by his Promi...s, which he broke; by his Fears, for Dan...rs which never exiſted; and by his Hope ...f Events that never could have happened, ...rought them to agree upon his *ſole Authority*, ...o many Steps that prov'd exceedingly againſt ...he Honour and Intereſt of the Nation. The ...Motion therefore brought in, was no other ...than an Appeal to the Senſe of the Houſe, ...whether this was, or was not the Caſe. ...So much as to the Fairneſs of this firſt Alle...gation, as ſtated by your Lordſhip.

As to the ſecond, I think it is unanſwer...able, becauſe it is founded upon a *manifeſt ...ſelf-evident Fact*. The legal Proofs were in ...his own Pocket, and impoſſible to be come at ...without his own Conſent; this Motion there...fore was intended to force thoſe Proofs out of ...his Hand, that he might be brought to a re...gular Trial.

As to the *Tranſactions laſt Winter*, &c. to ...which you appeal, I never heard any one In...ſtance of the Gentlemen in the Oppoſition, ...upon that Occaſion, either joſtling or ſcram...bling for Poſts. I know indeed they had a ...Meeting, but the Senſe of that Meeting ...was unanimous againſt thoſe who had ſtep'd ...forward into Places; and who were ſo far ...from being joſtled as they were ſteping into them, that there ſcarcely was a Man in the Party, beſides themſelves, who was not aſhamed of being ſeen in their Company.

As to what you ſay of the Secret Committee, I am afraid there is not one Word of Truth to ſupport your Aſſertion. I believe your Lordſhip may yourſelf remember two or three Inſtances, where more ample Powers were granted to a Committee of Secrecy, than either any that were delegated to or aſſumed by this one. But, my Lord, I ſhould be glad to know how it is poſſible that a Committee of Secrecy, whoſe Powers are no other than thoſe of the Houſe, could be of any Manner of Service to the Publick, if veſted with leſs Power than what the laſt Committee poſſeſſed. Be that however as it will, it plainly appeared by the Conſequence, they had no Power at all. They had not the Power even of obliging any one to anſwer who was call'd before them. All the Power they had was, that of complaining to the Houſe in Caſe of Refuſal, and then the Houſe made themſelves Judges, whether this Perſon ſhould, or ſhould not be committed. It appeared after this, that this Committee had no Manner of coercive Power: And Care was taken that the Coercive Bill, which could render the Purpoſes for which they were eſtabliſhed effectual, ſhould be thrown out. Under ſuch Diſadvantages, it was a Miracle how they could come to the Diſcovery of ſuch Facts as they did, when ſhackled with ſuch Reſtrictions.

After this Specimen of your Lordſhip's Veracity, one has the leſs Occaſion to take Notice of your ſuppoſed Caſe of a *Man accuſed of Adultery, Inceſt*, &c. The Crimes that this Criminal was convicted of by the Report of the S——t C————ee, were in their own Nature as heinous againſt the Conſtitution of this Country, as the Breach of any of the Commands is againſt the Law of God: And if he was not prov'd guilty of more, it was owing to the ſtrong Efforts made by himſelf and Friends, to put a ſtop to the Poſſibility of all further Enquiry; in which by the help of their new Auxiliaries they ſucceeded.

As to the remaining Part of your Lordſhip's extraordinary Performance, I only differ from you as to the Motives upon which you wrote it, which plainly were to ſet off the Luſtre of your Friend's Character at the Expence of others. I am entirely of your Lordſhip's Opinion, that the Conduct of your R——t H——ble Friend's Succeſſors in the M——y is more execrably bad than his was. *His* brought the Nation into *Contempt*, and muſt have at laſt expos'd it to *Ruin and Beggary: Theirs* expoſe it to *both* at one and the ſame Time; we wanted only an A——n of this Kind, to finiſh in a more ſpeedy Manner that abſolute Ruin, of which, if you will

pardon the Expreſſion, *he* had laid the Foundation. We were in his Time the *Ridicule* of, but we are now likely to be a Sacrifice for our Enemies. I muſt only beg Leave to differ from your Lordſhip's Opinion of the pacifick Conduct of the late M———r, which, I think, was *wicked* and *pernicious*, tho' your L———p thinks it to have been the higheſt Encomium upon his Conduct.

As to your Lordſhip's political Creed, I heartily ſubſcribe it; but will beg Leave to make an Emendation to it, with which I ſhall conclude theſe Remarks, *viz. From a Spirit of ſubmitting to the groſſeſt Affronts, while we may prevent them; of ſuffering all the Miſeries of War, under Pretence of enjoying the Benefits of Peace: From the Meanneſs of ſubmitting to the Inſults of weak Enemies, from the Madneſs of provoking too powerful ones, from the Infamy of avoiding neceſſary Wars: and from the Folly of plunging into deſperate Quarrels: Good Lord deliver the Government of this Nation.*

Common Senſe, Dec. 4. N° 303.

Of LYING: *Or, Saying the* THING *that is* NOT.

IT is the Opinion of Abp. *Tillotſon*, that a common Lyar can neither do Good nor Harm; ſuch a one, ſays he, *is ſtuck faſt, neither Truth nor Falſhood can ſerve his Turn:* He is a Sort of Bankrupt in the Community, ſtripp'd of all Credit, and, as nobody can truſt him, he can deceive nobody. To what a deplorable Condition muſt human Nature be reduced when it comes to this? Yet ſo it is, and we have daily Examples of Simpletons of this Sort, who ſaunter away their Lives in this moſt uſeleſs and unprofitable Manner; but theſe I ſhall drop, to warn my Readers againſt thoſe Sort of People who do much Miſchief to the Society by that pernicious Inſtrument, the Tongue, when inſtructed to utter Falſhoods, for the Sake of Ambition, Intereſt, Policy, Malevolence, Vanity, *&c.*

We will begin, then, with the worſt Kind of all, *the domeſtick*, or *Family Lyar*. Theſe are a Kind of Vipers who deſtroy wherever they bite, a Sort of Aſpicks whoſe Poiſon lies under the Tongue. Theſe Creatures generally begin their pernicious Commerce by being either the Inventors, or Conveyancers, of Falſhoods in Families; their Buſineſs at firſt is to blow up little Miſunderſtandings, and diligently widen the Breaches they have made, till at laſt they inflame them into violent and implacable Enmities; and this too is done under the Pretence of Friendſhip to both Sides: When the injur'd Parties find themſelves at once, they know not by what Means, become determin'd Foes by *Hear-ſay*; for all this Time the Villain, who lodge the Powder, lurk in the Dark, like *Guido Vaux*, and wait with nefarious Hope to ſee the Miſchief take Place and the Miſ ſpring. The Malignity of theſe Peop Tongues reaches every where; no Perſo no Reputation, tho' white as Snow, eſcap Calumny; every Virtue is ſingled out a fullied, and the more ſhining and conſpicuous the better Mark it is; and ſeldom do we per ceive from whence the Miſchief comes, the Arrows fly in the Dark and wound unſee Theſe Sort of poiſonous Animals ought m certainly to be excluded human Society, the ſhould be treated by the reſt of the Society thoſe are who are infected with the Plague they ſhould be under a Sort of *moral Quaran tine*, and give Security that they are ſound that they are quite recover'd from the Ma lignity of Detraction, before they are re-ad mitted into the Community.——How man do we ſee every Hour who taſte no Pleaſure who know no Joy ſo great, as that of cutti *up a Reputation*, as they call it, and, wh having nothing of that Kind to loſe them ſelves, like the mad *Levellers*, try to brin every Thing down to them. Our inimita ble *Shakeſpear* deſcribes the Injury this Vic does thus:

———Who ſteals my purſe ſteals traſh,
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been ſlave to thou ſands;
But he who ſiches from me my good name,
Robs me of that, which not enriches him,
But makes me poor indeed.

Theſe are among the moſt dangerous o thoſe pernicious Animals, who *ſay the Thin that is* not, (as an ingenious Traveller term it.) There are among the minuter Sort ſe veral who are touch'd with this Vice, bu may be pardon'd as not being very miſchie vous to any but themſelves; among thei may be reckon'd *Lovers* and *Poets*; to ſay th *Thing that is not*, is their Profeſſion, and you will not permit them to addreſs thei Miſtreſſes and the *Muſes* in *Fiction*, you tak away their *Mouthpieces*, they are dumb, the cannot ſound.

Your *Thraſonical* or Military Worthies like wiſe, who *ſay the Things that are not*, plea a Sort of Preſcription to receive Wound without being hurt. But this is only a littl innocent, and the very ſame Vanity, tha gives them ſo much Pleaſure in the Gol Lace on their Regimentals, and the Feather in their Hats:—By the Way, let my Friend *Harry Tiptoe* repeat no more the Story o the Diſpute between the *Huſſar* and him be fore *Prague*. By this Hint he will know h is ſmoaked.

We will likewiſe paſs over, in this Place the whole Crowd of Lawyers, News-Wri ters, Mountebanks, Haranguers, Beggars, Cour

Courtiers, &c. whose Profeſſion it is to *ſay the Things that are not.*

This Vice is, indeed, general; we may obſerve it even in the Works of the Learned, nay among our polemical Theologiſts; where we may find even thoſe grave and pious Gentlemen intemperately heated with Paſſion, contradicting one another, and with infinite Aſperity brandiſhing their Pens without the leaſt Regard to that Truth, which both Sides pretend to defend; and this, tho' it be only the Gownſmens War of Words, has done great Miſchief; for theſe Sort of Hoſtilities ſucceed one another from Age to Age, and if the firſt Offence be founded on Error, it is ſure to be continued and deliver'd down to all Poſterity.

There are, beſides theſe, a Sort of State-Fibbers, call'd, I think ironically, *Politicians*, who have great Delight, and, as they pretend, find great Uſe in *ſaying* the *Things that are not.* There have been in former Adminiſtrations ſome very daring and enterprizing Genius's in political Lying; they could, whenever they pleaſed, by the waving of their Wands, like Magicians of old, conjure up terrible Fears, raiſe them like Apparitions to affright and amaze the People; at other Times they have given them again falſe Joys and fictitious Triumphs, and, like Jugglers, by a *deceptio Viſus*, have endeavoured to trick them out of the Point they had in View. One Uſe of their *ſaying the Things that were not*, was, formerly, to raiſe and ſink the publick Credit, while the Miniſter and his Friends bought and ſold and pocketed the Difference. Sometimes a ſham Plot was ſtump'd up, it was neceſſary to have a V—e of Credit, Caſh was low, and miniſterial Appropriations would not hold out; thus the great Ones play'd on the Paſſions of the People. One frequent Practice among theſe Men of State was, however, very odd; when they had forged a ſwingeing over-grown Fib that would not go glibly down at home, their Method was to tranſport it, to ſend it abroad, and it would certainly return again in two or three ſucceeding Mails perfectly well dreſs'd, and in a ſpick and ſpan new *French* or *Dutch* Habit; the *travell'd Lye* ſucceeded when the home-bred Falſhood could gain no Credit, ſo blind are we of Foreigners: But let our Stateſmen be extreamly cautious how they too often, or in too coarſe and open a Manner, abuſe the People thus, leſt, when they too frequently and groſsly *ſay the Things that are not*, they make good Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*'s Obſervation, and find themſelves *ſtuck faſt*, and that neither Truth nor Falſhood will do them any Good.

From the Craftſman, Dec. 4.

BY our Conſtitution, we have, in a regular, legal Way, no Method of proſecuting our Complaints againſt overgrown Offenders, but by the Interpoſition of Parliament; and by the Interpoſition of Parliament, our Conſtitution hath made ſuch Proviſions, that no Offences, tho' not cognizable by any particular Statute, need to paſs unpuniſh'd.

For the great Statute of Treaſons, of *Edward* III. hath Relation only to the Conduct of Judges in *Weſtminſter Hall*; there being in it a Clauſe, which expreſsly ſuppoſes, that Caſes may happen, which neither this nor any other Law can reach, and which, therefore, are reſerved to the Deciſion of Parliament; that the Subject may not be oppreſs'd on one hand, nor any Failure of Juſtice ſhould ariſe on the other.

If this wholſome Proviſion was made an honeſt Uſe of, a State-Offender would no more be able to eſcape, becauſe the diſtinct Species of his Treaſon was not to be found in our Law-Books, than a Murderer, becauſe the Manner and Circumſtances, in which he committed the Fact, were not enumerated in the Statute, on which his Indictment was founded.

Again, when we feel ourſelves over-tax'd, or any other Way overburden'd with Grievances, we have no other regular, legal Way of obtaining Redreſs, but by the Interpoſition of Parliament; who have a Right to adviſe, and remonſtrate, and, if thoſe Methods fail, to compel the Prince on the Throne to give Satisfaction to his People, by withholding the Supplies, till he can no longer refuſe it; or, which is much the ſame Thing, by tacking a Court and Country Bill together; and that theſe Expedients were, in their own Nature, reaſonable, we find acknowledged even by *Charles* II. (tho' not eſteem'd a very cordial Friend to the Power of Parliaments, or the Privileges of his Subjects) in a Speech to both Houſes, *March* 8, 1672-3, as follows: "And, as I daily expect from you a Bill for my Supply, ſo I aſſure you, I ſhall as willingly receive, and paſs any other you ſhall offer me, that may tend to the giving you Satisfaction in all your juſt Grievances." And, as to the Uſe of *Tacking*, in the very ſame Seſſion of Parliament, we find the Money-Bill had this Proviſo *tack'd* to it, *That no Papiſts ſhould be capable of holding any publick Employment*; which was then one of the capital Grievances of the People.

Now, tho' I do not take upon me to ſay, that the Influence of Parliament ſtops even here, (for nobody will preſume to think, I hope, that they loſt Ground by the Revolution) yet even the ſeaſonable and vigorous Exertion of thus much of their Power is, at any Time, ſufficient to redeem our Princes out of the Hands of evil Miniſters, induce them to put a Stop to obnoxious Meaſures, and to give up obnoxious Men into the Hands of Juſtice.

I

I ſhall conclude with Part of a Speech, made by Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoun*, to the *Scottiſh* Parliament in 1703, which, I think, is now as well worthy the Conſideration of both Kingdoms, as it was then of one.

'My Lord Chancellor,

'I am not ſurprized to find an Act for a Supply brought into this Houſe, at the Beginning of a Seſſion. I know Cuſtom has, for a long Time, made it common. But I think Experience might teach us, that ſuch Acts ſhould be the laſt of every Seſſion; or lie upon the Table, till all other great Affairs of the Nation be finiſh'd, and then only granted. 'Tis a ſtrange Propoſition, which is uſually made in this Houſe; That if we will give Money to the Crown, then the Crown will give us good Laws; as if we were to buy good Laws of the Crown, and pay Money to our Princes, that they may do their Duty, and comply with their Coronation Oath. And yet this is not the worſt; for we have often had Promiſes of good Laws, and when we have given the Sums demanded, thoſe Promiſes have been broken, and the Nation left to ſeek a Remedy; which is not to be found, unleſs we obtain the Laws we want, before we give a Supply. And if this be a ſufficient Reaſon, at all Times, to poſtpone a Money-Act, can we be blamed for doing ſo at this Time, when the Duty we owe to our Country, indiſpenſably obliges us to provide for the common Safety?

GIDEON.

Common Senſe, Dec. 11. Nº 304.

Juſtice the Support of Civil Government, and the fatal Conſequence of neglecting it.

THE Adminiſtration of Juſtice is the principal Duty of the Magiſtrate, which when abſolutely neglected muſt make a free People Slaves; a Government of Liberty muſt then at once degenerate into Tyranny or Anarchy. Juſtice, as it was the firſt Bond of Society, as it united Mankind at firſt for their mutual Benefit, and taught the Weaker to enter into Compacts, or mutual Agreements, which were a Sort of original Laws, to defend one another againſt the Stronger; ſo does it ſtand at this Day, the Baſis of Civil Society, and ſo neceſſary to the Security, Peace, and Happineſs both of the Prince and the People, that even the moſt abſolute Governments are obliged to ſubmit to it.

We may ſee by our own Hiſtory, with what inceſſant Ardor the People ſeek Juſtice on notorious Offenders. In the Reign of *Henry* VI. the Queen (ſay our Records) preſum'd to rule by her Favourites who were wholly unfit to govern, and particularly her principal Favourite, the Duke of *Suffolk*; this occaſioned great Diſcontents among the People, they charged the Duke warmly with delivering up *Anjou* and *Maine* to the *French*, and with the Murder of the good Duke *Humphrey*; they charg'd him with being the *Devourer of the publick Treaſure*, the Remover of good and virtuous Counſellors from about the King, and the Advancer of vicious Perſons and ſuch as were Enemies to the Publick: The Queen, apprehenſive of the Conſequences, call'd a Parliament; the Duke was impeached, to which he made his Defence; but the Queen very juſtly apprehending ſome Commotion if he paſs'd with Impunity, had him committed to the Tower for a Month, immediately after which, when the Parliament was up, he again appear'd at Court, and ſeem'd yet very high in the King's Favour, which threw the People in many Places of the Kingdom into the moſt violent Rage and Commotions: After this in the very next Parliament, the Duke appear'd firſt Miniſter again, and he was again accuſed in Parliament: When at laſt the King perceiving that no common Method would appeaſe the Peoples inveterate Hatred to his Perſon, he baniſhed the Duke for five Years, as the general *Annoyance* of the Nation: But he was now purſued (ſays my Author) with a more inevitable Vengeance from above, for as he was embarking in Suffolk for *France*, he was ſet upon by a Man of War belonging to the Earl of *Exeter*, taken by the Captain and brought into *Dover Road*, where his Head was ſtruck off in a Cock Boat, and his Body ignominiouſly thrown on the Shore. This was the End of *William de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*: A cruel and moſt inhuman Murder it was, never to be juſtify'd, and we hope never to be made a Precedent: And we quote it only to ſhew to what barbarous Exceſs the Rage of the People may riſe, when they imagine they are deny'd Juſtice.

In a principal Article of the firſt Impeachment of the Earl of *Danby*, it was charged that the Earl had received ſeveral large Sums beſides the extraordinary Revenue, which had been waſtefully ſpent, and far greater Sums than ever iſſued out before for Secret Service, and that without Account: Now tho' this nor any other of the Articles were rigorouſly proſecuted at this Time, yet the Parliament ſeem'd to have but little Inclination to grant any Money while he remain'd in the Treaſury; ſometime after this he was again formally impeached by the Commons, but (ſays the Hiſtorian) the Letters produced againſt the Earl being written by the King's expreſs Command, and ſome private Papers being neceſſary to his Defence which the King would not ſuffer to be made publick, he at laſt adhered to the Benefit of his Pardon (ſued before this, he had his Pardon and the Pro-

tection

...ction of the King) and hoping his Abſence might allay the Storm, he thought fit to withdraw. After this, the Lords ordered a Bill to be brought in, by which *Thomas* Earl of *Danby* was to be for ever incapable of coming into his Majeſty's Preſence, and of all Offices and Employments, and of receiving any Gifts or Grants from the Crown, and of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers. The Commons hearing of a Pardon from the King, which the Earl had cauſed to paſs the Seals privately, appointed a Committee to enquire of the Chancellor why it was done privately. The Chancellor told the Committee, that the Earl gave him this Reaſon for it, that he did not intend to make Uſe of it, but to ſtand upon his Innocence, unleſs falſe Witneſſes ſhould be produced againſt him, and then he would make Uſe of it at the laſt Extremity; and that he, the Chancellor, refuſed to paſs it but in the regular Courſe, but that the King declared he would have it paſs with all Privacy, and then the King commanded the Chancellor to bring the Seal to *Whitehall*, which he did, and being there, he laid it upon the Table, whereupon his Majeſty commanded the Seal to be taken out of the Bag, which his Lordſhip was obliged to ſubmit to, and then the King wrote his Name on the Top of the Parchment and directed it ſhould be ſeal'ed, when the Perſon who uſually carries the Purſe affixed the Seal to it: And the Chancellor added, that at the Time of affixing the Seal to the Parchment, he did not look upon himſelf to have the Cuſtody of the Seal. Upon the Report, Mr. *Powle* made a very ſevere Speech: "The Perſon (ſaid he) to whom we owe the Ruin of this Nation, and the exhauſting of the Publick Revenue; the Perſon to whom we owe the Expence of 200000 Pounds a Year; the Perſon to whom we owe the raiſing of a Standing Army to be kept up by the Receipt of ſix Millions of Livres yearly, for three Years, to enſlave us and our Religion; *this Perſon has now gain'd his Pardon, has laid down his Staff, made up his Accounts in the Treaſury as he pleaſes, and enriches himſelf with the Spoils of the Publick at his Departure*". At the Concluſion of this Debate it was reſolv'd, *Nem. con.* that a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords to demand *Juſtice* in the Name *of all the Commons of England* againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, and that he may be immediately ſequeſtered from Parliament, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody: They likewiſe reſolved that an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, repreſenting to him the Irregularity and Illegality of the Pardon mention'd to be granted by his Majeſty to the Earl, and the dangerous Conſequence of granting Pardons to any Perſons who lie under an Impeachment of the Houſe of Commons. While theſe Things were in Agitation the Earl thought fit to retire; when the Commons immediately turn'd their Articles of Impeachment into a Bill of Attainder.

From theſe Extracts we may obſerve, how warm the Deſires of the People are in the Purſuit of *Juſtice*: And it is certain, tho' the Majority of the World ſhould declare the contrary, that *Juſtice* and *Truth* are the Supports of *Civil Government*, and when they are totally neglected, Anarchy and Confuſion muſt follow.

Craftſman, Dec. 18. N° 860.

Mr. D'Anvers,

YOU are deſired to favour the incloſed Addreſs with a Place in your very next Paper, for the *Service* of the *Publick*, which, I do aſſure you, is the ſole View it was calculated to anſwer.

December 11, 1742. *I am, SIR, Yours, &c.* PACOLET.

To the FREEHOLDERS *of* GREAT BRITAIN.

Gentlemen,

NOtwithſtanding the many noble and affecting Things which have already been ſaid, to demonſtrate the Duty and Neceſſity of an early, cloſe and continued Attendance in Parliament, there are ſtill many of your Repreſentatives, who abſent themſelves, with ſcarce any other real Excuſe for ſo doing, than the Building a Dog-Kennel, or the Covering a Mare.

Had I, therefore, all the Powers of Reaſon, or Graces of Speech, what would they avail, when addreſs'd to ſuch who, tho' Eye-Witneſſes of the Miſeries of their Fellow-Subjects, and engaged in Honour, Conſcience, Duty, Intereſt and Policy, to do their utmoſt to relieve them, abandon the Truſt repoſed in them?

What remains then, Gentlemen, is to addreſs myſelf to you. If you have a Right to elect a Repreſentative; if you have a Right to give Inſtructions after what Manner you will be ſerved, you have a Right, likewiſe, to enjoin, I had like to have ſaid, command, your ſaid Repreſentative, to appear in your Behalf.

A Seat in the H—— of C—— is far from being a *Sine-Cure*, even in the ſmootheſt Times. But in the preſent, when we are ſick at Heart at home, and yet ruſhing into Difficulties, Hand over Head, abroad, it is a Truſt of the moſt ſerious Nature, and requires a ſuitable Obſervance.

How many national Points have, already, been canvaſs'd, in which, tho' the Fundamentals of our Well-being were at Stake, a very conſiderable Part of our Repreſentative had no Share? And, whether the Iſſue ſhould

ſhould prove a Curſe or a Bleſſing, how can they excuſe themſelves for not having aſſiſted in procuring the one, or averting the other?

If a Soldier, who riſques his Life for Sixpence a Day, quits his Rank in the Time of Action, he is ſhot without Mercy; and if an Officer counterfeit Sickneſs, or makes any other frivolous Pretence to avoid the Danger, he loſes his Character, and no Man of Honour will roll with him ever after.

Tho' free from the Penalties, the ſame Reaſoning concludes as ſtrongly againſt the Member as the Soldier. The Seſſion is his Campaign, the Day of Debate anſwers to the Day of Action; and what Activity and Bravery are to the one, Aſſiduity and Integrity are to the other. But the Battles are fought by *many*, and parliamentary Queſtions are decided by a *few*. A Deſerter from the laſt is, therefore, by far, more inexcuſable, than a Fugitive from the firſt; and, after proper Warnings, ought to have a Brand ſet upon him accordingly.

Men who have ſome Craft in their Compoſitions, but no Virtue, may withdraw themſelves from the Service of their Country, with a mean Deſign to make a Market of their Silence, on one hand, and yet excuſe themſelves from a Charge of Perfidy, or Tergiverſation, on the other. In doubtful or corrupt Conjunctures, then, there is a double Neceſſity, that every Member ſhould attend in his Place, and on any critical Point, declare, whether he is for us, or againſt us. Indifferents and Abſentees are equally abhorrent to our Conſtitution. For how can the Deciſion of Right and Wrong, which is the grand Uſe of a Repreſentative, be made by the firſt? Or how can it be ſaid, that we are repreſented at all by the laſt?

As the Peers ſit in their own Rights, they may vote by Proxy. But as the Commons ſit by Deputation, their Service is perſonal; nor, unleſs they attend in Perſon, can it be perform'd at all. Whoever, then, declines that Service, for the Time being diſfranchiſes the Town, or County, he ſerves for, as well as degrades himſelf, and robs the Publick of a *Yea* or *Nay*, which, however ſeemingly inconſiderable, like the ſeaſonable Cackling of the *Roman* Geeſe that ſaved the Capitol, might prevent the Ruin of his Country.

I will take upon me to prove, Gentlemen, that there never was any Period in our Story, when the Commonwealth was in more tickliſh Circumſtances than at preſent. The *Dutch* not only avoid all Concert with us, but engroſs the Trade of the Univerſe, which we not only permit, but, in a Manner, reſign, in order to purſue ſuch Projects as may apparently terminate in our Ruin. With Reſpect to the Situation of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, we have been moſt grievouſly impoſed upon, and that unhappy Princeſs hath been induced to refuſe better Conditions, which were offer'd by her Enemies, than are ever like to be procured for her by her Friends. The Princes of *Germany* provide only for their own Safety, and but make her Cauſe a Pretence of obtaining that deſirable End. The War with *Spain*, which is the only national, foreign Concern of *Britain*, ſeems to be half forgot. Both the Remnant of our Land-Forces, and yet, more of our Ships, are returning from the *Weſt-Indies*; tho' *Georgia* hath been already invaded, and *Jamaica*, if our laſt Accounts are to be depended upon, is threatned. Poverty and Diſtreſs have ſeized on our Gentry, as well as our Huſbandmen and Manufacturers; and yet we give away Millions as prodigally as ever, and entertain Troops at an amazing Expence, which, as it hitherto appears, are not at Liberty to draw a Sword.

If, therefore, at ſuch a Criſis any of thoſe Gentlemen who call themſelves Patriots, are to be found amuſing themſelves with their Sports, or nodding by their Fire Sides, remonſtrate to them warmly, as become Men, who are touch'd to the Heart with the common Calamities of your Country, the Right you have to inſiſt on their being, indeed, your Repreſentatives; remind them of the Promiſes they made you, when ſoliciting your Votes; reproach them with the Examples of thoſe *Switzers*, who, fighting for Pay or Plunder, are never miſſing from their Ranks; and aſk, in plain Terms, whether a Patriot can excuſe his doing leſs for his Country, than a Mercenary for his Hire?

If, in Reply, their own private Affairs ſhould be urged as a ſufficient Warrant for their Abſence, give it no Allowance. The Moment they became Delegates from the Publick, they ceaſed to be private Men; and the very Condition of their accepting that Truſt, imply'd an Engagement to poſtpone every perſonal Concern, when ſummon'd to attend thoſe of the Commonwealth.

If they ſhould have Recourſe to the laſt S——n, and plead their *Faſtings*, *Watchings* and *Temptations* during that Interval, as many Proofs of the Uprightneſs of their Intentions; and that nothing but a firm Perſuaſion that their Services would be ſtill as *ineffectual* as ever, hinder'd them from expoſing themſelves to the like again; give them to underſtand, that they were not elected for one S——n, but for all; that you only ſtipulate for their Attendance, not Aſſurance of Succeſs; that he who hath the People to ſupport him, ought to be aſhamed of Deſpondency; that inveterate Diſeaſes in the Body politick, require a Length of Time, and repeated, vigorous Efforts to remove, as well as thoſe in the natural Body; and that

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Conſtitution is ſtill ſo good, that, from a proper Specimen, we may ſtill hope to be as Heart-whole as ever: That we have, often already, been in ſtrong Convulſions, have ſeem'd at the laſt Gaſp, have ſeen our political Phyſicians give us over, and take their Leaves, but have recover'd, notwithſtanding, and enjoy'd a better State of Health than ever before.

If they ſhould urge, that it will be Time enough to ſet forward, when the C—ll of the H—— obliges them to do ſo; give them to underſtand, that Obligations of that Kind are never to be expected on the Side of the People; and, conſequently, that ſuch of your Friends who wait for C—lls, deſerve no Place among the *Elect*.

If they ſhould touch on the Perfidy of thoſe they once ſo implicitly truſted; adviſe them not to be aſhamed of having placed Confidence in the Virtue of Mankind; ſince it argued, they were virtuous themſelves. But add, that, in an Age like this, Suſpicion and Diſtruſt act almoſt by Authority; and, therefore, if the Man of real Integrity doth not give daily Proofs of his Perſeverance herein, his Innocence may be involved in the Cenſures, deſervedly paſs'd on the Iniquity of the Times:

——*Perſeverance keeps honour bright.*
To have done, is to hang quite out of faſhion;
Like ruſty mail in monumental mockery.
Shakeſpear.

Even to connive at wicked Meaſures, is to become almoſt an Accomplice in the Guilt. It is, therefore, a Debt to our own Character, to give in our Negative to them, however ineffectual that Negative may prove; and one ſuch Negative in the H——, is worth more than a thouſand Invectives without.

Gentlemen, if theſe, or ſuch Things as will tally more immediately with your own Circumſtances and Obſervations, and the Characters, and Conduct of your tardy Repreſentatives, are properly, earneſtly and inſtantly laid before them, I make no Doubt, but they will have a due Effect. There is no Man, I think, who ſtill affects to be thought the *Servant* of his Country, who can refuſe to obey your *Commands*, or who will perſiſt in abſenting himſelf from that Place, where only his Services can be uſeful.

But if all ſhould prove ineffectual, take into your ſerious Conſideration the following remarkable Text of Scripture, and take your Meaſures accordingly.

Compel them to come in, that my Houſe *may be fill'd.*

Common Senſe, Dec. 18. N° 305.

REMARKS *on the* Kidderminſter *Inſtructions.*

SIR,

I Met the other Day with a moſt excellent Piece of Eloquence, that excited at once my Wonder and my Praiſe; it was a little Bit of ſmart Language publiſhed in the *Daily Gazetteer* of *Saturday Dec.* 1, and thus intitled, *The Repreſentation of great Numbers of Gentlemen, Freeholders, and principal Traders of the Borough of* Kidderminſter *in the County of* Worceſter *to their Knights of the Shire*, &c. However, I obſerv'd there was not one Perſon's Name affixed to it, no Seal or pretended Seal of a Corporation; but it was hinted to me that the Inventor might not think it very ſafe to name Names; and as to the Seal of the Corporation, as it was not a Borough that ſent up Members, perhaps it had no Seal: However, whether this ingenious Piece be as it appears, and would be thought, or an Impoſition on the Publick, it abounds with ſuch uncommon Sentiments, ſo much differing, and, indeed, contrary to the vulgar common Senſe, that I ſend it to you, Sir, with my Comment upon it, as a Curioſity.

To begin then;——— the *Kidderminſter* Eſquires, *&c.* ſay to their Knights,——— *That in their Opinion they have an equal Right with the reſt of the Boroughs and Counties to ſuggeſt their Opinions and give their Sentiments of Perſons and Things.* What an exalted Spirit appears in *ipſo limine!* Behold this little pretty politick Borough, ſomewhere in the County of *Worceſter*, gallantly ſtanding forth, and claiming an equal Right with any Corporation in *England*, and heroically declaring to their Knights that they will ſpeak their Minds freely; how frankly this little Body, inſtead of the whole County, ſtands forth and takes upon them to direct and ſuggeſt? But the *Kidderminſter* Gentry are quite right; for had this Affair been tranſacted in the *County Court*, tho' the Thing might have been more regular, as it would have appear'd the Voice of the County, they could not have made ſo conſpicuous a Figure as they do in this glorious Repreſentation.

They proceed,——*It is not without a ſenſible Concern they obſerve a reſtleſs revengeful Spirit (in the Nation) who take upon them to cenſure a Scene of Actions, of which they cannot poſſibly be competent Judges.* Well do theſe Gentlemen throw their Cenſure upon People who they ſay are of reſtleſs and revengeful Spirits, eſpecially when they declare that they are by no Means competent Judges of what they ſee and feel; go to little *Kidderminſter*, and you will ſee the People fat, round, and ſleek; they are happy, they declare it, and therefore there is no ſuch Thing as a Grievance in the Nation, and the ſeveral Counties and Cities of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *York*, *Edinburgh*, &c. are a Parcel of Incendiaries, People of reſtleſs and revengeful Spirits.

They go on, and ſolemnly declare *they hate Chains*, aye, as much as any Folk that wear *the human Nature*, and that they being

very happy, as we ſaid before, care not one Farthing for the Groans and Complaints of their Fellow Subjects all around them; they aſſure us they have Eyes, they ſee, and can diſtinguiſh *White from Black*; they affirm they have a Taſte, for they know the Difference between *ſweet and bitter*: They are of Opinion, that there have been much worſe Times than theſe, becauſe theſe are the beſt they ever knew; that they are very loyal, more loyal by much than their Neighbours; and that it is extremely ſilly in People *to charge* Spaniſh *Captures, and ſcanty Crops to the Account of an Adminiſtration*: Smartly ſaid, not to be eaſily reply'd to; let us however hearken to what thoſe who have the Misfortune to differ from the Gentry of *Kidderminſter* ſay on this Occaſion; firſt, as to *Spaniſh Captures*, they poſitively and bluntly inſiſt, that all our Misfortunes of this Sort were owing to the Perfidy and Treachery of a particular Friend of yours, and declare and avow that they have prov'd it publickly: Now as to ſcanty Crops, they affirm that a nefarious Miniſter, who by burdenſome Taxations raiſes the Price of Neceſſaries, may be ſaid to be the Scourge of Heaven and to create a Famine. *Cardinal de Retz* tells us, that in the Adminiſtration of *Mazarine*, (almoſt as wicked a Miniſter as has ſince appear'd) a Peaſant riding on a lean, half-ſtarv'd Mule, at every falſe Step the poor Beaſt made, curſed the *Cardinal*; upon which he aſk'd what Communication there could poſſibly be between the ſtumbling of his Jade and the *Miniſter?* To which the Peaſant reply'd thus: The Cardinal is the ſole, the only Cauſe of the ſtumbling of my Mule; he has taxed Barley, Barley is my Beaſt's Provender, this Tax makes me unable to feed him as before, Want of Food makes him weak, and his Weakneſs makes him ſtumble: *Curſe on the Cardinal.* The Countryman was right, he fetch'd his Grievance from the Source; I will ſay no more, ——you underſtand me.

They go on, and are graciouſly pleas'd to applaud his Majeſty's Meaſures; they are wonderfully delighted that the War is carry'd on with ſo much Vigour and Succeſs; they conclude in a Sort of Tranſport, to hear that the Repreſentations and ſpecious Pretences from other Places could not influence a *Britiſh* P———— to keep back the Supplies, *&c.* I cannot help repeating my Admiration of this conſpicuous Spirit of Generoſity and Goodneſs that has appear'd in *Kidderminſter*, and there can be no Doubt that if the M———y ſhould want two or three Millions at a Pinch, the Burgeſſes of this illuſtrious Metropolis would readily come into the Loan, on a good Fund, and at a moderate Intereſt: I remember but one Inſtance of Loyalty that run a little higher than this, and that was expreſs'd in an Addreſs that came up in the Reign of the late King from a Borough in the *Weſt*, [*Totneſs*] where the hearty good People declared they would ſpend their Lives and Fortunes, and 20*s.* in the Pound, *and more*, if required.

I have been informed, how truly I know not, that theſe *Burgeſſes of Kidderminſter* were very famous once for being Manufacturers of moſt excellent Bits and Gloves; I hope and believe, by the great Eaſe and Plenty they enjoy, that this Commerce is by no Means in its Decline; yet I would, as a Friend adviſe them to give more of their Attention to Glove-making, than Politicks; Eloquence may hurt their Commerce, and tho' they may not, when they are not able to pay any Taxes, have any Reaſon to complain, yet, ſhould their Circumſtances be very low, they may not perhaps receive that Attention from their Repreſentatives that they wiſh or expect: And as moſt of their Conſciences will not allow them to accept Places, they will not permit them ſurely to become Penſioners, ſo they muſt flatter the next Miniſtry for nothing. CRITO

THE late Advice in the publick Papers from *Dublin*, of two Silver *Images** found under the Ruins of an old Tower, having raiſed various Conjectures and Speculations amongſt the Antiquaries, it may not be improper to inform them, that Mr. *Merrick* Scholar of *Trinity College, Oxon*, in his Tranſlation of *Tryphiodorus*, Page 14 and 15, has among other curious and critical Obſervations, in his Annotation on the *Palladium* of *Minerva*, given an Account, (worth the Peruſal of the Learned) that it was cuſtomary with the Antients, at the Foundation of a Fort or City, to conſecrate ſuch *Images* to ſome tutelar *Guardians*, and depoſite them in a ſecret Part of the Building; where he alſo inſerts a judicious Expoſition of a difficult Text of Scripture on that Subject.

This Author which he has tranſlated, was an *Egyptian* that compoſed a *Greek* Poem on the Deſtruction of *Troy*, as a Sequel to *Homer's Iliad*, which being but little known, and never before in our Language, he has given an *Engliſh* Verſion of him in heroick Verſe, with Annotations thro' the Whole, giving Light to ſeveral dubious Readings in the Claſſick Authors, both *Greek* and *Latin*.

And meeting with Encouragement from a great Number of Subſcriptions he has, beyond his Propoſals, annex'd to it an accurate and beautiful Edition of the *Greek* Original with *Latin* Annotations. Printed and publiſh'd at the *Oxford Theatre*.

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* *They were about* 3 *Inches in Height, repreſenting Men in Armour, with very high Helmets on their Heads, and Ruffs round their Necks, and ſtanding on a Pedeſtal of Silver, holding a ſmall golden Spear in their Hands.*

ΜΤΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

Or, THOUGHTS *on the* SOUL.

THIS flame-expecting taper hath at length
Received fire, and now begins to burn;
Scarce any vigour yet it hath, or ſtrength;
Apt to be puſt and quench'd at ev'ry turn:
It was a gracious hand that firſt endow'd
This ſnuff with flame; but mark, this hand doth ſhroud
Itſelf from mortal eye, conceal'd behind a cloud.

Thus *Man* begins to live; an unknown flame
Quickens his finiſh'd organs; now poſſeſt
With motion; and with motion doth proclaim
An active ſoul, tho' in a feeble breaſt:
But how, or when infus'd? aſk not my pen;
Here flies a cloud before the eyes of men;
I cannot tell thee how; nor can'ſt thou tell me when.

Was it a parcel of cœleſtial fire
Infus'd by heaven into this fleſhly mould?
Or was it (think you) made a ſoul intire?
Or was it now created? or of old?
Or is't a propagated ſpark, rak'd out
From nature's embers?--while we go about
By reaſon to reſolve, we ſtill increaſe the doubt.

If it be part of that cœleſtial flame,
It muſt be e'en as pure, and free from ſpot,
As that eternal fountain whence it came:
If pure and ſpotleſs, then whence came the blot?
Itſelf being pure, could not itſelf defile:
How hath unactive matter power to ſoil
Her pure and active form; as jars corrupt their oil.

Or if it was created, tell me when?
If in the firſt ſix days, where kept till now?
Or if the ſoul was now created, then
Heaven did not all at firſt it had to do.
Six days expir'd, then all creation ceas'd:
All kinds, e'en from the greateſt, to the leaſt,
Were finiſh'd, and compleat, before the day of reſt.

But why ſhould *Man*, the lord of creatures, want
That privilege, which beaſts and plants obtain?
Beaſt brings forth beaſt; and plant a perfect plant;
And ev'ry like, brings forth its like again.
Shall fowls, and fiſhes, beaſts, and plants convey
Life to their iſſue? and man, leſs than they?
Shall theſe get living ſouls? and *Man* dead lumps of clay?
Muſt human ſouls be generated then?
Beware that rock! that dark ſuggeſtion fly!
If nature's work produce the ſouls of men,
Man's ſoul is mortal; all that's born, muſt die.
——What ſhall we then conclude? what ſunſhine will
Diſpel this gloomy cloud? till then, be ſtill,
My vain-aſpiring thoughts!—lie down my puzzled quill.

ACADEMICUS.

In CHRISTI NATIVITATEM.

BELLA canant alii telis inſtructa cruentis,
Inſigneſque duces fama & felicibus armis,
Majus opus moveo: vatum prædicta priorum
Aggredior; ſacro tu pectus, Muſa, furore
Accendas, facileſque modos præſcribe poetæ.
Nox erat, & feſſos homines ſopor altus habebat,
Paſtores quidam teneros in montibus agnos
Dum vigiles ſervant, en circumfuſa repentè
Emicuit nova lux, cœlum ſplendore refulſit,
Divinis totus reſonabat cantibus æther.
Æterni Patris celebrabant carmine laudes
Angelicæ turmæ: triſtis timor occupat artus
Paſtorum, ſubita ex alto vox reddita cœlo eſt:
Paſtores, revocate metus, vanumque timorem
Mittite, nam lætus vobis ego nuncius adſum.
Naſcitur en hodiè Chriſtus Davidis in urbe,
Vera Dei proles, hominum lumenque ſaluſque.
Hic vir, hic eſt, quem tota gravi ſub lege veluſtas
Abdidit, & cæca involvit caligine Moſes.
Hunc olim vates, ſancti hunc cecinere prophetæ
Adventare citò, qui viribus occupet orbem,
Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet aſtris.
Ecce autem interea cœli in regione ſerena
Stellæ facem ducens, multa cum luce refulſit.
Lucida ſtella micat, quæ non Babylona ſuperbam
Regibus Arſacidis, validas non Tybridis arces,
Non Solymæ turres, ſed paſtoralia fignat
Limina, Bethlemique caſas. Non murice tincta
Infantem decorat veſtis, nec vellera Serum
Involvunt teneros artus. Si purpura non te
Excepit de matre novum, ſi ſpicula nulla,
Nullus eques, nullæ puerum cinxere cohortes;
At genus ætherium cives ſtellantis Olympi
Non deſunt illic, aulaque auguſtius omni
Excubiis præſepe tuum cantuque celebrant.
Quin jam curvato te reges poplite adorant
Aſſyrii, Perſæque magi tibi munera præbent.
Paſtores ovium ſtant circum, innoxia turba,
Atque tuas celebrant divino carmine laudes;
Salve, ſupremo ſoboles æquæva parenti!
In te, ſancte puer, quantùm eſt ſublimis imago
Æterni genitoris, & indeſcripta poteſtas!
Quantùm, quæ terraſque omnes pontumque profundum,
Et cœli liquidos majeſtas ſuſtinet orbes!

Credite jam Solymæ, veterumque oracula vatum [trî
Pandite portifices, promiſſaque tempora veſ-
Explorate Ducis: Syrias ſpectate per urbes
Quæ nova portendant Superi, quo robore leges
Pediſcat natura ſuas; nam reddita terris
Corpora, nam manes ima tellure ſepultos
Cernitis exciri, & trepidum ſpirare cadaver.
Hîc cæco ſpectare diem det, currere claudo,
Det ſurdis audire ſonos, det reddere, mutis.
Tartareas pellat peſtes, morboſque tenaces
Non herbis ſed voce ſuâ: freta mota tacere
Imperet, & fluctus: modica dape millia paſcat.
Robora contuſis reddat vitalia membris.
Vino mutet aquas, ſiccuſque perambulet æquor.
Hæc faciant quos gemma tegit, quos claſſica cingunt. [tum
Hæc Puer ille poteſt, nec languida corpora tan-
Ille, ſed & mentes obſeſſaque pectora purgat,
Fœdaque corruptis adimet contagia ſeclis.
Ille, & criminibus pulſam terriſque fugatam
Aſtræam cœlo comitem deſcendere ab alto
Aſpiciet. Lethi metus, & vi: proxima letho
Definat, & fracto miteſcant ſæcula ferro.
Haud ſtabulis ſe inferre lupus ceſſabit, & agnis
Acclinare latus, junctæque informibus urſis
Paſcere ſecuræ media de nocte juvencæ,
Nec pecudes inter totiſque armenta diebus
Nec quicquam formæ ſævorum errare leonum.
Salve ſancte Puer, mundi melioris origo,
Inclyta progenies, magnum Patris incrementum!
Non, mihi ſi latices Siloe, ſi porrigat Hebron
Pocula, ſi cunctis diſtillent collibus undæ,
Et vatem Dan ipſe riget, tua dicere facta
Suſtineam, ingenti tantarum pondere rerum
Obruor, immenſæque abſorbent carmina laudes.

The CONFESSION.

Lupi Mœrin videre priores. VIRG.

WHEN ſorrow like a flood o'erwhelm'd
In depths of woe my mind,
And at thy providence, O Lord!
My heart almoſt repin'd;
How oft i'th' anguiſh of my ſoul
To thee I made my pray'r,
Altho' my iterated cries
Thou would'ſt not ſeem to hear.
While treach'rous friendſhip ſtab'd my heart
And rob'd my ſoul of reſt,
And preſs'd with grief, I ſcarce could think
Thy faithful ſervants bleſs'd.
Yet thy paternal goodneſs ſtill
Was always nigh at hand,
And in the tempeſt's greateſt rage
Did ev'ry wave command;
For that in thoſe tremendous gulphs
Oppreſs'd with grief and fear,
I was not ſwallow'd up, is proof
Thy providence was there.

Then from the open jaws of death
Since thou haſt ſet me free,
My grateful tongue ſhall ſing thy praiſe,
And heart exult in thee.
Shou'd all the heav'ns, while nature reels,
With burſting thunders blaze,
Rock'd to the center, on the ſcene
I'd wondring calmly gaze:
Nay, ſhou'd'ſt thou hurl in wrath that ſpea
Whoſe dreadful point pervades,
From utmoſt height with ſwifteſt wing,
To hell's tremendous ſhades;
With reverential awe I'd ſtand,
And view the comet's race,
While whirl'd from thy almighty arm
It meaſur'd boundleſs ſpace;
Did but thy love, as a ſtrong ſhield,
With panoply divine
Defend my heart, and on my ſoul
Thy face propitious ſhine.
Vain muſe, farewel! no more I'll ſtrive
A changing taſte to pleaſe;
For tell me, can'ſt thou recompence
The ſacrifice of eaſe?
Anxious I've ſought ſubſtantial good,
And panted after fame,
Virtue I own a ſubſtance is,
But thou'rt an empty name.
'Tis God alone my ſoul can fire,
And fill my breaſt with joy,
O! may his love my ſoul dilate,
And ev'ry thought employ.
But if conſiſtent with that wiſh,
Curs'd be the venal man,
Who ſells his country for vain joys
Contracted to a ſpan.
A *M——r* once ſcorn'd the ſordid bait,
And ſmil'd, tho' tyrants frown'd,
Fame ſounds her trumpet o'er his tomb,
And angels ſing around:
'Twas univerſal good, 'twas right,
And equity he lov'd,
In their juſt cauſe he greatly dar'd,
And ſhew'd a heart unmov'd.
The ſpacious orb the triumph hears,
While acclamations roll,
With rapture charm the earth, and reach
With melody the pole.
The elogy divine is this,
Tho' ſlaves and kings conſpir'd,
He nobly broke his way, and gain'd
The heav'n his ſoul deſir'd.
'Twas God's fruition, joy ſupreme,
And perfect beauty's blaze
He wiſh'd, and for that glorious aim
All heav'n reſounds his praiſe.

J. DINSDALE.

RURAL HAPPINESS: *Or, The Life of a Country Gentleman.*

REMOTE from cities, buſ'neſs, noiſe, and ſtrife,
In peaceful ſolitude I paſs my life:

Blest in a *friend*, above his kind sincere;
Discreetly wise, and humanely severe.
Nor in a *wife* less happy do I prove;
Whose passion's reason, and whose goodness love.
By heav'n thus favour'd envy shuns my breast;
Nor can another's bliss disturb my rest:
Unhappy only that *all* can't possess
The good I feel, and taste my happiness:
Never more griev'd than at another's grief,
Or pleas'd than when the wretched find relief.
Law, politicks, divinity, with me
Are reason, justice, truth and charity.
Faction, debate, and nonsense I detest!
Secure from courts, and kings, and priests,
I'm blest.
Stranger to flatt'ry, and from fraud, too, free;
I court no *lawyer* with a venal fee;
From no unhappy wretch his counsel steal,
Nor buy both law, and witness with a meal.
Among the *poor* if any discords rise,
I cool their passions, and to peace advise;
But if the rich in civil war engage,
I first enquire the cause, and calm their rage:
Then dictate what in justice both shou'd do;
And make them friends, who each pronounc'd his foe.
No pow'rful bribe for favour intercedes;
Nor any law but nature's reason pleads.
My counsel ended, follow'd my advice,
One social glass becomes my only price;
To drink prosperity, with health and peace,
And wish all discords, as my friend's, would cease:
That no fell *lawyer* may encrease his store;
And ending *one* dispute commence a *score*.
Thus vile *physicians* add to your disease;
And viler priests torment you as they please:
Declare your *doubts*, and *fears* are all their pain:
But heighten both!—till certain of their gain;—
Demonstrate then your doubts and fears are vain.
When first *Aurora* ushers in the day;
And city gamesters quit their eager play:
From *Delia*'s arms I rise, awake my friend,
And in a painted walk two solemn hours we spend;
While social converse fresh expands the mind;
And yields those joys which friends alone can find.
Then to my *Delia*'s arms again I fly,
And varying bliss experience from her eye.
Thus love, and friendship all my soul possess;
And heav'n imparts on earth its purest bliss.
While pleasures ever varying never cloy:
But ev'ry later crowns each former joy.

FLORIO.

To the Author *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THE following Song having been wretchedly mangled by Mr. *Urban* last Month, you are desired to give it a Place in your *Magazine* for this present, which Favour shall gratefully be acknowledged, by

Your constant Reader
and humble Servant,
M. S. I.

TO thy passion, dear saint, bid adieu!
Thy pretensions 'tis time to resign;
Believe me, the news is too true,
The parson must never be thine.

How came you to dream of his arms?
What shou'd move him to doat upon age?
'Twas madness to fancy you'd charms
At fifty his heart to engage.

Where virgins so many abound,
Cou'd you hope that a widow'd go down?
Cou'd you hope that he'd slight 'em all round,
And for *Kitty* despise the whole town?

Ah! *Kitty*, this folly give o'er,
Another possesses his heart;
Then think of the parson no more,
Or think 'tis decreed you must part.

Tho' oft at *quadrille* you've been proud
Each other for partners to name;
The ingrate now proclaims it aloud,
That he thinks you too old for the game.

At your house tho' so oft he has eat,
Forgotten is all your good cheer;
Tho' so oft you have loaded his plate
With your dainties, 'tis never the near.

To her bosom this son of the church,
Tete a tete with you once, *Patty* draws;
Nor wonder you're left in the lurch,
When *thousands* appear in her cause.

Then since you've no hopes to succeed,
In his love since another is blest;
In earnest e'en hang on that weed,
Which you've hitherto wore but in jest.

Unless near the *Avon* you chuse
(Where willows so temptingly spring)
Like a martyr to end all your woes,
And set out for the skies in a string.

An EPIGRAM.

SIR *Thomas* of *Wentworth*, inflexibly good,
Had long *ministerial power* withstood:
At length, thro' ambition, an *Earl* he was made;
So first lost his *friends*, and then lost his *head*.
O *P*———*!* consider, like his thy *condition*,
How great and how glorious thy long *opposition;*
Thou art now made an *E*—*l*, have a care of thy *head*,
Our *Pyms* and our *Hampdens* are not all of 'em dead.

From the Universal Spectator.

Mr. Stonecastle,

I Take you to be a Casuist in Love Affairs, therefore appeal to you on a controverted Point

Point between a young Lady and myſelf: She has affirm'd, that Love is more ſincere and affecting, the Ideas of it more pure and real in the Country than in this Metropolis; ſhe has even carried it ſo far as to aſſert, that the Paſſion is never known in a Court. Miſs is ſomewhat like *Biddy* in the *Tender Huſband*, mighty Romantick; and thinks there is no true Love ſince the Age of the *Arcadian* Shepherds and Shepherdeſſes. Your Opinion in this important Affair, would oblige

Your conſtant Reader,
MODERN.

I am ſo far of the young Lady's Opinion, that I believe there is more Sincerity in a Rural Courtſhip than a Courtly Amour. The Golden Age of Love is long paſt; Truth and Innocence have given Place to Intereſt and Senſuality. Mr. *Dryden* in one of his Plays, has given a very pretty Picture of what Love is at a Court from what it is in the Country. *Leonidas*, a young Prince, was conceal'd in the Country during a General's Uſurpation: In this Retirement he falls in Love with the General's Daughter, who was conceal'd with him; neither of them knowing their Rank or Condition. *Leonidas* is found out, and the Courtier, who as a Peaſant conceal'd him, made the Uſurper believe that he was his own Son. He is introduced to Court as a Prince; but *Palmyra*, the Uſurper's Daughter, ſtill retains her Affection. The Poet on this Occaſion works up a very natural Scene between them.

Leon. How precious are the hours of love in courts!
In cottages, where love has all the day,
Full, and at eaſe he throws it half away:
Time gives himſelf, and is not valued there;
But ſells, at mighty rate, each minute here:
So many of his hours in publick move,
That few are left for privacy or love.
Palm. The ſun, methinks, ſhines faint and dimly here;
Light is not half ſo long, nor half ſo clear.
But oh! when ev'ry day was yours and mine,
How early up! what haſte he made to ſhine!
Leon. Such golden days no prince muſt hope to ſee,
Whoſe ev'ry ſubject is more bleſt than he.
Palm. Do you remember when our love began,
When at our wake you for the chaplet ran;
Then I was made the lady of the *May*,
And with the garland at the goal did ſtay:
Still as you ran, I kept you full in view;
I hop'd, and wiſh'd, and ran, methought, for you:
As you came near, I haſtily did riſe,
And ſtretch'd my arm out-right that held the prize.
The cuſtom was to kiſs whom I ſhould crown
You kneel'd, and in my lap your head hi
down.
I bluſh'd, and bluſh'd, and did the kiſs delay
At laſt my ſubjects forc'd me to obey:
But when I gave the crown, and then the kiſ
I ſcarce had breath to ſay, take *that*—and th
Leon. I felt the while a pleaſing kind
ſmart;
The kiſs went tingling to my very heart:
When it was gone, the ſenſe of it did ſtay,
The ſweetneſs cling'd upon my lips all day
Like drops of honey, loth to fall away.

The following Queſtion, which he afterwar aſks, introduces a pretty Paſtoral Deſcription a Love-forſaken Maid.

Leon. But if I baſely could forget my vo
Poor helpleſs innocence, what would you do
Palm. In woods and plains, where firſt m
love began,
There would I live retir'd from faithleſs ma
I'd ſit all day within ſome lonely ſhade,
Or that cloſe arbour which your hands ha
made;
I'd ſearch the groves, and ev'ry tree, to fi
Where you had carv'd our names upon the ri
Your hook, your ſcrip, all that was yours I
keep,
And lay them by me when I went to ſleep.
Thus would I live; and maidens, when I d
Upon my hearſe white true-love knots ſho
tie:
And thus my tomb ſhould be inſcrib'd abov
Here the forſaken virgin reſts for love.

The following SONG *we now inſert pur on Account of the excellent* ANSWER *to which our Readers will find in our Mag zine for* June *laſt*, p. 306.

The MODEST QUESTION.

CAN love be controul'd by advice?
Can madneſs and reaſon agree!
O *Molly*, who'd ever be wiſe,
If madneſs is loving of thee?
Let ſages pretend to deſpiſe
The joys they want ſpirits to taſte,
Let me ſeize old *Time* as he flies,
And the bleſſings of life while they laſt.

Dull wiſdom but adds to our care,
Briſk love will improve ev'ry joy;
Too ſoon we may meet with gray hairs,
Too late may repent being coy.
Then *Molly* for what ſhould we ſtay,
Till our beſt blood begins to run cold?
Our youth we can have but to day,
We may always find time to grow old.

We have receiv'd a Song, a Verſion of Pſ 55; *and ſeveral other Pieces, which ſ be in our next.*

T

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 4.

SIR *John Strange*, Knt. by Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, reſign'd the Office of Recorder of *London*. As ſome Time before he laid down his Poſt of Sollicitor General to his Majeſty.

TUESDAY, 7.

The Anniverſary of the Birth of the Princeſs *Louiſa* was celebrated, when her Royal Highneſs enter'd into the 19th Year of her Age.

From the London Gazette.

Port Royal Harbour in *Jamaica*, *Oct.* 2, 1742, Capt. *Broderick* in the *Shoreham*, appointed to command the Convoy with Succours for the Defence of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, put to Sea the 14th of laſt Month, together with the *Spy Sloop* and the Tranſports, which had on board 500 Soldiers deſign'd for that Service. On the 23d paſt arriv'd here his Majeſty's Ship the *Gibraltar*, Capt. *Fowke*, from *England*; and, in Conſequence of the Orders by him brought, Vice-Admiral *Vernon* and Major-General *Wentworth* are preparing to return home. On the 24th paſt return'd hither the *Iſland Sloop*, who brought with her the Captain and Part of the Officers and Crew of his Majeſty's Ship the *Tilbury* of 60 Guns, which took Fire by Accident at Sea, and burnt down and ſunk on the 22d off the *Navaſſa*, Capt. *Hore*, in the *Defiance*, having taken on board about 140 more of the Crew of the ſaid Ship.

FRIDAY, 10.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the following Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *Richard Haſſal* for robbing his Maſters of 40 Moidores and 35 Guineas.—*Michael Buley*, for Burglary and Felony.—*David Todd*, a Soldier, for a Street-Robbery.—*Lot Covenah* and *Cordelia Taylor*, for a Street-Robbery.—*Thomas Haven*, for robbing his Maſter of 40*l.*—*John Robinſon* and *Jacob Parkſs*, for Houſebreaking.

SATURDAY, 11.

Col. *Joſeph Bell*, Comptroller of the General-Poſt-Office, was remov'd from his Employment: As was the ſame Day Mr. *Joſeph Archer*, Alphabet-Keeper to the ſaid Office.

WEDNESDAY, 15.

Was held a Court of Admiralty, at the Seſſions Houſe in the *Old Bailey*, when *Tho. Jones*, of *Great Yarmouth*, was found guilty of fighting againſt his Country, and being concern'd in taking 7 different Ships, which was proved by the Evidence of ſome of the Perſons that were taken; and alſo by the Commander of the *Spaniſh* Privateer, in which he voluntarily ſerved, (that was lately taken by one of our Men of War.) He therefore was ſentenced, as a Traitor to his Country, to be drawn on a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, there to be hang'd, but cut down before he is dead, his Privities to be cut off, his Head ſever'd from his Body, his Bowels taken out, and then to be quarter'd, which Quarters are to be put up where his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to appoint.

Roger Freeman, who was try'd at the ſame Court, was acquitted, it appearing that he went on board the *Spaniſh* Privateer only to avoid going into Goal at St. *Sebaſtian's*, and with an Intent to eſcape as ſoon as poſſible.

MONDAY, 20.

Came on before the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Juſtice *Willes*, in the Court of *Common-Pleas* at *Guildhall*, a Cauſe wherein the Company of *Weavers*, *London*, were Plaintiffs, and Mr. *Thomas Handiſyde*, Defendant, who refus'd to be of the Livery of the Company, not being free of the City; but on Proof of the Charter and Bye-Laws, it appear'd the Defendant being a Member of the Company, was eligible to the Livery, tho' not free of the City, and therefore a Verdict was found for the Company.

TUESDAY, 21.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and made the following moſt gracious Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am very glad of the Occaſion, which my coming hither, at this Time, gives me, of expreſſing to you the great Satisfaction I take, in ſeeing ſo good a Progreſs already made in the Buſineſs of this Seſſion.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The Readineſs, and Diſpatch, with which you have thus early provided ſo conſiderable a Part of the Supplies, for the enſuing Year, deſerve my particular Thanks: And I make no Doubt, but the ſame Zeal for the Common Cauſe, will induce you to enable me to concert proper Meaſures, and to enter into, or make good, ſuch Alliances, and Engagements with other Powers, as may be neceſſary for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, and reſtoring the Balance of Power.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I look upon this good Beginning, as a ſure Pledge of your Steadineſs, in purſuing the

true

true Intereſt of *Great Britain*, which is, and ever ſhall be, my only View.

His Majeſty at the ſame Time gave the Royal Aſſent to the Land and Malt Tax Bills.

Forty Thouſand Seamen are granted for the enſuing Year, and 4*s.* in the Pound laid upon Land. The Motion to revive the Secret Committee was carried in the Negative by 253 againſt 186; as was likewiſe the Motion for a Place-Bill by 221 againſt 196: And it was reſolved to continue the *Hanoverian* and *Heſſian* Troops in the *Britiſh* Pay, by 260 againſt 193.

Since the Commencement of the War, it appears, that the *Spaniards* have taken 450 Ships within the Channel and Soundings of the *Britiſh* Coaſt.

Letters from ſeveral Parts of *England*, complaining of the great Poverty of the People, and the Highneſs of the Poors Rates and Taxes as a heavy Burden on the Farmers and induſtrious Tradeſmen, occaſion'd the mentioning the following Scheme, *viz.* the taking off, or at leaſt leſſening the Duties on Soap, Candles, Leather, or ſome of the chief Neceſſaries of Life, and laying them on the Luxuries of the People; for, as it's computed, there are upwards of 50,000 Coaches and Chariots kept in *England*; *Who* could a Tax upon them hurt? Why, *Nobody*; for a Perſon may eaſe himſelf of it at any Time; and if 20 *l. per Annum* was laid on every one that kept a Coach and Six; 15 *l. per Annum* on every Coach and Four; 10 *l. per Annum* on every Chariot and a Pair; and 40 *s. per Annum* on every ſingle Horſe Chaiſe or Chair: What a vaſt Sum would this raiſe, without any Charge or Burden whatever on the Poor; nay, if 20*s. per Annum* was laid on every Riding Horſe, &c. (ſuch us'd by Farmers, Waggoners, for Hire, &c. excepted,) it would raiſe a monſtrous Sum, and be felt by Nobody; and this might be put under the Regulation of ſome of the preſent Offices, with a very ſmall Addition (if any) of Officers to collect it.

A BOB *upon* THREE BOBS.

THREE *reigns* three *Bobs* produc'd, of equal fame,
In *politicks* and *morals* all the ſame.
In *Anna*'s days *Earl R——t*'s peace betray'd
The *Empire*, *Holland*, and the *Britiſh* trade.
In reign the next, the fatal *South-Sea ſcheme*
Cheated the nation with a *golden dream*.
In modern times, a worſe *pacifick trance*
Half *Europe* ſunk, and rais'd the *pride* of *France*:
Exciſe, *Convention*, uſeleſs troops and fleet,
Roberto's *glorious* miniſtry compleat.
When *Britain* recollects theſe *wond'rous* jobbs,
How much ſhe owes to three *notorious* Bobs!

SHERIFFS *appointed for the Year enſuing*, viz.

For *Berks*, John Blandy.—*Bucks*, Edw. Laſcels.—*Cumb.* Hump. Senhouſe.—*Cheſhire*, Phil. Egerton, Eſqrs.—*Cambr.* and *Hunt.* Sir Tho. Peyton, Bart.—*Devon*, John Pollexfen.—*Dorſet.* Ja. Forſter.—*Derby.* Will. Brown.—*Eſſex*, Edw. Stevenſon.—*Glou.* Will. Tayloe.—*Hertf.* Tho. Anſell.—*Heref.* Ja. Clarke.—*Kent*, Tho. Whitacre.—*Leic.* Ja. Wilſon.—*Line.* John Chomley.—*Monm.* Edw. Perkins.—*Northumb.* Cha. Lorain.—*Norf.* Edw. Atkins.—*Notting.* Lancelot Rolleſton.—*Oxf.* Jo. Taylor.—*Rutl.* John Cooke.—*Somerſ.* James Smyth.—*Staff.* Cha. Chadwick, Eſqrs.—*Suff.* Sir John Barker, Bart.—*Southamp.* Edward Hooker.—*Surrey*, Iſaac Eeles.—*Suſſ.* John Dennet.—*Worcſ.* Bourne Eabourne.—*Wilts*, Ja. Newnham.—*Wilts*, J. Hippeſley.—*York*, Ralph. Bell, Eſqrs. For *South-Wales*, *Brecon*, Peter Saunders.—*Carm.* John Phillips.—*Card.* David Lloyd.—*Glam.* Mat. Deere.—*Pembroke*, Geo. Mear.—*Radnor.* Peter Rickards, Eſqrs. For *North-Wales*, *Denb.* Aquila Wyke.—*Flint.* Hugh Hughes.—*Montg.* Rees Lloyd, Eſqrs.

We had an Account from *Carolina*, that certain Advice had been received there from *Panama*, by Way of *Porto Bello*, that Commodore *Anſon* ſailed from that Coaſt, the Beginning of *April*, for the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Capt. *Middleton* has had the Honour to receive from the Royal Society their annual Prize or Medal, for his curious Obſervations during his late Voyage, and the great Progreſs he has made towards diſcovering the *North-Weſt* Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in his Majeſty's Ship the *Furnace*. (See p. 555.)

SATURDAY, 25.

From the London Gazette.

On the 7th Inſtant, in the Latitude of 49—40. *Scilly* bearing E. half N. Diſtance 63 Leagues, his Majeſty's Ship the *Bridgewater*, commanded by Capt. *Rogers*, fell in with a *Spaniſh* Privateer at Half an Hour paſt Nine in the Forenoon, which being to Windward, bore down upon the *Bridgewater*. Capt. *Rogers* kept cloſe upon a Wind, under double reeft Topſails and Courſes. At Eleven the Privateer hoiſted an *Engliſh* Enſign, and fired a Shot at the *Bridgewater*; whereupon Capt. *Rogers* hoiſted a *Dutch* Enſign, hauled up his Mainſail, and back'd his Main-topſail; but finding ſoon after that the Privateer made Sail from him, he hauled down the *Dutch* Enſign, hoiſted *Engliſh* Colours, and gave her a Broadſide; upon this the Privateer took down her *Engliſh* Enſign, hoiſted *Spaniſh*, and made all poſſible Sail from the *Bridgewater*, and fired her Stern Chaſe Guns. Capt. *Rogers* crouded Sail after her, and plied her with his Bow Chaſe Guns till Three in the Afternoon, when he came up with her, and gave her another Broadſide, which ſhe returned; but Capt. *Rogers* then finding the

he ſhot from him, deferred firing any more till he came cloſe up with her. About Nine, being cloſe under her Lee Quarter, he gave her another Broadſide, and ſmall Arms, upon which ſhe called for Quarter, and Capt. *Rogers* has brought her into *Plymouth*. She is called the *Santa la Rita*, alias, *El Neptuno*, carried 140 Men, with 18 Carriage and 8 Swivel Guns, and came out of *Bilboa* a few Days before ſhe was taken.

Explanation of the OXFORD ALMANACK *for the Year* 1743.

This Year's *Almanack* repreſents *Lincoln College* in a perſpective View, which was founded in the Year 1429, in the Reign K. *Henry* VI.

Fleming and *Rotherham*, Biſhops of *Lincoln*, Founders of this College, are repreſented ſitting in two Chairs on each Side the Obelisk. The four Figures, with *Fleming* on your Left-hand, are, *Beckington*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who built the Lodgings; *Foreſt*, Dean of *Wells*, who built the Hall; —*Findern*, Eſq; and *Baktot Prieſt*, who gave Eſtates, and were Benefactors before the Time of the ſecond Founder.

On the other Side, with *Rotherham*, are, *Smith*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *Ley*, Biſhop of *Sarum*; *Edward Darby*, Archdeacon of *Stow*, conſiderable Benefactors; and *Williams*, Lord-Keeper and Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who built the Chapel, *&c.* Next to the Founder, on your Right-hand, is the late Lord *Crew*, Biſhop of *Durham*, principal Benefactor to this College; in whoſe Train are, the Doctors *Marſhall* and *Adams* (who were Rectors) and Sir *Nathaniel Lloyd*, Benefactors.

The Medals on the Obeliſk repreſent Biſhop *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Hicks*, and Dr. *Radcliffe*, Fellows of this College.

The Churches in the Scroles at the Bottom, are thoſe of *All-Saints* and St. *Michael* in *Oxford*, which are in the Gift of this College.

A General BILL *of all the Chriſtnings and Burials, from the* 15*th of* Dec. 1741, *to the* 14*th of* Dec. 1742.

Chriſtned		Buried	
Males	7048	Males	13565
Females	6703	Females	13918
	13751		27483

Decreaſed in the Burials this Year 4686

Died Under	2 Years of	Age	9030
Between	2 and	5	2642
	5 and	10	1035
	10 and	20	893
	20 and	30	2203
	30 and	40	2813
	40 and	50	2959
	50 and	60	2333
	60 and	70	1634
	70 and	80	1250
	80 and	90	582
	90 and	100	100

A Hundred 1. A Hundred and One 1. A Hundred and Two 2. A Hundred and Four 2. A Hundred and Five 1. A Hundred and Seven 1. A Hundred and Ten 1.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

HUGH *Horn*, Eſq; Son to the Lord *Drummore*, to Miſs *Anna Inglis*.— — *Kemp*, Eſq; Brother to Sir *Robert Kemp*, Bart. to Mrs. *Colt*, of *Tooting* in *Surrey*.— ——— *Blake*, Eſq; Son of *Patrick Blake*, Eſq; one of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the Iſland of St. *Chriſtopher's*, to Miſs *Trant*, Daughter of *Dominick Trant*, Eſq; of *Montſerrat*.—Lord *Anne Hamilton*, to Miſs *Ponel*. — Sir *Humphry Monoux*, Bart. to Mrs. *Jones* of *Waltham Abbey*.—Hon. —— *Boſcawen*, Brother to the Lord Viſc. *Falmouth*, to Miſs *Glanville*.—*Nicholas Colebatch*, of *Eſher*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Elizabeth Ferne*, of *Teddington*. — Mr. *Henry Granger*, of *Staple's* Inn, Attorney at Law, to Miſs *Betty Liford*, youngeſt Daughter and Coheir of *Richard Liford*, Eſq; deceas'd, formerly High Sheriff of the County of *Berks*. ——— *Talbot*, Eſq; Son and Heir of *John Ivory Talbot*, of *Laycock* in *Wiltſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Stone*. — Dr. *Dawſon*, an eminent Phyſician in *New Bond-ſtreet*, to Miſs *Molly Aſton*, youngeſt Daughter of *Richard Aſton*, late of *Wadley* in *Berks*. Eſq;—*Walter Henſhaw*, Eſq; of *Palmer's Green*, near *Southgate*, to Miſs *Harding*.—Rt. Hon. the Lord *Hume*, to the Widow *Lawſ* of *Albemarle-ſtreet*.— The Lady of the Lord *Harry Beauclerck* deliver'd of a Daughter.—Counteſs of *Sandwich* of a Son and Heir.—Lady of Lord *North* and *Guildford* of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

SIR *Rich. Wynne*, Bart. Serjeant at Law, late Treaſurer of *Serjeants* Inn, aged near Ninety.—Rev. Mr. *Vanſaker*, Miniſter of the *Daniſh* Church in *Wellcloſe-Square*.—*John Holliſter*, Eſq; Treaſurer of *Guy's* Hoſpital.—Ld. *John Johnſtone*, Memb. of Parl. for *Dumfriet*, &c. and Brother to the Marqueſs of *Annandale*. —*James Elliot*, of *Port Elliot* in *Cornwall*, Eſq;—*William Auſten*, Eſq; at *Tenterden* in *Kent*.—Sir *William Humble*, Bart. at *Northampton*.—Rev. Dr. *Henry Jenny*, Archdeacon of *Dromore* in *Ireland*. — *Anne*, Daughter of Sir *Walter St. John*, Bart. Relict of *Tho. Cholmondley*, of *Vale-Royal* in *Cheſhire*, Eſq; in the 92d Year of her Age.— Rev. Dr. *Samuel Eyre*, Son of the late Lord Chief Juſtice *Eyre*, and one of the Prebendaries of *Saliſbury*.—*Andrew Hopegood*, Eſq; an eminent *Italian* Merchant.—Capt. *Reddiſh*, late Commander of the *Angleſea* Man of War.—Rev. Mr. *Howſon*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, in the 92d Year of his Age.— Rt. Hon. *Henry* Lord *Maynard*, at his Seat at *Little Eaſton* in *Eſſex*. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his Brother, *Grey Maynard*, Eſq; now Lord *Maynard*.—Hon. *Thomas Willoughby*, Eſq; ſecond Son to the late Lord *Middleton*. — Sir *James Dowdall*, Bart.

Bart. in *Ireland*.—Rt. Hon. *Joſhua* Baron of *Stillorgan*, and Viſcount *Allen*, in the ſame Kingdom.—Sir *Hardolph Waſtneys*, Bart. at his Seat in *Nottinghamſhire*.—*John Drummond*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Perth*, &c. and one of the Commiſſioners for ſettling a new Tariff in the *Netherlands*.—*Rivers Dickenſon*, Eſq; a wealthy Brewer in *Chick-Lane*.—Mr. *Robert Morgan*, a *Romiſh* Prieſt, Principal of the *Sardinian* Ambaſſador's Chapel.—Mr. *Lionel Rich*, an eminent Attorney at Law, at *Faringdon*, *Berks*.—Lord Viſc. *Say* and *Seale*.—*Oliver Edwards*, Eſq; an eminent Brewer at *Iſlington*, and late High Sheriff for *Bedfordſhire*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Timothy Lee*, to the Vicarage of *Pontefract* in *Yorkſhire*.—Mr. *Bland*, to the Living of *Sittingbourne* in *Kent*.—*Lynford Caryll*, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Fordham* in *Cambridgeſhire*.—*James Carrington*, B. A. to the Vicarage of *Chairing* in *Kent*.—Dr. *Barnett* appointed by Bp. *Wilcox*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, to be his Sub-Dean.—Mr. *Wills* choſen Morning Lecturer of St. *Michael's Cornhill*.—*Wm. Herring*, B. A. to the Rectory of *Cobely* in *Norfolk*.—Mr. *Morgan*, Miniſter of *Southgate* Chapel, by the Rt. Hon. *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; to the Rectory of *Everſholt* near *Woburn* in *Bedfordſhire*.—Mr. *Wm. Robinſon*, to the Living of *Swinnerton* in *Staffordſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil* and *Military*.

MARQUESS of *Carnarvon* made Groom of the Stole to the P. of *Wales*.—Abp. of *Ardmagh* made one of the Lords Juſtices and Lord Almoner of *Ireland*.—Mr. *John Luſh*, Attorney at Law at *Wantage*, *Berks*, appointed a Maſter Extraordinary of the High Court of Chancery.—Sir *Tho. Parker*, Knt. one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, made Ld. Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in the Room of Judge *Probyn*, deceas'd.—*John Jefferies*, Eſq; made joint Secretary of the Treaſury, in the Room of *Henry Furneſs*, Eſq;—Mr. *Paxton*, Son of *Nich. Paxton*, Eſq; made Clerk of the Patents in the Annuity Office in the Exchequer, by Lord *Walpole*.—*Edw. Falkingham*, Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners, in Quality of a principal Officer of the Navy, for the Naval Affairs in the *Mediterranean*.—*Geo. Lucas*, Eſq; made Lieut. Gov. of *Antigua*.—Mr. Serj. *Urling*, Deputy-Recorder of *London*, unanimouſly choſen by the Court of Aldermen Recorder of the ſaid City.—Mr. *Ste. Duck* made Keeper of the late Queen's Library in St. *James's* Park.—Sir. *Cha. Wager* made Treaſurer of the Navy, in the Room of *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Eſq; deceas'd.—Dr. *Benj. Avery* unanimouſly choſen Treaſurer of *Guy's* Hoſpital.—*John Mordaunt*, Eſq; made Col. of a Royal Reg. of Foot of *Ireland*.—*James Cholmondeley*, Eſq; made Col. of a Reg. of Foot.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN *David Barbutt*, of *London*, Merchant.—*Geo. Sharpe*, of *Whitecroſs-ſtreet* Dyer.—*Joſeph Williams*, of *Briſtol*, Diſtiller.—*Will. Hobbs*, of *Allhallows Barking*, Victualler.—*Geo. Greenwood*, of *Hounſlow*, Butcher.—*Iſaac Jacobs*, of St. *Mary Axe*, Merchant.—*Will. Worthington*, of *Bolton* in the *Moors* in *Lancaſhire*, Maltſter.—*Tho. Cooper*, of *Cornhill*, Draper.—*Anth. Bradley*, of *Hallfield* in *Derbyſhire*, Cheeſe-Factor and Timber-Merchant.—*Geo. Collins*, late of *Portland-ſtreet* St. *Mary le bone*, Carpenter.—*Rich. Woodward* now or late of *Sutton Coldfield* in *Warwickſhire*, Maltſter.—*Chri. Pinckney*, late of *Ripon* in *Yorkſhire*, Dealer.—*John Stott*, the Younger, late of *Midgley*, in *Yorkſhire*, Clothier.—*Tho. Salisbury*, of *Bucklersbury*, Upholſterer.—*Cudburd Hanſon*, of the Pariſh of *Chriſt Church* in *Surrey*, Fearnought Maker.—*Edw. Clark* of *Richmond* in *Surrey*, Vintner and Innholder.—*Rob. Robinſon*, late of *Wigan*, Chapman.—*Mich. Roſhar*, of St. *Mary le Strand*, Linen Merchant.—*Will. Robinſon*, late of *Lincoln* Boatman.—*John Pindlebury*, of *Princes ſtreet* near *Stocks-Market*, Merchant.—*Ja. Durbin* of *Netherton-Hall*, near *Brawdley*, Wine-Merchant.—*Iſaac Panchaud*, of *London*, Merchant.—*John Eſtgate* the Elder, late of *Chicheſter* Feltmaker.—*Alex. Simſon*, of *Oldbury* in *Shropſhire*, Chapman.

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Nov.* 23. to *Dec.* 21.

Chriſtned	Males 594	Females 590	1184
Buried	Males 970	Females 1016	1986
Died under 2 Years old			718
Between 2 and 5			152
5	10		64
10	20		84
20	30		128
30	40		197
40	50		198
50	60		164
60	70		134
70	80		101
80	90		39
90 and upwards			4
			1986

Hay 65 to 66*s.* a Load.

THE

THE *Auſtrian* and *French* Armies having both paſſed the *Danube* and entered *Bavaria*, as mentioned in our laſt, the former ſoon after their paſſing that River, attacked and took *Landau*, the Garriſon having ſurrendered Priſoners of War, on the 12th of laſt Month, being in all 550 Men and 16 Officers, partly *French* and partly *Bavarians*. From that Time the two Armies made ſeveral Marches and Counter-marches upon the *Iſer* and the *Inn*, and ſeveral Skirmiſhes happened, but nothing conſiderable was attempted by either, till the the 20th, when the *Auſtrian* Army inveſted and began the Siege of *Braunau*. As this was a Poſt of great Conſequence for covering the other Army's Winter Quarters in *Bavaria*, it was reſolved by the *French* and *Bavarian* Generals to attempt raiſing the Siege at any Riſk. For this Purpoſe the *French* Army under the Marſhals *Broglio* and *Maillebois* marched the 21ſt, and being joined in their Route by the *Bavarian* Army under Count *Seckendorff*, the whole Army continued its March, and approached *Braunau* on the 28th, whereupon Prince *Charles* of *Lorain*, quitted the Siege of that important Place, and retired with the *Auſtrian* Army to their ſtrong Camp near *Schardingen*, which ſhews that the *French* and *Bavarian* Army is much ſtronger, or the *Auſtrian* much weaker than has been repreſented by former Accounts from *Germany*. After the Retreat of the *Auſtrian* Army, the Marſhal *Broglio* went and reconnoiter'd them in their Camp at *Schardingen*, where their Situation was judged to be too ſtrong to venture to attack them; ſo that both Armies ſoon after quitted the Field, and retired into Winter Quarters.

After the Retreat of the *French* Army, under Marſhal *Maillebois* from *Egra*, as mentioned in our laſt. the other *French* Army under Marſhal *Belliſle* returned again to *Prague*, and were followed by the *Auſtrian* Army under Prince *Lobkowitz*, who made himſelf Maſter of all the out Poſts, as he advanced, and among the reſt, of the important Poſt of *Leutmaritz*, where the *French* had a Garriſon of about 1000 Men, and very large Magazines which were intented to be carried to *Prague*. The *Auſtrians*, after the Reduction of all the Out Poſts renewed the Blockade of that famous City, from whence the *French* made three different Sallies in a Month's Time, but without any conſiderable Succeſs, ſo that they will probably be in great Diſtreſs before the End of this Winter, if they ſhould continue there ſo long, which is to be doubted; for by the laſt *French* Mail, it is ſaid, they have already marched off, and carried every Thing that was valuable along with them; but this ſtands much in need of Confirmation.

Nothing very remarkable has happened ſince our laſt, either in *Italy* or *Savoy*; for tho' Don *Philip* has received moſt of the Reinforcements he expected from *Spain*, he continues ſtill in his Camp upon the *French* Territory near Fort *Barraux*, and as the King of *Sardinia* cannot enter the *French* Territory to attack him, he continues in his Camp near *Montmelian*; where he has taken great Care of his Troops, by building Huts or Barracks for them, and by having a Quantity of Wood and Rice, and a Bullock given weekly to every Troop and Company, over and above the uſual Allowance of other Proviſions.

In our laſt we gave an Account of the Duke of *Holſtein's* being named Succeſſor to the preſent King of *Sweden*, and we have ſince had the Articles or Conditions to be propoſed to that Prince for his Acceptance, which are as follow, *viz.*

1. That he will promiſe to maintain the Religion as it is eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom.

2. That he will promiſe not to think of making any Alteration in their preſent Form of Government. And,

3. That in order to his being inſtructed in the Laws and Manners of that Kingdom, he will come and make his Reſidence in the Kingdom.

Theſe Conditions his Highneſs might very eaſily have complied with; but the following Article from *Muſcovy* may come to make great Alterations in this and all the other Affairs of the North.

Muſcow, Oct. 28. O. S. His Highneſs the Duke of *Holſtein*, was this Morning at Eleven baptized and received the Sacrament according to the Rites of the *Greek* Church, by the Name of *Peter Fredrowitz*; after which the *Czarina* declared him her Succeſſor, and by a Proclamation publiſhed the ſame Day, her Majeſty was pleaſed to notify this Nomination to her Subjects, and to order, that, for the future, the Title of Great Prince and Imperial Highneſs ſhould be given him.

As the King of *Denmark* forms ſome Pretenſions to the Crown of *Sweden*, as ſoon as he heard of the Nomination of the Duke of *Holſtein* to that Crown, he gave Orders for the forming of three Armies of 8 or 10,000 Men each, one in *Norway*, one in *Zeeland*, and one in *Holſtein*; and all Sorts of military Preparations, both by Sea and Land, have been ſince carrying on with great Diligence in every Part of his Dominions; but he has as yet proceeded no farther; however, as the *Swedes* are afraid of being attacked, they are preparing for their Defence, and repairing or adding to the Fortifications, on their Frontier next *Norway*, and on the Sea Coaſt of *Scanie*.

When the *Britiſh* Forces in *Flanders*, and the *Hanoverians* and *Heſſians* in *Britiſh* Pay, were juſt ready to begin their March to

Germany, a Counter Order arrived, by which the *Britiſh* Forces, it is ſaid, are to winter in *Flanders*, and the *Hanoverians* and *Heſſians* in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*; ſo that nothing will be attempted on that Side till next Spring, and perhaps not even then; for the *Hanoverians* and *Heſſians* muſt not attack [illegible] *Emperor*, unleſs his Election be declared [illegible] and without a great Addition of new Troo[illegible] no Army can be formed on that Side num[illegible] rous enough for attacking *France*.

The Monthly Catalogue *for* December, 1742.

Entertainment *and* Poetry.

1. THE Adventures of *Telemachus*. By the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*. Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Littlebury* and Mr. *Boyer*. The 15th Edition. Printed for Meſſ. *Brotherton*, *Innys*, *Meadows*, *Cox*, *Walthoe*, *Birt*, *Hitch*, *Aſtley*, *Auſten*, and *Oſborne*, price 5*s*. 6*d*.

2. A new Tranſlation of the ſame. By *J. Kelly*, Eſq; Printed for *J. Walthoe* and *T. Waller*, price 6*s*.

3. The young Virgin's Rambles. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 2*s*.

4. Love and Honour. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 3*s*.

5. A Poem to *Francis Bindon*, Eſq; Sold as above, price 6*d*.

6. The Blatant Beaſt. Printed for *J. Robinſon*, price 6*d*.

7. Tragedy and Comedy at War. Printed *J. Huggonſon*, price 6*d*.

8. The compleat Pſalmodiſt. By *J. Arnold*, jun. Printed for *C. Hitch* and *J. Buckland*, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

Historical.

9. An Hiſtorical Dictionary of all Religions from the Creation of the World to the preſent Time. By *Tho. Broughton*, M. A. In one large Volume in Folio. Printed for *C. Davis* and *T. Harris*, price 1*l*. 1*s*.

10. The Church Hiſtory of *England*, from the Year 1500 to the Year 1688. Sold by the Bookſellers, price 3*l*. 3*s*.

11. Travels of the Jeſuits into various Parts of the World. By Mr. *Lockman*. In 2 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 12*s*.

12. Remarks on the Hiſtory of *England*. By *H. Oldcaſtle*, Eſq; Printed for *R. Franklyn*, price 5*s*.

Philosophical *and* Miscellaneous.

13. The Philoſophical Hiſtory and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris*. By *J. Martyn*, and *E. Chambers*, F. R. S. In 5 Vols. 8vo. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton* and *J. Nourſe*, price 1*l*. 12*s*. 6*d*.

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APPENDIX

TO THE

LONDON MAGAZINE.

MDCCXLII.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 591.

The Motion made by Licinius Menenius, *as mentioned in our laſt, was ſeconded by* L. Sergius Fidenas, *in a ſhort Speech to this Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THE Inquiry moved for by the noble Lord, is ſo generally and ſo loudly called for by the People without Doors, and it is what we have in former Parliaments been ſo often provoked to by thoſe within, who have had for many Years the Direction of our publick Affairs, that I can ſuggeſt to myſelf but one Reaſon for its being now oppoſed, by thoſe very Men who have formerly thrown out Defiances, and provoked us to inquire into their Conduct. In former Parliaments, when they threw out thoſe Defiances, they were well aſſured of having a great Majority of their Friends in the Houſe, conſequently they were ſure of having ſuch Gentlemen named of the Select Committee, as would follow their Directions in the Inquiry they were to make, and from ſuch an Inquiry they could fear no Danger, even tho' their Guilt had been as apparent as the Sun in a clear Day.

That this, Sir, would be the Conſequence they knew by Experience, becauſe they had had a Proof of it in the Affair relating to the Frauds of the Cuſtoms, which was brought under the Conſideration of the Houſe by the famous Exciſe Scheme; for the Reaſon given for putting that inſufferable Yoke upon the Necks of the People was, the many Frauds committed in the Cuſtoms. Theſe Frauds our Miniſters ſaid were entirely owing to the Artifice and Cun-

Cunning of our Merchants and Shopkeepers, and that it was impoſſible to prevent or put a Stop to them, any other Way than by turning all the conſiderable Branches of our Cuſtoms into an Exciſe. On the other hand, our Merchants inſiſted, that moſt of the Frauds in our Cuſtoms were owing to Miſconduct, Neglect, or Connivance in the Officers, and that they might be almoſt entirely prevented by ſome proper Regulations, and by having a watchful Eye over the Conduct of our Cuſtom-houſe Officers.

This, I ſay, Sir, our Merchants inſiſted on. They not only inſiſted upon it, but they went further: They got their Friends in the Houſe to inſiſt upon an Inquiry into the Frauds of the Cuſtoms; and our Miniſters having ſet thoſe Frauds in ſuch a hideous Light, could not avoid conſenting to ſuch an Inquiry; but what was the Conſequence? As they had a great Majority of their Friends in the Houſe, the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and a few of their ſelect Friends, were put upon this Select Committee of Inquiry. That is to ſay, the Gentlemen who have the Nomination both of the Commiſſioners and Officers of the Cuſtoms, and are, conſequently, anſwerable for their Conduct, were appointed to inquire into and detect their Miſconduct, without any Indemnification to thoſe Smugglers that ſhould come to give Evidence againſt a Commiſſioner or Officer, or to any inferior Officer that ſhould come to give Evidence againſt his Superior. Upon the Appointment of ſuch a Committee, the Merchants deſpaired of any Succeſs, therefore they reſolved to give themſelves no Trouble, and the Inquiry ended, as every one expected it ſhould, in a Juſtification of all the Commiſſioners and Officers of our Cuſtoms.

This was a moſt certain Proof to our Miniſters, that they could never be in any Danger from an Inquiry into their Coduct, as long as they had a great Majority of their Friends in Parliament; and accordingly, from henceforth, they began to be more frequent, and more preſumptuous in throwing out their Defiances than they had ever been before. But the Caſe is now altered: The Majority of this Houſe ſeems to conſiſt of ſuch as will not approve of their Conduct, unleſs they find it merits their Approbation; therefore, if a Select Committee of Inquiry be appointed, it will probably conſiſt of ſuch Gentlemen as will make it their Buſineſs to inquire ſtrictly and impartially; and this may, perhaps, be a Reaſon for their endeavouring now to prevent, what they have ſo often before provok'd; but if they do, it will be a ſtronger Argument for the Motion, than any I can think of in its Favour, and therefore I ſhall add no more, but conclude with ſeconding what the noble Lord has propoſed.

The firſt that ſtood up to oppoſe this Motion was C. Duillius, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THE Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has ſuggeſted ſuch a Reaſon for oppoſing this Motion, as, I believe, he thinks, will make Gentlemen aſhamed to oppoſe it; and, indeed, if I were upon this Queſtion to determine myſelf by the Regard I have for the Adminiſtration, and without any Regard to my Country, or to the Dignity of this Houſe, I ſhould be far from oppoſing it: On the contrary, I ſhould before now have taken an Opportunity to make ſome ſuch Motion, for the very Reaſon ſuggeſted why ſome Gentlemen ſhould be againſt it: I mean, becauſe I am

am convinced, that a proper Committee would be appointed, and that that Committee would inquire in the ſtricteſt and moſt impartial Manner. This, I am ſure, is what every one who has the Honour of being employed by his Majeſty moſt heartily wiſhes for, and they have all Reaſon to do ſo, becauſe it would put an End to all thoſe Calumnies, which by ſome People, for what Reaſon may be eaſily gueſſed at, have been ſo artfully invented, and ſo induſtriouſly ſpread againſt them.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if I were to lay aſide all Regard for my Country, as well as the Regard I have for the Dignity of this Houſe, I ſhould moſt heartily concur in any Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs; becauſe I am not only a Friend to thoſe employed in the Adminiſtration, but have the Honour to have ſome ſmall Share in it. But the true Intereſt of my Country, and the real Dignity of this Houſe, ſhall always with me outweigh every private or perſonal Conſideration; and therefore, let Gentlemen think what they will, I muſt be againſt an Inquiry which I think unneceſſary, or at a Time when I think it would be dangerous; becauſe an unneceſſary Inquiry I take to be inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, and an Inquiry, at ſuch a critical Conjuncture as the preſent, would certainly be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Nation. A Miniſter may be calumniated, and may have moſt glaring Falſhoods propagated againſt him. Was there ever a Miniſter that had not? But when the Charge againſt him is known to be falſe, would it be conſiſtent with the Dignity of this Aſſembly to take up our Time with an Inquiry into his Conduct, merely for the Sake of vindicating his Character? Suppoſe we had Reaſon to think that the Charge againſt him was not altogether groundleſs, would it be prudent or right in us to divert ourſelves with an Inquiry into his Conduct, at a Time when the very Being of the Nation was at Stake, and when the Preſervation of our Country required our cloſeſt Attention?

Upon both theſe Accounts, Sir, I muſt be againſt the Inquiry propoſed. I do not think there is the leaſt Truth in the Stories that have been propagated, nor the leaſt Foundation for any Charge that has been brought againſt the Adminiſtration in general, or againſt any particular Man concerned in it. They are all, indeed, without any Proof, or they are of ſuch a Nature as I cannot think criminal, becauſe they relate to the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtration, all or moſt of which I have, as a Member of this Houſe, approved of, becauſe at the Time they were reſpectively tranſacted I thought them right; and if any of them ſhould now appear to have been wrong, which I am far from being convinced of, I muſt impute the Error to the Weakneſs of human Wiſdom, and not to any Weakneſs or criminal Intention in thoſe that adviſed or purſued them.

This, Sir, is my Way of thinking, and while I think ſo, I muſt look upon an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs as abſolutely unneceſſary, and conſequently inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe. But ſuppoſe I thought otherwiſe: Suppoſe I thought, ſome of our Miniſters had, through Weakneſs or Wickedneſs, miſled the Crown, or that they had been guilty of illegal Practices in the Execution of what was committed to their Care by the Crown, I ſhould be far from thinking the preſent a proper Time for inquiring into and puniſhing their Miſdemeanors; becauſe, however guilty they might be, the Nation could

could not ſuffer by a Delay of Juſtice, whereas it might ſuffer, perhaps be undone, by calling great Offenders to an Account, at a Criſis more important and more dangerous to this Nation than any our Hiſtory furniſhes us with an Account of.

The Power of this Houſe is, 'tis true, vaſtly extenſive: I hope, it will always be ſuperior to the Power of any Offender whatever; but great as it is, we cannot exert it againſt Offenders in very high Stations, without taking up a great deal of our Time, and raiſing a mighty Buſtle in the Nation, the Conſequence of which, with regard to our domeſtick Quiet, no Man can pretend to foreſee or determine. Therefore, however much we may have ſuffered by the wicked Advice or illegal Practices of great Offenders, we ſhould take a proper Time to inquire into and puniſh their Miſdoings; for we ought not certainly to expoſe ourſelves to the Danger of any domeſtick Diſturbance, when we are in the greateſt and moſt imminent foreign Danger, which every Gentleman muſt allow to be our Caſe at preſent.

The next that ſtood up was P. Furius Philus, *who ſpoke to the Effect as follows:*

Mr. Preſident,

I Am ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear the Motion made by the noble Lord oppoſed by any Gentleman in this Houſe: A Motion founded in Juſtice, ſupported by Precedent, and warranted by Neceſſity. Not only Juſtice to the Nation, but Juſtice to thoſe that have been in the Adminiſtration, calls for an Inquiry, that every Man's Actions may ſpeak for him, and that Cenſure may be confined to thoſe only that have deſerved it. Surely no innocent Man can be under any Apprehenſions from the ſtricteſt Examination of his Conduct: Thoſe Fears attend the Guilty only.

The Hon. Gentleman ſeems to think an Inquiry unneceſſary. I beg Leave to aſk, will any Gentleman in this Houſe undertake to defend the Meaſures that have been purſued for twenty Years paſt? Will any Gentleman ſay, that the wretched Condition we are in, is the Effect of Chance only? Shall there be the leaſt Suſpicion of Miſmanagement, and a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons not inquire into it? How much more at a Time when the Nation is reduced to the laſt Extremity by corrupt, weak and puſillanimous Meaſures? Shall the Fatality that has attended every Step of our Conduct for ſo many Years paſt, infect this Houſe alſo, and throw us into a Lethargy? Surely no. The Voice of the Nation calls for an Inquiry: Our Credit abroad cannot be ſupported without it; and the Reputation of every Man in this Houſe is nearly concerned in it. In vain ſhall we attempt to retrieve our loſt Honour by purſuing new Meaſures, if we do not firſt cenſure and puniſh the Authors of the old. In vain ſhall we attempt to gain Allies, and to convince them that we are in earneſt in the Proſecution of the War againſt our Enemies *abroad*, unleſs we firſt call thoſe to an Account, that have been the ſecret Abettors and Encouragers at *home*.

If ever there was a Cauſe for an Inquiry into paſt Tranſactions, it is now. Have not large Sums of Money been raiſed in Times of Peace and no Debts paid; large Armies raiſed in Times of War, and no Services performed? Have we not negotiated ourſelves out of all our Allies, and all our Credit? Treaty after Treaty, Convention after Convention, and what did theſe all end in but War? How has that War been

been conducted? Why, ſhamefully, ſcandalouſly, to the Encouragement of the Enemy and the Diſhonour of the Nation: Large Fleets fitted out to fight the Seas only, and return ſhattered and torn to *Spithead*, while the Enemy were every Day taking our Ships for want of Cruizers and Convoys, and neighbouring Nations taking this Advantage to ſupplant us in Trade. A gallant Admiral was indeed ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, but ſent too late, and not ſupported when there: Another was ſent to the *Mediterranean*, but with what Intent I know not, unleſs it was to cover an Embarkation of *Spaniſh* Troops for *Italy*.

Shall a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons not inquire into the Cauſes of theſe Things? They muſt: They will, Sir, or forfeit all the Reputation they have hitherto gained. And if theſe Things are to be inquired into, what better Method than by a Select Committee to be choſen by Ballot? It is a parliamentary Method: It is a Method that has been attended with many good Conſequences to the Nation, but fatal ones, indeed, to thoſe that have made an Abuſe of Power; and 'tis unaccountable to me, that any others but ſuch, or thoſe that have a Mind to ſcreen them, ſhould make an Oppoſition to it. For my own Part, if it was the Caſe of my Brother, if he was innocent, I ſhould think this the propereſt Method to make that Innocence appear; and if he was guilty, I ſhould think it the greateſt Crime in me, to endeavour to ſcreen him from national Juſtice, therefore, I am heartily for the Queſtion.

Cn. Fulvius *ſtood up next, and ſpoke in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

WHEN I conſider the preſent Circumſtances of this Nation and of *Europe:* When I reflect, that we are now engaged in open War with one of the moſt potent Kingdoms in *Europe*, upon the Event of which both our Trade and Navigation depend: When I reflect, that *Europe* is now engaged in a War, upon the Event of which its Liberty depends, and by which it will probably be enſlaved, unleſs we interpoſe with the Utmoſt of our Strength, I cannot but be of Opinion, I think every Man muſt, that Union amongſt ourſelves was never more neceſſary than it is at this important Criſis, and therefore, I am not a little ſurpriſed to hear a Propoſition ſeriouſly made, and vigorouſly ſupported in this Houſe, which muſt neceſſarily not only revive all our former Diviſions, but create new Diviſions amongſt us, and excite more violent Animoſities than any that have appeared in this Kingdom for many Years paſt.

That this, Sir, would be the Effect of a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs for ſo many Years paſt, we muſt ſuppoſe from the Experience of all former Inquiries; and as the Inquiry now propoſed is more general, and comprehends a longer Time, than any ſuch Inquiry ever did, this Effect will not only be the more certain but the more fatal. Nay that this will be the Effect muſt appear from the very Nature of the Charge, upon which the Motion is founded; for the Charge conſiſts chiefly, not in Facts or Practices that muſt be admitted to be Crimes, but in Allegations, that the Meaſures we have been purſuing were wrong, notwithſtanding their having been all authoriſed or approved of by Parliament. Muſt not this of Courſe revive all our former Diſputes about the Fitneſs or Unfitneſs of thoſe Meaſures? And when the Condemnation or Acquittal of Men in high Stations depends upon the Fate of the Queſtion, muſt not

not thoſe Diſputes be carried on with greater Animoſity, I may ſay with greater Fury than ever they were before?

One Part of the Charge, indeed, I ſhall admit to be criminal. To apply the publick Money towards corrupting the Members of this Houſe, or the Voters at any Election, muſt by all Men be allowed to be a heinous Crime; but it is pleaſant to obſerve, how the Advocates for this Motion attempt to prove this Part of their Charge. With regard to the Meaſures that have been approved of by Parliament, they firſt ſuppoſe, that thoſe Meaſures were apparently wrong, and their Inference from hence is, that therefore the Members muſt have been under a corrupt Influence, otherwiſe ſuch Meaſures could not have met with an Approbation in Parliament. Then with regard to Elections, they firſt ſuppoſe, that the Majority of the Electors were diſſatisfied with the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, and would conſequently have ſent up diſſatisfied Repreſentatives, if they had been left to a free and uncorrupted Choice, but as they did not do ſo, therefore the Electors were certainly under a corrupt Influence. This is all the Proof they have hitherto offered, and will any Gentleman ſay, that this Sort of Proof ought to be conſidered by this Houſe as a ſufficient Ground for an Inquiry?

Queſtions in Politicks, Sir, are of ſuch a Nature that they ſeldom or never admit of a Demonſtration, and, conſequently, in Countries where the People are allowed to ſpeak their Minds, they will always be of different Sentiments with regard to Queſtions in Politicks. For this Reaſon, Gentlemen ſhould not be ſo uncharitable as to ſuppoſe, that every Man who differs from them in Opinion is a corrupt Rogue, or that he forms his Judgment from any Thing but the Conviction of his Conſcience and therefore, a Parliament's having approved of any Meaſure I thought wrong, ſhall never by me be thought a Proof of its being under any Sort of corrupt Influence: Conſequently what they have offered, cannot be admitted as a Proof, even by thoſe who are convinced, that the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtration were apparently wrong, and much leſs by thoſe who are convinced that thoſe Meaſures were right.

Now, Sir, with regard to Elections: They ſay, our Elections muſt have been under a corrupt Influence becauſe the Repreſentatives were not of the ſame Complection with the Majority of their Conſtituents. Here likewiſe the Proof they offer is a downright begging the Queſtion. That there have been, are now, and always will be ſome Men without Doors, as well as within, who diſapprove of the Meaſures purſued by our Government, I do not in the leaſt queſtion; but that a Majority of the better Sort of People are ſo, or have lately been ſo, I cannot admit. Great Endeavours, great Artifice, and great Induſtry, have, I know, been lately uſed to impoſe upon and make them ſo; and thoſe Endeavours may upon ſeveral Occaſions have had ſome Effect upon the giddy Mob; but our Elections, thank God! do not depend upon ſuch People. They are generally governed by Men of Fortune and Underſtanding, and of ſuch our Miniſters, for this twenty Years paſt, have been ſo fortunate as to have a Majority in their Favour. Therefore, when we talk of People with regard to Elections, we ought to think only of thoſe of the better Sort, without comprehending the Mob or mere Dregs of the People; for an Election may be free and uncorrupted tho' the Mob appear againſt it, but would be very far from being free, if the Electors were

ere intimidated and compelled to ote as directed by a tumultuous Mob of low People, and by them ly it was, that any Member of is Houſe was burnt in Effigy on Accouut of the late Exciſe Scheme, onſequently, tho' that Member was A choſen at the ſame Place for a ew Parliament, we are not to con- lude, that his Election proceeded om Bribery or Corruption, be- auſe, perhaps, no one of thoſe ho aſſiſted at burning him in Ef- gy had any Vote, Intereſt, or Con- B rn in his Election.

Having thus ſhewn, Sir, that the harge upon which this Motion is ounded, conſiſts of Allegations of acts which are not admitted to be riminal, or of criminal Facts un- pported by any Proof, I muſt next C bſerve, that, I believe, you can- ot find upon your Journals a Pre- edent for entering into a parlia- entary Inquiry, unleſs where Mea- ures had been purſued that were dmitted by a great Majority of e Houſe, as well as the Nation, D be criminal, or unleſs ſome cri- inal Practices were alledged that ere notoriouſly known to have een committed, or ſuch as the ember who moved for the Inquiry ndertook to prove. The general nquiry that was ſet on Foot in the E ear 1715, was founded upon Mea- ures that were apparently criminal, id ſuch as were thought to be ſo y a great Majority of that Houſe f Commons. A moſt glorious War ad been put an End to by a moſt nfamous Peace: Our Allies had F een deſerted, if not betrayed: A oſt deſtructive Treaty of Com- erce had been concluded with *France*; and when we might have reſcribed Terms to our Enemies, ur Miniſters, from ſome ſelfiſh, if ot criminal Views of their own, G ubmitted to receive Terms from hem. Theſe were ſuch Meaſures s almoſt every Man condemned, except thoſe that were concerned in adviſing them, or carrying them on; and therefore they furniſhed the Parliament with a juſt Foundation for an Inquiry; but of late Years, I am ſure, no ſuch Meaſures have been purſued, nor any Meaſures that can, or, I believe, will be condemned by a great Majority of this Houſe of Commons. Therefore, we can now have no Pretence for ſetting up an Inquiry, unleſs ſome particular criminal Facts ſhould be alledged and offered to be proved; and even in this Caſe, we could have no Pretence for a general Inquiry: We could inquire only into the particular Facts complained of, which would take up much leſs of our Time, and give leſs Diſturbance to the Nation, than a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs for twenty Years paſt.

Such a general Inquiry, with ſuch a long Retroſpect, is without Precedent, and would be a moſt dangerous Precedent. If ſuch an Inquiry ſhould be agreed to, and a Committee appointed for that Purpoſe, it would be of courſe inſiſted on, that all Papers of State, even thoſe of the moſt ſecret Nature, ſhould be laid before them, and, indeed, they could not make their Inquiry compleat without having all ſuch Papers. Our Committees appointed upon ſuch Occaſions are, I know, called Secret Committees; but how juſtly, Experience may ſhew; for few important Secrets have long remain'd ſo, after being once laid before ſuch a Committee; and the Nature of the Thing ſpeaks itſelf, for when a Secret is committed to a great Number of Perſons, every one of them becomes the leſs careful of concealing it, becauſe when it is diſcovered, it is not eaſy to fix the Diſcovery upon any one of them. Therefore if ſuch a Precedent were once made, we could never hope to keep

keep any Secret, nor would any foreign State, or any Foreigner of Conſequence, ever enter into any ſecret Tranſaction with our Government; becauſe he could not know, but that the Secret might, twenty Years afterwards, be diſcovered by a Parliamentary Inquiry with a twenty Years Retroſpect.

But beſides being a dangerous Precedent, Sir, the ſetting up ſuch an Inquiry at this Juncture might, nay, probably would, be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences, both with reſpect to our War againſt *Spain*, and with reſpect to our Negotiations for preſerving a Balance of Power in *Europe*. As we have for ſome Time been carrying on a War againſt *Spain*, it is not to be doubted but our Miniſters have had ſome ſecret Intelligence from thence: Our very News Papers tell us, that the Court of *Spain* have diſcovered a Plot for delivering the *Groyne* into our Hands; and tho' that Plot has been diſcovered, yet we may from thence preſume, that our Miniſters have ſtill a ſecret Correſpondence in *Spain*: Would it not be of the moſt fatal Conſequence to have that Intelligence, or that Correſpondence diſcovered? And can any one anſwer for its being kept concealed, after being expoſed to a Secret Committee of this Houſe, and all the Secretaries and Clerks that muſt neceſſarily be imployed by them. We muſt likewiſe ſuppoſe, that ſeveral Schemes have been laid before our Miniſters for attacking the *Spaniards*, both in *Europe* and *America*, and ſome of thoſe Schemes may probably be ſuch as ought to be carried into Execution; would it be prudent in us, to run the Riſk of having all or any of thoſe Schemes diſcovered to the Enemy? And yet this Riſk we muſt run, if the preſent Motion ſhould be agree'd to.

Then, Sir, with regard to our Negotiations: As the Flames of War have been above a Twelvemonth ſince kindled in *Germany*: As there is a moſt powerful Confederacy formed againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, we muſt ſuppoſe, that our Court have been carrying on Negotiations for drawing ſome of the Powers off from that Confederacy, and for forming a counter Confederacy in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*. In all ſuch Caſes, as every Court in *Europe* has its own particular Views and Intereſts, the Negotiations muſt be of a moſt ſecret Nature: Arguments muſt be made uſe of, and Memorials delivered at one Court, which it would be moſt fatal to have diſcovered to another; and as all thoſe Tranſactions are yet in Embrio, can we deſire, that his Majeſty ſhould lay the Whole before a Committee of this Houſe? Can we ſuppoſe it conſiſtent with his Honour to do ſo, when we muſt ſuppoſe, that he has, at leaſt with ſome of thoſe Courts, engaged to keep the Tranſaction ſo ſecret as not to communicate it to any but ſome of his chief Miniſters of State?

Upon the Whole, Sir, I can ſee no Occaſion we have for the Inquiry propoſed; and if I did, I think it impoſſible, in our preſent Circumſtances, to carry it on with Effect. This is my ſincere Opinion; and as I can ſee no Danger or Inconvenience in delaying it for a Year or two, in which Time our own Tranquillity, as well as the Tranquillity of *Europe*, may, perhaps, be re-eſtabliſhed, and all thoſe great Affairs which are now in Agitation finally ended, I muſt therefore be againſt the Motion, and I hope the noble Lord, when he conſiders the Things, will agree to have it withdrawn.

The next Speech I ſhall give in the Debate was that made by A. Cornelius Coſſus, *the Purport of which was as follows:*

Mr. President,

SIR,

I DO not get up, as presuming to think any Thing that I shall offer can inforce a Question of this Importance. But as this Question tends to an Inquiry into those Measures which, in the universal Opinion of Mankind, have been thought so destructive to this Nation, an Opinion which, tho' in my private Sentiments I have ever joined in, yet, as I have never had an Opportunity of giving my publick Testimony against them, I cannot now refrain from expressing my Satisfaction at seeing the Time come, when they will be thoroughly sifted; and it is with Joy I look on myself as now going to give a Pledge to the Publick, that I shall ever look upon bad Measures with equal Detestation.

The People of *England*, reduced almost to a State of Despondency from the ruinous Conduct hitherto pursued for many Years past, have placed their only and last Hopes in the Independance, Justice, and Firmness of this Parliament: It is from this Confidence that every honest Man in the Kingdom now chearfully submits to the Burden we are necessitated to impose on them; as they expect to see Freedom and Happiness secured to them at home, and national Honour retrieved abroad.—But as these Hopes can only be answered by an Alteration of those Measures that have occasioned their Distress and Complaints, how baffled will they think themselves in their Expectations, should the Motion that has been made to you, be rejected in this House? How ill an Earnest would it be, that we intended an Alteration of Measures, should we decline an Inquiry into those that have been so cried out against? Could they possibly suppose it to be from any other Motive than an Apprehension, lest we might lay a Foundation for condemning our own future Conduct, by countenancing an Inquiry into that of others, which is passed?

But, Sir, whether the universal Complaint of past Measures be the Effect of Artifice and Misrepresentation (as might be pretended) on a weak and deluded People, or springs from the real Grievances of an injured and right-discerning one, I say, whichsoever be the Case, surely it is a Deference, an Indulgence at least, which in Decency, in Duty it becomes this House to shew the collective Body of the People of *Great Britain*, by giving them that Satisfaction which a thorough Disquisition into the Subjects of Complaint, only can, and only ought to give them.

And therefore, for God's Sake! let every Gentleman reflect on the Consequences that will attend your Determination in the Affair before you. Is the Screening a few publick Delinquents from Inquiry, to be put in Balance with the giving Repose to the disturbed Minds of the whole People of three Kingdoms?

Inquiry is the Criterion of publick Virtue: It may, like *Ithuriel*'s Spear, detect a Devil, however disguised in the Shape of an Angel, but can never obscure the Brightness of Truth. If Measures have been *right*, they will stand justified by it, and the *People of England* will rest *satisfied*: If they have been iniquitous, the People expect *Justice* on *whomsoever* the Guilt falls, and *wheresoever* it may extend itself. It is not a narrow personal Inquiry that is aimed at, meanly confined to *this* or *that* Offender, but an Inquiry into *Offences*, wheresoever they shall be found, that becomes the Dignity of this House.

I shall not take up your Time so unnecessarily, as by entering into a particular Disquisition of those Measures that call for this Inquiry, which have been so often and so well exposed, and which speak more strongly their own Guilt, than the most powerful Eloquence can point out. Unexperienced

experienced as I am in Matters of a publick Nature, I ſhould think it no difficult Task, to run through a Deduction of our publick Miſmanagement, both at home and abroad, *too groſs* not to be the Objects of *common Diſcernment*, and ſome Inſtances perhaps that have not come within the Notice of the general Complaint. But I ſhould think ſuch a minute Diſcuſſion not only unneceſſary but improper, as this Motion is moſt juſtly founded on the general Face of Things, and not to be diverted by giving room for a Debate on Particulars, the proper Subject of future Conſideration. And, Sir, was it only from what you heard the other Day at your Bar *, and the Reſolutions this Houſe came into in Conſequence of it †, the Expediency of the preſent Motion would be ſufficieutly inforced.

We have groaned under an Adminiſtration that have not only taken every Step to deſtroy our own Liberties at home, but have made us acceſſory in ſubverting, at leaſt indangering, all the Liberties of *Europe*, who have made the *Britiſh* Name the Contempt of its Enemies, and loſt the Confidence of thoſe, whom Parity of Intereſt ſhould make us conſider as our Friends: An Adminiſtration whoſe Influence has diffuſed Neglect, Abuſe, and Corruption into every the moſt minute Branch of our domeſtick Œconomy; for there is hardly an Office in the Kingdom, from the loweſt to the higheſt, that does not call aloud for Parliamentary Inquiry: An Adminiſtration that, when it durſt no longer withſtand the united Voice of a juſtly inraged People, cloſed itſelf, in ſome Part, with the higheſt, the moſt provoking Strains of Inſolence, that ever were dared to be offered any Nation under the Sun in our Circumſtances, in making the moſt *diſtinguiſhed Inſtruments* of the moſt *deteſted Meaſures* triumph, by their Exaltation, over the Injuries and Reſentment of the whole *Britiſh* Nation.

But, Sir, it is the future good Conſequences that will attend this Inquiry, and the Examples ariſing from it, that prevail with me over all other Conſiderations: I have no doubt of ſeeing a Reformation of Meaſures for ſome Time: Who that looks round this Aſſembly can doubt it, as long as it ſubſiſts thus conſtituted? A wiſe and honeſt Parliament will always make thoſe in the Direction of Affairs ſo too. But all theſe Things have their Periods, whereas Examples are of perpetual Security.

We are now, Sir, in a Situation, both as to our foreign and domeſtick Affairs, which points out *Union* as the only Means that can make us a glorious and happy People, and found the Throne of this Royal Family, which every Man of common Senſe and Honeſty muſt wiſh for, on that never to be ſhaken Baſis, the undivided Hearts of the People. And Thanks be to God! the pleaſing Proſpect already opens itſelf, by the ſubſiding of thoſe unfortunate Diſtinctions that have been artfully fomented, in a general Zeal for promoting the true Honour of our King, and the Good of our Country: A Proſpect that muſt give inexpreſſible Joy to all Lovers of both, and Mortification to none but thoſe who are wicked enough to proſtitute the Name of *this Family* to ſerve their infamous Views of their own ſelfiſh Policy. National Union can only be brought about by giving national Satisfaction; and I look upon the Step we are now taking as perfectly contributory to that End. True Union can only ſubſiſt amongſt honeſt Men: All other Union is amuſive, and deſtructive of itſelf.

The Union I am ſpeaking of is indiſſo-

* Merchants Petitions, See Votes, p. 66, 68, 69, 70, 73, 81. † See ibid. p. 183, 184.

indiſſoluble, and ſhould the Dregs of Faction, whom the falſely aſſumed Denomination of a Party only made conſiderable, attempt to interrupt it, they would only diſcover their own Inſignificancy, and add to the Contempt and Deteſtation the Publick had of them.

As for the Method propoſed by this Motion, it is the only one by which a publick Inquiry can be carried on properly, or with Succeſs. The Impropriety of laying all Papers before the Houſe, has been often allowed on all Hands, and every Man knows how eaſy it is to obſtruct or perplex an Inquiry ſo extended as this is, if carried on before ſo numerous an Aſſembly. But this is ſo obvious to any Man who means getting at Truth, that I need only ſay, that I conſider all Arguments againſt this Method, as Objections raiſed only becauſe it is practicable. For my own Part, as I conſider this Queſtion as tending to reſtore Satisfaction to the Nation, Credit and Popularity to the Government at home, and Weight and Dignity to it abroad; and as it tends to the Honour of this Aſſembly, I am heartily for it.

The next Speech I ſhall give, was that made by T. Sempronius Gracchus, *which was in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I SHOULD act a very inconſiſtent Part, if I did not ſupport the Motion now under your Conſideration, with the ſame Zeal with which I concurred in that made ſome few Days after I had the Honour of taking my Seat in this Aſſembly. Nothing, Sir, has happened, nothing, Sir, can happen to alter my Opinion in this Reſpect, that the Publick have a Right, that it is a Duty incumbent upon us to inquire ſtrictly into the Conduct of the late Adminiſtration.

It was then my Opinion, that we had Grounds ſufficient to induce us to that Inquiry: The general Voice of the Nation, the almoſt deſperate Condition of our Affairs, both abroad and at home, then rendered the Inquiry highly neceſſary: The Preſumption was ſtrong, that the Intereſt of the Nation had been betrayed; and I thought I ſhould have abuſed the Confidence repoſed in me by my Country, if I had not endeavoured to diſcover in what Manner, in what Inſtances, and by whom, it was betrayed.

But theſe Reaſons for Inquiry are infinitely ſtronger now than then; we had Reaſon to inquire then from the Suſpicions of the Publick, and from our own Suſpicions. Theſe Reaſons ſtill ſubſiſt; and to theſe are added the Suſpicions of the King himſelf: To theſe are added the viſible Opinion of our Allies abroad.

The King has at length diſmiſſed his Miniſter, and he has diſmiſſed him without any Application from this Houſe to that Purpoſe.—He has done it of his own Motion.—His Majeſty has diſmiſſed a Miniſter who had ſerved him many Years, and, as we are well convinced, againſt the Inclination of that Miniſter. Had his Majeſty believed, that he had ſerved him faithfully, who can imagine, that he would have turned him from his Service? We muſt therefore conclude, that his Majeſty's Opinion has concurred with the Opinion of the Nation, with the Opinion of thoſe in this Houſe, who expreſſed Suſpicions of his Conduct.

Our Allies abroad have viſibly proved by their late Meaſures, that they entertained the ſame Suſpicions. A general Stupor ſeemed to have ſeized on all the Powers joined in common Intereſt with us: Their Reſolutions were as languid, their Conduct equally tame and deſpicable, in the general Danger of *Europe*, as the Councils of this Nation. We

were told, that this Infatuation abroad was the Cauſe of our weak and puſillanimous Meaſures at home. But it is now diſcovered, that our Conduct was not influenced by their Meaſures, but that their Meaſures were influenced by our Conduct. The Moment that this Miniſter was diveſted of his Power, the Charm was at once diſpelled: The *Dutch*, notwithſtanding all the dilatory Forms of that Government, proceeded to a vaſt Augmentation of their Forces. The King of *Sardinia* has determined to take Part in the common Cauſe; and it is apparent, that from the Removal of this Miniſter, the Spirit of the Grand Alliance has happily revived, as much as it was once fatally depreſſed by the Removal of the great Duke of *Marlborough*.

This happy Event demands our Attention; it has opened a Proſpect of Preſervation to the Balance of Power, of which we had loſt all View before. If we do not ſeize this happy Moment, how can we anſwer for it to ourſelves, to our Country, to Poſterity? But unleſs we engage with Vigour in this Inquiry, how can we hope to avail ourſelves of this Event? Does any Man imagine, that it is a Change of Men that has given this new Life to the Counſels of our Allies? No, Sir, it is the Confidence that a Change of Meaſures will be the Conſequence of a Change of Men, and ſuch a Confidence muſt periſh in its very Birth, if an Inquiry into the Errors of the paſt Adminiſtration ſhould be ſtifled in this Houſe.

Sir, to extricate this Nation, or to extricate *Europe* out of that Labyrinth of Dangers in which we are all involved, it is neceſſary that the preſent Adminiſtration ſhould be ſupported by the Spirit and Inclinations of the People. The Confidence which is neceſſary to give them Weight abroad, is equally neceſſary to enable them to raiſe the vaſt Supplies at home, which the critical Condition of our Intereſt demands. This Confidence in them can never be attained, but by a vigorous Proſecution of this Inquiry. The Publick have ſome Diſtruſt, that the new Adminiſtration are ſlack and tender in this Reſpect: In my own Breaſt I have none: I am happy in this Change, which has fallen in favour of thoſe for whom I have entertained the higheſt Eſteem, and for ſome of whom I have a ſingular and ſincere Friendſhip. But, Sir, we muſt pay ſome Regard to the Opinions of the Publick, as well as to our own, and they will never be convinced, that the new Miniſters mean well, if this Inquiry ſhould be defeated here: They will interpret the Coldneſs of this Houſe to a Diſpoſition in the Adminiſtration to protect and ſcreen, which muſt in the End produce the worſt Effects, both to the Publick and to them. And therefore, as a Friend to my Country, and as a real Friend to them, I ſhall follow this Inquiry as far as I am able to purſue it.

Sir, I ſhall trouble the Houſe very little farther at this Time, but I muſt obſerve with great Submiſſion, that I think all Arguments that are uſed to prevent, or to delay the preſent Inquiry, are very indecent and diſreſpectful to this Houſe; for they bear this inevitable Conſtruction, that this Houſe is actuated more by Paſſion and Prejudice, than by Impartiality and Juſtice. No Man can have the Confidence to aſſert, no Man can mean that if the late Miniſter deſerves the Cenſure of Parliament, he ſhould not receive it: They can therefore mean nothing, but that they think him innocent, and think, that if we enter into this Inquiry, this Houſe is determined to pronounce him guilty, whether he be ſo or no.

I

In private Life, what Man of common Senſe would diſmiſs a Steward after a Service of twenty Years (during which his Accounts had never been inſpected) without a careful Examination, before he gave him his Diſcharge? The Publick ſtand in the ſame Light with regard to this Miniſter, and the Publick will want common Senſe in this Inſtance, as a private Man would do in the other, if they ſuffer this Miniſter to retire unqueſtioned, laden with Honours and an immenſe Wealth, far exceeding what the juſt and known Profits of his paſt Employments would have furniſhed.

The following is the Subſtance of what was ſaid upon this Occaſion by Servilius Priſcus.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

IT would very much ſhorten our Debates, upon this and every other Occaſion, if Gentlemen would conſider attentively the Subject of the Debate, and keep cloſe to the Argument, without running out into Harangues or Flowers of Eloquence, which may be made uſe of upon any other Subject, as well as that which happens then to be under the Conſideration of the Houſe. That we have a Right to inquire into the Conduct of our publick Affairs, and that upon certain Occaſions we ought to inquire, are Queſtions that have nothing to do in this Debate, becauſe they are Queſtions which no Gentleman will deny. The only Queſtions now under our Conſideration muſt therefore be, Whether we have now any Occaſion for making ſuch an Inquiry, and if we have, whether we ought now, or in this Seſſion of Parliament, to enter upon that Inquiry. With regard to the firſt of theſe two Queſtions, I hope it will not be ſaid, that we ought every Seſſion of Parliament, or once in every certain Number or Term of Years, to appoint a Secret and Select Committee for inquiring into the Conduct of our publick Affairs from the Time of the laſt parliamentary Inquiry. This we can no Way pretend to, either from Cuſtom or Reaſon; for it is certain, that the Cuſtom has always been, never to ſet up a parliamentary Inquiry, unleſs when great Crimes were known, or ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been committed, or unleſs when ſuch Meaſures had been purſued, as were allowed to have been weak or wicked. This, I ſay, has always hitherto been the Cuſtom, and Reaſon muſt convince us, that it is right, and that it would be wrong in us to ſet up a parliamentary Inquiry, when there is no well-grounded Suſpicion of Miſconduct; for as ſuch Inquiries muſt always be dangerous and troubleſome, they ought never to be entered into without an apparent Neceſſity.

Taking it therefore for granted, Sir, that no parliamentary Inquiry ought to be ſet up, unleſs when there appears to be a well-grounded Suſpicion of Miſconduct, I ſhall obſerve, that this Suſpicion ought to be ſuch a one as prevails in this Houſe; and if this Obſervation be juſt, it muſt be wrong to talk, upon any ſuch Occaſion, of the Voice of the People, or the Voice of the Nation. Sir, the Voice of this Houſe is the Voice of the People, the Voice of the *Britiſh* Nation. It muſt always be underſtood to be ſo; for there is no other Way of determining, what is the Voice of the Nation. If we were to form a Judgment of this from what we heard without Doors, every Man's Judgment would be according to the Sort of Company he uſually converſed with. In a free Country the Meaſures of the Government in general, and even every particular Meaſure will be canvaſſed by the People without Doors,

Doors, and will be condemned by ſome and applauded by others. A Gentleman who keeps Company with the former will from thence judge, that the Voice of the People is againſt the Government; and one who keeps Company with the latter will, for the ſame Reaſon, judge, that the Voice of the People is in Favour of the Government; conſequently one of theſe Gentlemen would be for an Inquiry, and the other againſt it, for one and the ſame Reaſon; therefore, when ſuch a Queſtion happens to be ſtarted in this Houſe, no Gentleman ought to conſider what is the Voice of the People without Doors, nor ought he to allow what he has heard without Doors, in the leaſt, to enter his Thoughts: If he does, he can hardly avoid being prejudiced by the Company he has kept, and ſuch a Man can never be a good Judge in ſuch a Queſtion.

What then, Sir, are we to do? How are we to judge upon ſuch Occaſions? The Anſwer is eaſy: Every Gentleman ought to conſider by himſelf the Meaſures purſued by the Government. If a general Inquiry be moved for, he ought to conſider, or, perhaps, reconſider by himſelf, all the Meaſures that have been purſued by the Government during the Time propoſed to be inquired into: If upon ſuch an Examination he finds Reaſon to conclude, that they have been generally wrong, he ought then to agree to the Inquiry propoſed: But if he finds Reaſon to conclude, that they were generally right, he ought to be againſt it: Nay, even when he finds Reaſon to condemn any one or two particular Meaſures, he ought to be againſt a general Inquiry; becauſe after that Queſtion is rejected, he may himſelf propoſe a particular Inquiry into the Affair he finds Reaſon to condemn or at leaſt ſuſpect, and that Queſtion may be agreed to by the Houſe, notwithſtanding our having rejected the former. But in ſuch Caſes I muſt obſerve, that according to the uſual Cuſtom of Parliament, we ought firſt by a proper Queſtion to condemn the Meaſure, before we put any Queſtion for inquiring into the Authors, or the Conduct of the Authors of any particular Meaſure.

Now, Sir, as the preſent Queſtion is for a general Inquiry, and for a longer Time, I believe, than ever any former Inquiry was propoſed to extend to, it will appear from what I have ſaid, that every particular Gentleman muſt enter into the Examination of all the Meaſures purſued by our Government during that long Period; and therefore, I hope, it will not to be thought impertinent in me to enter into that Examination, or to endeavour to juſtify our publick Meaſures, eſpecially ſuch of them as have been particularly objected to in this Debate; and here I muſt previouſly obſerve, that in all ſuch Caſes we ought not to form our Judgment from the Light in which any paſt Meaſure now appears to us, but from the Light in which it did probably appear when it was at firſt reſolved on; for conſidering the narrow Limits of human Wiſdom or Knowledge, and the Shortneſs of human Foreſight, future Incidents may often make a publick Meaſure appear to be wrong, tho' according to all human Appearance, it appeared at firſt to be right.

After having made this previous Obſervation, I muſt ſay, Sir, I am ſurpriſed to hear any Fault now found with the Meaſures that were taken for puniſhing the Guilty, and reſtoring publick Credit, after the violent Shock it received from the wicked Execution of the fatal *South-Sea* Scheme in the Year 1720; becauſe future Incidents have been ſo far from condemning any of thoſe Mea-

Meaſures, that the immediate Reviv-
al of publick Credit, and the flou-
riſhing State it has been in ever
ſince, has fully demonſtrated, that
thoſe Meaſures were wiſe as well as
juſt. As to the Guilty, they were
all puniſhed, and, I think, ſeverely
puniſhed. They were not, perhaps,
puniſhed ſo ſeverely as the Sufferers
expected and deſired; for it is natu-
ral for Men that have been injured,
in the firſt Violence of their Reſent-
ment, to deſire a Puniſhment more
ſevere than common Juſtice can ad-
mit of; but they were all puniſhed
ſo ſeverely, that when the firſt Vio-
lence of the publick Reſentment was
over, the Puniſhment began to be
thought too ſevere, and was therefore,
by Way of Ridicule, called *Juſtice
by the Lump*.

The next Meaſure of a domeſ-
tick Nature that ſeems to be ob-
jected to, is the Money granted
from Time to Time to the Civil
Liſt, and the Additions that have
been made to that Revenue. If
there was any Crime in this, Sir, I
muſt really think it lies more proper-
ly at our own Door, than at the
Door of any Miniſter, or of the Ad-
miniſtration in general; and there-
fore, before we agree to this Queſti-
on, we ought, I think, to amend
it, by reſolving, That a Committee
be appointed to inquire into the
Conduct of our Affairs, at home and
abroad, *and into the Conduct of the
Houſe of Commons*, during the laſt
twenty Years. But as none of thoſe
Grants were made, without having
proper Eſtimates and Accounts laid
before the Houſe, and as from thoſe
Eſtimates and Accounts the Neceſ-
ſity of thoſe Grants was made ap-
pear, we can have no Reaſon to
find Fault either with our Miniſters
for aſking, or with the Houſe of
Commons for granting any of the
Sums of Money, or Additions that
were made to the Civil Liſt. And,
indeed, if we conſider, that there
are many accidental Charges which
fall upon the Civil Liſt Revenue,
and many Articles which riſe higher
than that at which they were firſt
eſtimated, we cannot be ſurpriſed,
that in the late King's Time it be-
came neceſſary from Time to Time
to grant a Sum for paying off the
Debts of the Civil Liſt, or that his
preſent Majeſty's Miniſters ſhould
deſire to have an Addition made
to it at his Acceſſion to the Throne.

The Exciſe Scheme is another Af-
fair of a domeſtick Nature, that
ſeems to have been particularly ob-
jected to in this Debate. I know,
Sir, that great Art and Induſtry
were made uſe of to make People
believe, that this Scheme was in-
tended as an Introduction to a ge-
neral Exciſe, and that it was a Pre-
liminary to a formed Deſign for de-
ſtroying our Conſtitution and ma-
king Slaves of us all. But as I had
at that Time, and have had ever
ſince, a Friendſhip and Intimacy
with thoſe who approved of that
Scheme, and introduced it into this
Houſe, I know the Falſhood of thoſe
Inſinuations. However, I ſhall not
deſire Gentlemen to take my Word
for it. I ſhall only deſire Gentle-
men to have a little Charity, and
to judge of other Mens Actions and
Intentions, as they would deſire o-
thers to judge of their own. If
they do this, they will not aſcribe
any Action to a wicked Motive,
when an upright one can with more
Probability be aſſigned; and this is
evidently the Caſe with regard to
the Exciſe Scheme. I hope, it will
be granted, that to prevent Frauds
in the Collection of the publick
Taxes, and thereby increaſe the
publick Revenue, is as upright, and
even as laudable a Deſign as any
Man can entertain; and, I believe,
it will likewiſe be granted, that
the Exciſe Scheme, had it been
paſſed into a Law, would have had
this Effect; at leaſt it muſt be grant-

ed, that it was very reaſonable to preſume, it would have had this Effect, from the Experience we had before had of the Effect of raiſing the Duties upon Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, by Way of Exciſe upon the Conſumption, inſtead of raiſing them by the Method of Cuſtoms upon the Importation, and allowing thoſe Cuſtoms to be drawn back upon the Exportation. This then was one Motive for approving of, and introducing the Exciſe Scheme, which muſt be allowed to have been an upright one; but on the other hand it is ſaid, that this Scheme would have overturned our Conſtitution and eſtabliſhed arbitrary Power, by giving Miniſters an uncontrolable Influence at all Elections. That it would have had ſuch an Effect I ſtill very much queſtion; and as our Miniſters had no Experience of this in any parallel Caſe, they could not therefore be ſo certain of this Effect as of the other, conſequently it is more probable, that their approving of, and introducing that Scheme proceeded from a good Intention, than that it proceeded from a wicked one; and I am ſure, it is much more charitable, and more like a Chriſtian, to ſuppoſe it proceeded from the former, than to ſuppoſe it proceeded from the latter. But let their Deſign be what it will, their throwing it up ſo eaſily as they did, was ſome Sort of Atonement, and induced moſt People to pardon the Attempt, which was the true Cauſe of the next general Election's going ſo much in their Favour; and it ought, I think, to be a Reaſon for its being never again mentioned in this Houſe, eſpecially as the Nation no Way ſuffered by the Attempt.

Theſe, I think, Sir, are all the Meaſures of a domeſtick Nature for twenty Years paſt, that have been objected to in this Debate, and if Objections could have been raiſed againſt any other, I believe, they would have been mentioned. Their with regard to Affairs of a foreign Nature, the Treaty of *Hanover* is, I find, by thoſe Gentlemen always made the Burden of their Song, and the original Ground of all their Complaints; and in order to make this Treaty liable to any Objection, they who cannot know, expreſsly contradict what his late Majeſty, who could and certainly did know, affirmed in the moſt ſolemn Manner from the Throne. His late Majeſty in his Speech to the next Seſſion of Parliament declared expreſsly, that the Negotiations and Engagements entered into by ſome foreign Powers, which ſeemed to have laid the Foundation of new Troubles and Diſturbances in *Europe*, and to threaten his Subjects with the Loſs of the moſt advantageous Branches of their Trade, obliged him, without any Loſs of Time, to conclude that Treaty. It was then well known, what thoſe Engagements were: They in part appeared even from the publick Treaty: The *Spaniards* were reſolved to wreſt *Gibralter* and *Minorca* from us. The *Emperor* was reſolved to ſupport his *Oſtend* Company in ſpite of us. For theſe Purpoſes they were to aſſiſt each other; and the King of *Spain* as a farther Recompence, granted the *Emperor*'s Subjects ſuch Liberties and Privileges in both the *Indies* as were inconſiſtent with our Commerce and with the Treaties ſubſiſting between *Spain* and us. Theſe were their Engagements, and if we did not ſubmit, the *Emperor* was to attack his Majeſty's foreign Dominions whilſt *Spain* was to make a Diverſion by invading theſe Kingdoms in favour of the Pretender. The Court of *Vienna* went even ſo far as to threaten his late Majeſty with both theſe Attacks, before he entered into to that Negotiation which concluded with the Treaty of *Hanover*.

Theſe are Facts, Sir, which are founded

founded upon the Teſtimony of our late Sovereign, I am ſure, a much ſtronger Teſtimony than the Averment to the contrary of any private Gentleman; and theſe Facts will for ever juſtify the Treaty of *Hanover*, and all the Meaſures we took conſequent to that Treaty, eſpecially when we conſider, that by thoſe Meaſures we not only prevented the Dangers wherewith we were threatned, but obliged the *Emperor* to give up his *Oſtend* Company, and *Spain* to confirm our Right to *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, and to recede from her Engagements in Favour of the *Emperor*'s Subjects with reſpect to Trade; both which ſhe did by the Treaty of *Seville*, and therefore, I am ſurpriſed to hear that Treaty found fault with. We did not, 'tis true, by that Treaty, obtain immediate Satisfaction or Reparation for all the Damage ſhe had done our Trade, becauſe it was impoſſible to compute and aſcertain that Damage; but we obtained a Promiſe for immediate Reparation as to ſome Part, and as to what remained it was to be ſettled and adjuſted by Commiſſaries mutually to be appointed, who were to finiſh their Commiſſion within the Space of three Years. If *Spain* afterwards refuſed to perform her Engagements, or rather delayed the Performance under frivolous Pretences, for ſhe never expreſsly refuſed, it was what our Miniſters could not foreſee nor provide againſt; for without truſting to ſome Promiſes to be performed *in futuro*, it is impoſſible to negotiate or conclude any Treaty whatſoever.

But, Sir, with regard to *Spain*'s Performance of theſe Promiſes, and with regard to the Depredations afterwards committed by *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta*'s, our Miniſters cannot juſtly be accuſed of any Neglect, as may appear from the many Memorials, Letters and Papers relating to thoſe Affairs, which have from Time to Time been laid upon our Table: They never ceaſed making Application; the *Spaniſh* Miniſters never ceaſed promiſing. If our Miniſters were ſhy of beginning Hoſtilities, as long as they had any Hopes of obtaining Reparation by fair Means, are they to blame? Are the Miniſters of a trading Nation ever to blame in ſuch a Caſe? Sir, their Shineſs in this Reſpect, eſpecially with regard to *Spain*, ought to be the Ground of Applauſe rather than Inquiry: And in future Ages, when Time has put an End to Envy, which, thank God! is not ſo long-lived as Truth, it will appear to be ſo.

I now come, Sir, to conſider our Behaviour when the War broke out between *France* and the *Emperor* in the Year 1733: In that War we had certainly no Concern in Intereſt, any farther than as it might affect the Balance of Power in *Europe*; and with regard to the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, we were ſet free from that Engagement by the Emperor's having brought that War upon himſelf: We had, therefore, no Concern, nor any Obligation to enter, either as Principals or Auxiliaries, into that War; but as by its Event, it might affect the Balance of Power, we were therefore in Prudence obliged to augment our Forces both by Sea and Land, in order to be ready to put a Stop to the Arms of the victorious Side, in caſe their Ambition ſhould lead them to puſh their Conqueſts farther than was conſiſtent with the Balance of Power in *Europe*. If we had delayed our Preparations till this Event had actually happened, we ſhould then have been too late: The Vanquiſhed would then have been obliged to ſubmit, before we could have come to their Relief. Therefore, I ſtill think, it was the moſt prudent Part we could act, to ſtand neuter at the Begin-

Beginning of that War, but to prepare for the worſt; and our Allies the *Dutch*, whoſe Wiſdom ſome Gentlemen take all Occaſions to extol, held the very ſame Conduct: Nay, they went farther; they actually agreed to a Treaty of Neutrality, and yet notwithſtanding that Agreement, they augmented their Forces, in order to be ready at all Events. By this Conduct we put ourſelves but to a very ſmall Expence, and yet that Expence had as good an Effect, as if we had put ourſelves to a much greater, and brought ourſelves into much greater Danger, by engaging as Parties in the War. The Parliament was therefore in the right to approve of thoſe Meaſures; their having done ſo can be no Argument of their having been choſen or governed by a corrupt Influence; nor can thoſe Meaſures, or the Approbation they then met with, now afford any reaſonable Ground for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

The only remaining Meaſure that has been objected to in this Debate, and therefore the laſt I ſhall take Notice of, is the Convention with *Spain*, which was founded upon a Maxim I muſt ſtill approve of, becauſe it is ſuch a one as, I hope, will always be held ſacred by thoſe who have the Adminiſtration of our publick Affairs, I mean that of never engaging us in a War, eſpecially with *Spain*, as long as there is the leaſt Reaſon to hope for obtaining Redreſs by peaceable Means. By that Treaty the King of *Spain* acknowledged the Injuries that had been done us, and promiſed to make Satisfaction, by paying a certain Sum here at *London* in the Space of four Months: This was ſuch a Proof of that Court's being in Earneſt, and firmly reſolved to do us Juſtice, that our Miniſters, upon the Maxim I have mention'd, could not but agree to it; and as we were neither to promiſe nor give up any Thing by that Treaty, they had the more Reaſon to accept of what the Court of *Spain* offered. If the Court of *Spain* delayed performing that Engagement, as they had done their former, our agreeing to this Treaty could occaſion no Delay in our beginning Hoſtilities, but what would have been otherwiſe occaſioned by the Seaſon of the Year; and their failing in the Performance of ſuch a ſolemn and explicit Stipulation, would of courſe render them blameable in the Eyes of all *Europe*, which, conſidering the Intricacy of the other Diſputes between the two Nations, was a Point our Miniſters were in the Right to aim at, and has, perhaps, been the principal Cauſe of *Spain*'s remaining hitherto unaſſiſted by any Power in *Europe*. This Meaſure, therefore, or the Approbation it met with in Parliament, can as little afford a juſt Cauſe for an Inquiry, as any other that has been mentioned in this Debate; and now I hope it will appear, that we have at preſent no ſolid Ground for an Inquiry, from the ſuppoſed Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of any of our late Meaſures.

If a Miniſter, or an Adminiſtration, are to be compared to the Steward of an Eſtate, we ſhall from thence find as little Reaſon for an Inquiry; nay, upon this Principle, it would be unjuſt in us to call them now to a general Account. If the Steward of an Eſtate paſſes his Accounts regularly, and delivers up his Vouchers every Year, and accordingly receives an annual Diſcharge or Releaſe, it would be moſt unjuſt in his Lord to expect or deſire, that after twenty Years Service he ſhould be brought to a general Account, as if no ſuch annual Account had ever been delivered or approved of. This is exactly the Caſe of our Adminiſtration; they have regularly every Year delivered in their Accounts; thoſe Accounts have been annually

paſſed

paſſed in Parliament, and every Article approved of; would it not then be unjuſt in us now after twenty Years to tell them, we will now overhale all your Accounts? The Accounts you have delivered in, the Approbation you have met with, the Releaſes you have received, ſhall paſs for nothing: You ſhall now deliver in a general Account from your firſt Entry into our Service: We will examine it ſtrictly, and will admit of no Article but what you can fully inſtruct to have been uſefully laid out or expended for our Service. Such a Proceeding would be ſo unjuſt, that I cannot think, it needs any farther Explanation.

But now, Sir, with regard to the other Queſtion, Whether it be now a proper Time for us to enter into an Inquiry? Suppoſe we had juſt Ground to ſuſpect the Uprightneſs or the Wiſdom of our late Meaſures: Suppoſe them to be thought weak or wicked by a great Majority of this Houſe, is this a proper Time for us to employ ourſelves about inquiring into and puniſhing paſt Meaſures? When *Europe* is in ſuch Danger: When we ourſelves are in ſuch Danger, are we to conſider only how we came upon the Brink, inſtead of conſidering how to get off? It was ſaid of the Houſe of Commons that impeached the Earl of *Portland* and Lord *Somers* in the Year 1701, that they proceeded in a Manner which ſeemed more to affect our Peace at home, than to prepare for War abroad. I am ſure, this might be more juſtly ſaid of us, ſhould we now reſolve upon an Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs. Let us now think how to get rid of the preſent Danger, and of that alone. It deſerves, it requires our utmoſt Attention. When we have ſecured our own Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*, againſt the ambitious Projects of *France*: When we have ſecured the Freedom of our Navigation and Commerce againſt the Inſults and Injuſtice of *Spain*; we ſhall then have an Opportunity, we ſhall then have Leiſure, to inquire into and puniſh all publick Offenders, and we may then do it with Safety. Both theſe deſirable Ends we ſhall, I hope, attain, if we apply to this, and this only: We may, perhaps, be able to accompliſh both before the Beginning of next Seſſion of Parliament; and ſurely no one will ſay, we can ſuffer in the mean Time by the Delay of Juſtice. For this Reaſon, Sir, if I thought we had juſt Cauſe for an Inquiry: If I condemned, in my own Mind, the whole Courſe of our Conduct for the laſt twenty Years, as much as I do really approve it, I ſhould nevertheleſs be againſt our entering into an Inquiry, during this Seſſion of Parliament; and therefore, I muſt give my Negative to the Queſtion.

The laſt Speech I ſhall give in this Debate, was that made by Julius Florus, *the Purport of which was as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

WHAT the Gentlemen of the other Side mean by Harangues or Flowers of Rhetorick, I ſhall not pretend to gueſs; but if they make uſe of nothing of that Kind, it is no very good Argument for their Sincerity; for a Man who ſpeaks from his Heart, and is ſincerely affected with the Subject he ſpeaks on, as every honeſt Man muſt, when he ſpeaks in the Cauſe of his Country: Such a Man, I ſay, falls naturally into Sentiments and Expreſſions which may be called Flowers of Rhetorick, and therefore deſerves as little to be taxed with Affectation, as the moſt ſtupid Serjeant at Law that ever ſpoke at the Common Pleas Bar for a half Guinea Fee. For my

Part, I have heard nothing ſaid in this Debate, at leaſt, I have heard nothing ſaid in Favour of the Queſtion, but what I thought very proper and very much to the Purpoſe. What has been ſaid, indeed, upon the other Side of the Queſtion, eſpecially the long Juſtification that has been made of our late Meaſures, I cannot think ſo proper upon this Occaſion, becauſe this Motion is founded upon the preſent melancholy Situation of Affairs, and upon the general Clamour without Doors againſt the late Conduct of our publick Affairs; and either of theſe, with me, ſhall always be a ſufficient Reaſon for agreeing to an immediate Parliamentary Inquiry; for without ſuch an Inquiry I cannot, even in my own Mind, enter into the Diſquiſition, whether our publick Meaſures have been right or no, becauſe I cannot otherwiſe be furniſhed with the neceſſary Lights for that Purpoſe.

But the Hon. Gentlemen who oppoſe this Motion, ſeem to miſtake, I ſhall not ſay wilfully, the Difference between a Motion for an Impeachment, and a Motion for an Inquiry. If any Member of this Houſe were to ſtand up in his Place, and move for impeaching a Miniſter, he would be obliged to charge him with ſome particular Crimes or Miſdemeanors, and to produce ſome Proof, or to declare that he was ready to prove the Facts; but any Gentleman may move for an Inquiry, without any particular Allegation, and without offering any Proof, or declaring that he is ready to prove, becauſe the very Deſign of an Inquiry is to find out particular Facts and particular Proofs. The general Circumſtances of Things, or general Rumours without Doors, are a ſufficient Foundation for ſuch a Motion, and for the Houſe's agreeing to it when it is made. This, Sir, has always been the Practice, and has been the Foundation of almoſt all the Inquiries that were ever ſet on Foot in this Houſe, eſpecially thoſe that have been carried on by Secret and Select Committees. What other Foundation was there for the Secret Committee appointed in the Year 1694, (to go no farther back) to inquire into and inſpect the Books and Accounts of the *Eaſt-India* Company and Chamber of *London?* Nothing but a general Rumour that ſome corrupt Practices had been made uſe of. What was the Foundation of the Inquiry in the Year 1715? Did the Hon. Gentleman who moved for appointing that Secret Committee, charge the former Adminiſtration with any particular Crimes? Did he offer any Proofs, or declare that he was ready to prove any Thing? It is ſaid, the Meaſures purſued by that Adminiſtration were condemned by a great Majority of that Houſe of Commons. What, Sir, were thoſe Miniſters condemned before they were heard? Could any Gentleman be ſo unjuſt as to paſs Sentence, even in his own Mind, upon a Meaſure, before he had inquired into it? He might perhaps diſlike the Treaty of *Utrecht*; but upon Inquiry, it might appear to be the beſt that could be obtained; and it has ſince been ſo far juſtified, that it is at leaſt as good, if not better than any Treaty we have made ſince that Time.

Sir, it was not the Treaty of *Utrecht*, nor any Meaſure that Adminiſtration had openly purſued, that was the Foundation or the Cauſe of an Inquiry into their Conduct. It was the loud Complaints of a great Party in the Nation againſt them, and the general Suſpicion of their having carried on treaſonable Negotiations in Favour of the Pretender, and for defeating the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and the Inquiry was ſet on Foot, in order to detect thoſe Practices, if there were any ſuch, and to find proper Evidence for convict-

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ing the Offenders. The ſame Argument holds with regard to the Inquiry into the Management of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company in the Year 1720. When that Affair was firſt moved in the Houſe by Mr. *Neville*, he did not, he could not charge thoſe Directors, or any one of them, with any particular Crimes, nor did he attempt to offer, or ſay that he was ready to offer any particular Proofs: His Motion, which was, That the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company ſhould forthwith lay before the Houſe an Account of their Proceedings, was founded upon the general Circumſtances of Things, the Diſtreſs brought upon the publick Credit of the Nation, and the general and loud Complaints without Doors. This Motion, indeed, reaſonable as it was, we know, was oppoſed by our Courtiers at that Time, and in particular, by two doughty Brothers, who have been Courtiers ever ſince; but their Oppoſition miſed ſuch a Warmth in the Houſe, that they were glad to give it up, and never afterwards durſt directly oppoſe that Inquiry. I wiſh, I could now ſee the ſame Zeal for publick Juſtice. I am ſure, the Circumſtances of Affairs deſerve it. Our publick Credit was then, indeed, brought into Diſtreſs; but now, the Nation itſelf, nay, not only this Nation, but all our Friends upon the Continent, are brought into the utmoſt Diſtreſs and Danger.

This, Sir, is admitted even by thoſe who oppoſe this Motion, and if they have ever lately converſed with thoſe that dare ſpeak their Minds, they muſt admit, that the Murmurs of the People againſt the Conduct of the Adminiſtration are now as general, and as loud, as ever they were upon any Occaſion; but the Misfortune is, that Gentlemen who are in Office, ſeldom converſe with any but ſuch as are in Office, or want to be in Office, and ſuch Men, let them think what they will, will always applaud the Conduct of their Superiors; conſequently, Gentlemen who are in the Adminiſtration, or in any Office under it, can rarely know what is the Voice of the People. The Voice of this Houſe was formerly, I ſhall grant, and always ought to be the Voice of the People: If new Parliaments were more frequent, and few Placemen, and no Penſioners admitted, it would be ſo ſtill; but, if long Parliaments be continued, and a corrupt Influence ſhould prevail, not only at Elections, but in this Houſe, the Voice of this Houſe will generally be very different from, nay often directly contrary to the Voice of the People. However, as this is not, I hope, the Caſe at preſent, I muſt hope, that there is a Majority of us who know what is the Voice of the People; and if it be admitted by all, that the Nation is at preſent in the utmoſt Diſtreſs and Danger, and admitted by a Majority, that the Voice of the People is loud againſt the late Conduct of our Adminiſtration, this Motion muſt be agreed to, becauſe, I have ſhewn, that theſe two Circumſtances, without any particular Charge, have been the Foundation of almoſt all Parliamentary Inquiries.

I ſhall readily admit, Sir, that we ſhould have very little to do with the Character or Reputation of a Miniſter, if it no way affected his Maſter; but as it does, and always muſt affect our Sovereign, as the People may become diſaffected as well as diſcontented, when they find, the King continues obſtinately to employ a Miniſter who, they think, oppreſſes them at home, and betrays them abroad, we are therefore, in Duty to our Sovereign, obliged to inquire into the Conduct of a Miniſter, when it becomes generally ſuſpected by the People; in order that we may vindicate his Character, if

if he appears innocent, as to every Thing laid to his Charge, or that we may get him removed from the Councils of our Sovereign, and condignly punished, if he appears guilty.

After having said thus much, Sir, I have no great Occasion to answer what has been said, that no Parliamentary Inquiry ought ever to be set up, unless we are convinced that something has been done amiss. Sir, the very Name given to this House of Parliament shews the contrary. We are called the Grand Inquest of the Nation, and as such it is our Duty to inquire into every Step of publick Management, either abroad or at home, in order to see that nothing has been done amiss. It is not necessary upon every Occasion to establish a Secret Committee: This is never necessary, but when the Affairs to be brought before them, or some of those Affairs, are supposed to be of such a Nature as ought to be kept secret; but as Experience has shewn, that nothing but a superficial Inquiry is ever made by a general Committee, or a Committee of the whole House, I wish, that all Estimates and Accounts, and many other Affairs, were respectively referred to Select Committees. Their Inquiries would be more exact, and the receiving of their Reports would not take up so much of our Time as is represented; but if it did, as it is our Duty to make strict Inquiries into every Thing relating to the Publick, as we assemble here for that Purpose, we ought to do our Duty before we break up, and I am sure, his present Majesty would never put an End to any Session, till both Houses had fully performed their Duty to their Country.

Having thus shewn, Sir, that it is our Duty to inquire, even when there is no Cause, no Complaints, and that it is much more our Duty to inquire into the Conduct of publick Affairs, when there is great Distress and heavy Complaints, I shall endeavour to answer the two chief Objections that have been made against the Inquiry now proposed. It is said, that by this Inquiry we shall be in Danger of discovering the Secrets of our Government to our Enemies. This Argument, Sir, by proving too much proves nothing at all. If it were admitted, it would always have been, and for ever will be, an Argument against our inquiring into any Affair in which our Government can be supposed to have a Concern. Our Inquiries would then be confined to the Conduct of our little Companies, or of inferior Custom-House Officers or Excisemen; for if we should be so bold as to offer to inquire into the Conduct of Commissioners or great Companies, it would be said, the Government had a Concern in their Conduct, and the Secrets of Government must not be divulged. Every Gentleman must see, that this would be the Consequence of admitting such an Argument; but besides, it is false in Fact, and contrary to Experience. We have had many Parliamentary Inquiries into the Conduct of Ministers of State, and yet I defy any one to shew, that any State Affair was thereby discovered which ought to have been concealed, or that our publick Affairs, either abroad or at home, ever suffered by any such Discovery. There are Methods, Sir, for preventing Papers of a very secret Nature from coming into the Hands of the Servants attending, or even of all the Members of our Secret Committee. If his Majesty should by Message acquaint us, that some of the Papers sealed up and laid before us required the utmost Secrecy, we might refer them to our Committee, with an Instruction for them to order only two or three of their

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Number to inſpect ſuch Papers, and to report from them nothing but what they thought might be ſafely communicated to their whole Number. By this Method, I hope, the Danger of a Diſcovery would be effectually removed; therefore this Danger cannot be a good Argument againſt a parliamentary Inquiry.

The other Objection, Sir, is really ſurpriſing, becauſe it is founded upon a Circumſtance which, in all former Times, has been admitted as a ſtrong Argument for an immediate Inquiry. The Hon. Gentlemen are ſo ingenuous as to confeſs, that our Affairs both abroad and at home, are at preſent in the utmoſt Diſtreſs; but ſay they, you ought to free yourſelves from this Diſtreſs, before you inquire how or by what Means you was brought into it. Sir, according to this Way of arguing, a Miniſter that has plundered and betrayed his Country, and fears being called to an Account in Parliament, has nothing to do but to involve his Country into a dangerous War, or ſome other great Diſtreſs, in order to prevent an Inquiry into his Conduct, becauſe he may be dead before that War is at an End, or that Diſtreſs got over. Thus, like the moſt villainous of all Thieves, after he has plundered the Houſe, he has nothing to do but to ſet it in a Flame, that he may eſcape in the Confuſion. It is really aſtoniſhing to hear ſuch an Argument ſeriouſly urged in this Houſe. But ſay theſe Gentlemen, if you found yourſelf upon a Precipice, would you ſtand to inquire how you was led there, before you conſidered how to get off? No, Sir; but if a Guide had led me there, I ſhould very probably be provoked to throw him over, before I thought of any Thing elſe; at leaſt, I am ſure, I ſhould not truſt to the ſame Guide for bringing me off; and this, Sir, is the ſtrongeſt Argument that can be urged for an immediate Inquiry.

We have been for theſe twenty Years under the Guidance, I may truly ſay, of one Man, one ſingle Miniſter. We now at laſt find ourſelves upon a moſt dangerous Precipice: Ought not we then immediately to inquire, whether we have been led upon this Precipice by his Ignorance or Wickedneſs? And if by either, to take Care not to truſt to his Guidance for leading us off? This is an additional, and a ſtronger Argument for this Inquiry than ever was for any former; for if we do not inquire, we ſhall probably remain under his Guidance; becauſe, tho' he be removed from the Treaſury Board, he is not from the King's Cloſet, nor probably will, unleſs it be by our Advice, or by our ſending him to a Lodging at the other End of the Town, where he cannot do ſo much Harm to his Country. Sir, the Diſtreſs we are in at home is evidently owing to bad Œconomy, and to our having been led into many needleſs Expences: The Diſtreſs and the Danger we are in abroad, are evidently owing to the Miſconduct of our War with *Spain*, and to the little Confidence put in our Counſels by our natural and antient Allies. This is ſo evident, that I ſhould not have thought it neceſſary to have entered into any particular Explanation, if an Hon. Gentleman on the other Side had not entered into a particular Juſtification of moſt of our late Meaſures, both abroad and at home; but as he has done ſo, tho' not, in my Opinion, quite to the Purpoſe of the preſent Debate, yet, I hope, I ſhall be excuſed making ſome Remarks upon what he has ſaid on that Subject, beginning, as he did, with the Meaſures taken for puniſhing the *South-Sea* Directors, and reſtoring publick Credit, after the terrible Shock it met with in the Year 1720.

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As thoſe Meaſures, Sir, were among the firſt Exploits of our late, and I fear ſtill our Prime Miniſter, at leaſt his firſt ſince he came laſt into the Adminiſtration, and as the Committee propoſed, if agreed to, will probably conſiſt of one and twenty, I wiſh the Motion had been for one Year farther back, that the Number of Years might have been equal to the Number of Inquirers, and that it might have comprehended the firſt of thoſe Meaſures; for as it ſtands, it will not comprehend the Methods taken for puniſhing the Directors, nor the firſt Regulations made for reſtoring publick Credit; and with regard to both, ſome Practices might perhaps be diſcovered, that would deſerve a much ſeverer Puniſhment than any of thoſe Directors met with. Conſidering the many Tricks and Frauds made uſe of by thoſe Directors and their Agents, for drawing People into their Ruin, I am not a little ſurpriſed to hear it now ſaid, that their Puniſhment was ever thought too ſevere. Juſtice by the Lump was an Epithet given it, not becauſe it was thought too ſevere; but becauſe it was a Piece of Cunning made uſe of for ſcreening the moſt heinous Offenders, who, if they did not deſerve to be hanged, deſerved at leaſt to have that total Ruin brought upon them, which they had brought upon many unthinking Men, and therefore they very ill deſerved thoſe Allowances that were made them by Parliament.

Then, Sir, as to the reſtoring of publick Credit, its ſpeedy Reſtoration was founded upon the Credit of the Nation, and not upon the Wiſdom or Juſtice of the Meaſures taken to reſtore it. Was it a wiſe Method to remit to the *South-Sea* Company the whole *ſeven Millions*, or thereabout, which they had ſolemnly engaged to pay to the Publick? It might as well be ſaid, that a private Man's giving away a great Part of his Eſtate to thoſe that no Way deſerved it, would be a wiſe Method for reviving or eſtabliſhing his Credit. If thoſe *ſeven Millions* had been diſtributed among the poorer Sort of Annuitants, it would have been both generous and charitable; but to give it among the Proprietors in general, was neither generous nor juſt, becauſe moſt of them deſerved no Favour from the Publick: For as the Proceedings of the Directors were authoriſed by General Courts, thoſe who were then the Proprietors were in ſome Meaſure acceſſory to the Frauds of the Directors, and therefore deſerved to have been puniſhed, rather than rewarded, as they really were; becauſe every one of them who continued to hold Stock in that Company got, by the Regulations then made, near 50 *per Cent.* added to his Capital; moſt Part of which aroſe from the high Price the Annuitants were by Act of Parliament obliged to take Stock at, and was therefore a moſt flagrant Piece of Injuſtice done to the Annuitants. But we need not be at a Loſs for the true Cauſe of this Act of Injuſtice, when we conſider, that a certain Gentleman had a great many Friends among the old Stockholders, and few or none among the Annuitants.

Another Act of Injuſtice which, I believe, we may aſcribe to the ſame Cauſe, relates to thoſe who were engag'd in heavy Contracts for Stock or Subſcriptions, many of whom groan under the Load to this very Day; for after we had by Act of Parliament quite altered the Nature, though not the Name of the Stock they had bought, and made it much leſs valuable, than it was when they engaged to pay a high Price for it, I muſt think, it was an Act of publick Injuſtice, to leave them liable to be proſecuted at Law for

for the whole Money they had engaged to pay; and I am ſure, it was not a Method for reſtoring private Credit, upon which our Trade and Navigation very much depend. If the ſame Regulation had been made with regard to them, as was made with regard to thoſe who had borrowed Money of the Company, or a Sort of *Uti poſſidetis* enacted, by declaring all ſuch Contracts void, ſo far as related to any future Payments, it would not have been unjuſt, and was extremely neceſſary for quieting the Minds of the People, for preventing their ruining one another at Law, and for reſtoring Credit between Man and Man, which is ſo neceſſary in a trading Country; but there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that a certain Gentleman had many Friends among the Sellers in thoſe Contracts, and very few among the Buyers, which was the Reaſon why the latter could obtain little or no Relief or Mercy by any publick Law or Regulation.

Then, Sir, with regard to the extraordinary Grants made to the Civil Liſt, the very Reaſon given by the Hon. Gentleman for juſtifying thoſe Grants, is a ſtrong Reaſon for an immediate Inquiry. If there have ariſen any conſiderable Charges upon that Revenue, let us ſee what thoſe Charges were; let us examine whether or no they were neceſſary. We have the more Reaſon to do this, becauſe the Revenue ſettled upon his late Majeſty's Civil Liſt, was at leaſt as great as was ſettled either upon King *William* or Queen *Anne*, and yet neither of them ever aſked any extraordinary Grant, but on the contrary, the latter gave out of her Civil Liſt Revenue 100,000 *l.* yearly, towards the Support of the War, and yet there was as great Hoſpitality in the Royal Palace during her Time, as there has been ever ſince. Beſides, there is a general Rumour without Doors, that the Civil Liſt is now greatly in Arrear, which, if true, renders an Inquiry abſolutely neceſſary; for it is inconſiſtent with the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of theſe Kingdoms to be in Arrear to its Tradeſmen and Servants; and it is the Duty of this Houſe to take care, that the Revenue we have ſettled for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of our Crown, ſhall not be ſquandered or miſapplied: If former Parliaments have failed in this Reſpect, they muſt be blamed, tho' they cannot be puniſhed; but we ought now to atone for their Neglect, and we may puniſh thoſe, if they can be diſcovered, who were the Cauſe of it.

I come now in courſe to the Exciſe-Scheme, which the Hon. Gentleman ſays, ought to be forgiven, becauſe it was eaſily given up. Sir, it was not eaſily given up. The Promoter of that Scheme did not eaſily give it up; he gave it up with Sorrow, with Tears in his Eyes, when he ſaw, and not till he ſaw it impoſſible to carry it through the Houſe. Did not his Majority decreaſe upon every Diviſion? It was almoſt certain, that if he had puſhed it any farther, the Majority would have turned againſt him. His Sorrow ſhewed his Diſappointment; and his Diſappointment ſhewed, that his Deſign was higher than that of preventing Frauds in the Cuſtoms. He was at that Time ſo ſenſible of the Influence of Exciſe Laws and Exciſemen with regard to Elections, and of the great Occaſion he would have for that Sort of Influence at the next general Election, which was then approaching, that it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, he had not that Influence in View, and if he had, it was a moſt wicked Attempt againſt our Conſtitution; therefore he deſerved the Treatment he met with from the People. Perhaps, there were none but what Gentlemen are pleaſed to call the Mob, con-

concerned in burning him in Effigy; but as the Mob conſiſts of Children, Journeymen and Servants, and as they always ſpeak the Sentiments of their Parents and Maſters, and are much more free in their Expreſſions, we are from them to judge of the Sentiments of the better Sort of People.

The Hon. Gentleman ſaid, theſe were all the Meaſures of a domeſtick Nature, that could be found fault with, becauſe none other were mentioned in this Debate. Sir, he has already heard a Reaſon why no wrong Meaſures ſhould be particularly mentioned in this Debate: If it were neceſſary, many others might be mentioned. Is not the keeping up of ſo numerous an Army in Time of Peace to be found fault with? Is not the fitting out ſo many expenſive Squadrons for no Purpoſe to be found fault with? Are not the Incroachments made upon the Sinking Fund, the reviving the Salt-Duty, the rejecting many uſeful Bills and Motions in Parliament, and many other domeſtick Meaſures, to be found fault with? The Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of thoſe Meaſures has been often demonſtrated, their ill Conſequences were at the reſpective Times foretold, and thoſe Conſequences are now become viſible by the preſent Diſtreſs we are in.

Now, Sir, with regard to the foreign Meaſures, which the Hon. Gentleman has attempted to juſtify. The Treaty of *Hanover* deſerves indeed to be firſt mentioned, becauſe from thence ſprings the Danger, which *Europe* is now expoſed to; and it is impoſſible to aſſign a Reaſon for our entering into that Treaty, without ſuppoſing that we then reſolved to be revenged of the *Emperor* for refuſing to grant us ſome Favour in *Germany*. It is in vain now to inſiſt upon the ſecret Engagements entered into by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, as the Cauſe of that Treaty. Time has fully ſhewn, that there never were any ſuch Engagements; and his late Majeſty's Speech from the Throne cannot here be admitted as any Evidence of the Fact. Every one knows, that in Parliament the King's Speech is always conſidered as the Speech of the Miniſter; and ſurely a Miniſter is not to be allow'd to bring his own Speech as an Evidence of a Fact in his own Juſtification. If it be pretended, that his late Majeſty had ſome Sort of Information, that ſuch Engagements had been entered into, that very Pretence furniſhes an unanſwerable Argument for an Inquiry; for as the Information now appears to have been groundleſs, we ought to inquire into it, becauſe, if it appears to be ſuch an Information as ought not to have been believed, that Miniſter ought to be puniſhed, who adviſed his late Majeſty to give Credit to it, and to run the Nation into ſuch pernicious Meaſures in Conſequence of it.

At the Time this Treaty was entered into, we wanted nothing from the *Emperor* upon our own Account. The aboliſhing of the *Oſtend* Company was a Demand we had no Right to make, nor were we in Intereſt much obliged to inſiſt upon it, becauſe that Company would have been more prejudicial to the Intereſt both of the *French* and *Dutch* *Eaſt India* Trade, than to ours; and if it had been a Point that concern'd us much, we might probably have gained it by acceding to the *Vienna* Treaty between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, or by guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which we afterwards did in the moſt abſolute Manner, without any Conſideration at all. We wanted nothing from *Spain* but a Departure from the Pretence ſhe had juſt begun, or, I believe, hardly begun to ſet up in an expreſs Manner, with regard to ſearching

and ſeizing our Ships in the *American* Seas; and this we did not obtain, or perhaps did not deſire to obtain by the Treaty of *Seville*. By that Treaty we obtained nothing, but we made another Step towards bringing on that Danger which *Europe* is now involved in, by uniting the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and laying a Foundation for a new Breach between the Courts of *Spain* and *Vienna*.

I ſhall grant, Sir, our Miniſters appear to have been fond and diligent enough in negotiating, and writing Letters and Memorials to the Court of *Spain*; but by all I have look'd into, it appears, they never rightly underſtood, or perhaps would not underſtand the Point they were negotiating about; and as they ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed, as they ſay, with fair Promiſes, for ten Years together, whilſt in the mean Time our Merchants were plundered, and our Trade interrupted, we ought to inquire into this Affair; for if it ſhould appear, that they allowed themſelves to be amuſed with ſuch Anſwers, as no Man of Honour in ſuch Circumſtances would have taken, nor any Man of common Senſe been amuſed with, they muſt have had ſome ſecret Motive for allowing themſelves to be thus amuſed; this ſecret Motive we may perhaps diſcover by an Inquiry, and as it muſt be a wicked one, if it can be diſcovered, they ought to be ſeverely puniſhed.

But in Excuſe for their Conduct it is ſaid, our Miniſters had a laudable Shineſs of involving their Country in a War. Sir, this Shineſs could not proceed from any Regard to their Country: It was involved in a War: *Spain* was carrying on a War againſt our Trade, and that in the moſt inſulting Manner too, during the whole Time of their Negotiations. It was this very Shineſs, or at leaſt their making the Court of *Spain* too ſenſible of it, that at laſt made it abſolutely neceſſary for us to begin a War on our Side. If they had at firſt inſiſted properly and peremptorily upon an explicit Anſwer, *Spain* would have expreſsly given up the Pretence ſhe had juſt ſet up; but by the long Experience we allowed her, ſhe found the Fruits of that Pretence ſo plentiful and ſavoury, that ſhe thought them worth riſking a War for, and the Damage we had ſuffered became ſo conſiderable, that it was worth contending for. Beſides, the Court of *Spain* were convinced, that whilſt we were under ſuch an Adminiſtration, nothing could provoke us to begin the War on our Side, or if we did, that it would be managed weakly or puſillanimouſly; and have we not ſince found, that they formed a right Judgment? Nothing, Sir, ever demanded more a Parliamentary Inquiry than our Conduct in this War. The only Branch of it we have inquired into, we have already cenſured and condemned: Is not this a good Reaſon for inquiring into every other Branch? Diſappointment and ill Succeſs have always, till now, occaſion'd a Parliamentary Inquiry. Inactivity of itſelf is a ſufficient Cauſe for an Inquiry. We have now all theſe Reaſons concurring. Our Admirals abroad deſire nothing more; becauſe they are conſcious, that our Inactivity and ill Succeſs would appear not to be owing to their Conduct, but to the Conduct of thoſe that ſent them out.

I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking notice of the two other foreign Meaſures mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman. Our Conduct in the Year 1734, with regard to the War between the *Emperor* and *France*, may be eaſily accounted for, though not eaſily excuſed. Ever ſince the laſt Acceſſion of our late Miniſter

to Power, we ſeem to have had a Spite againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Our Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction* was an Effect of that Spite; becauſe we entered into it, when, as has ſince appeared, we had no Mind to perform our Engagement; and by that ſham Guaranty got the *Emperor* to admit of the Introduction of *Spaniſh* Troops into *Italy*, which he would not otherwiſe have done. The Preparations we made in that Year, the Armies we raiſed, and the Fleets we fitted out, were not to guard againſt the Event of the War abroad, but againſt the Event of the enſuing Elections at home. The new Commiſſions, the Promotions, and the Money laid out on thoſe Preparations, were of excellent Uſe at the Time of a general Election, and in ſome Meaſure atoned for the Loſs of the Exciſe-Scheme; but *France* and her Allies were well convinced, that we would in no Event declare againſt them, otherwiſe they would not have dar'd to attack the *Emperor* at that Time; for *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, would have been by much an Over-match for them. It was not our Preparations that ſet Bounds to the Ambition of *France*, but her getting all ſhe wanted at that Time for herſelf, and all ſhe deſired for her Allies. Her own Prudence directed her, that it was not then a proper Time to puſh her Views farther; becauſe ſhe did not know, but that the Spirit of this Nation might get the better, as it has ſince done with regard to *Spain*, of the Spirit of our Adminiſtration; and if this ſhould have happened, the Houſe of *Auſtria* was then in ſuch a Condition, that our Aſſiſtance, even tho' late, would have been of effectual Service.

I am ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gentleman now ſay, that we gave up nothing, or got any Thing by our infamous Convention with *Spain*. Did not we give up the Freedom of our Trade and Navigation, by ſubmitting it to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries? Can Freedom be regulated without being confined, and conſequently in ſome Part deſtroyed? Did not we give up *Georgia*, or ſome Part of it, by ſubmitting to have new Limits ſettled by Plenipotentiaries? Did not we give up all the Reparation of Honour we had ſo juſt a Title to inſiſt on? Did not we give up all Reparation of the Damage we had ſuffered, amounting to 5 or 600,000*l.* for the paltry Sum of 27,000*l.*? For this was all *Spain* promiſed to pay, after deducting the 68,000*l.* which we, by the Declaration annexed to that Treaty, allowed her to inſiſt on having from our *South-Sea* Company, under the Penalty of ſtripping them of the *Aſſiento* Contract, and all the Privileges they were thereby intitled to. Even this Sum of 27,000*l.* or more, they had before acknowledged to be due, on account of Ships they had allowed to have been unjuſtly taken, and had actually ſent Orders for their Reſtitution: So that by this infamous Treaty we got nothing, and gave up every Thing; and therefore, in my Opinion, the Honour of this Nation can never be retrieved, unleſs the Adviſers and Authors of it be cenſured and puniſhed, which cannot regularly be done without a Parliamentary Inquiry.

By theſe and the like wicked, or weak and puſillanimous Meaſures, we are become the Ridicule of every Court in *Europe*, and have loſt the Confidence of all our antient Allies: By theſe we have encouraged *France* to extend her ambitious Views, and now at laſt to attempt carrying them into Execution. By bad Œconomy and Extravagance in our domeſtick Meaſures, we have brought ourſelves into ſuch Diſtreſs at home, that we are almoſt utterly incapable

incapable of entering into a War: By Weakneſs or Wickedneſs in our foreign Meaſures, we have brought the Affairs of *Europe* into ſuch Diſtreſs, that it is almoſt impoſſible for us to avoid entering into a War. By theſe Means we have been brought upon the dangerous Precipice on which we now find ourſelves; and ſhall we truſt our being led ſafely off to the ſame Guide that has led us on? Sir, it is impoſſible for him to lead us off; it is impoſſible for us to get off, without firſt recovering that Confidence among our antient Allies which this Nation formerly uſed to have: This we cannot do as long as they ſuppoſe, that our Counſels are influenced by our late Miniſter; and this they will ſuppoſe, as long as he has Acceſs to the King's Cloſet, and his paſt Conduct remains uninquired into and uncenſured. It is not therefore Revenge for paſt Sufferings, but a Deſire to prevent future, that makes me ſo ſanguine for this Inquiry. His Puniſhment, let it be never ſo ſevere, will be but a ſmall Atonement to his Country for what is paſt; but his Impunity will be the Source of many future Miſeries to *Europe*, as well as to his native Country. Let us be as merciful as we will, as any Man can reaſonably deſire, when we come to pronounce Sentence; but Sentence we muſt pronounce, and for this Purpoſe we muſt inquire, unleſs we are reſolved to ſacrifice our own Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*, to the Preſervation of one Guiltman.

The other Debate of the ſame Nature, which happened in our Club, March 23, *was likewiſe begun by* Licinius Menenius, *who upon this Occaſion ſpoke in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

NOtwithſtanding the bad Succeſs of my laſt Motion for inquiring into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs, it ſhall not diſcourage me from offering you another of the ſame Nature; becauſe, I think, our making ſome Sort of Inquiry, during this Seſſion of Parliament, abſolutely neceſſary for quieting the Minds of the People, and for reſtoring, in ſome Degree, the Character and Credit of our Government. What Sort of Company ſome Gentlemen may keep, I do not know; but to me who keep all Sorts of Company, the Diſappointment upon the former Motion's being rejected, appeared evident in the Face of every Man, who had not Reaſon, upon his own Account, or the Account of ſome of his Friends, to dread the Conſequences of that Inquiry. And whatever we may think within Doors, it will be thought without, nay, it is now generally ſaid, that if ſome People were not conſcious of their own Guilt, they would not ſo vigorouſly oppoſe an Inquiry; for an innocent Man, when he finds himſelf accuſed or ſuſpected, will always deſire to be brought to a fair and legal Trial, that he may have an Opportunity to vindicate his Character againſt thoſe Whiſpers that are ſpread about againſt it. This, Sir, is the Language now held without Doors, and the certain Conſequence will be, that if we let this Seſſion paſs over without any Inquiry, it will be ſaid, that a Majority of us have been Partakers in the Guilt, and Partners in the Plunder of our Country.

From hence, Sir, I muſt hope, that every innocent Man in this Houſe, and now that one Man is gone from amongſt us, I hope, all of us are ſo, will be for the Queſtion I am now to propoſe, becauſe I have taken Care to prevent its being liable to the two chief Objections that ſeemed to prevail againſt my laſt Motion. Theſe were, its being

being too extenſive as to Time, and too extenſive as to Matter. An Inquiry for twenty Years back was thought to be without Precedent, and that it would be ſuch a Precedent as might be of dangerous Conſequence in future Times. This was one of the chief Objections againſt it, and an Objection which, I believe, had Weight with ſome whoſe Concurrence I hope to be favoured with in this Motion. And the other Objection was, its comprehending all our foreign as well as our domeſtick Affairs, which muſt of courſe have brought all the Papers relating to our foreign Negotiations before our Committee. To this it was objected, that it would endanger the Diſcovery of ſome of the moſt important Secrets of our Government to our Enemies, which might be of the moſt fatal Conſequence now that we are engaged in one War, and in great likelihood of being ſoon obliged to engage in another. This likewiſe ſeemed to have Weight, and, I believe, prevailed with ſome Gentlemen to be againſt my former Motion, for which Reaſon I ſhall now only move, *That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of* Robert Earl of Orford, *during the laſt Ten Years of his being Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor and Under Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.*

Sir, I hope the Time of Inquiry propoſed by this Motion will not be thought too extenſive; for conſidering the chief Crime of a domeſtick Nature, he has been accuſed of, our Inquiry cannot, I think, be confined within narrower Bounds. The Crime I mean, is that of applying not only all the Favours of the Crown, but even the publick Money, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections and in Parliament. This he is generally accuſed of by the Voice of the People without Doors, and, I believe, there is not a Gentleman in this Houſe that has been choſen in Oppoſition to what was called the Court Intereſt, who was not ſenſible of ſome ſuch Practices being carried on againſt him, before and at the Time of his Election. Every Gentleman muſt be ſenſible, that it is very difficult to fix ſuch Practices upon a Miniſter, becauſe they are not only carried on in a hidden Manner, but by Tools and under Agents, who do not appear at the Election as Agents for the Miniſter, but as Agents for the Court Candidate; and generally ſpend their Money very freely, tho' it is often known, that neither they nor their Candidate had ever any Money of their own to ſpare. Nay, thoſe Agents are often known to be Treaſury Agents, tho' in the common Courſe of Juſtice it is impoſſible to prove that they are. It will even be difficult for a Committee of this Houſe, with all the Powers we can give them, to trace this Practice up to its original Source; but, conſidering the general Suſpicion without Doors, and the many ſtrong Reaſons there are for believing that Suſpicion to be well grounded, we ought certainly to aim at it; and if we do, we cannot begin later than the Time when canvaſſing may be ſuppoſed to have begun for the chuſing of laſt Parliament, which I reckon, was about ten Years ago for as that Parliament was choſen in the Summer 1734, we muſt ſuppoſe that the Candidates, eſpecially where there was like to be an Oppoſition, begun to take Meaſures for ſecuring their Intereſt in the Summer 1734, which will juſt come within the Term of ten Years, computing back from this Time.

For this Reaſon, I hope this will appear to be the ſhorteſt Time I could move for; and as it is much ſhorter than the Time propoſed by my laſt Motion, I hope, I ſhall have

the Concurrence of many Gentlemen who then appeared againſt me, eſpecially as I have likewiſe in this taken Care to obviate the other Objection, of its being too extenſive as to the Matters propoſed to be inquired into; for as this noble Lord had by none of his Offices any Thing to do with foreign Affairs, this Motion cannot be ſaid to relate to, or comprehend any Affairs of that Nature, unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that this Miniſter directed every other Branch of publick Buſineſs, as well as that of the Treaſury, which, I am ſure, none of his Friends will pretend to ſay, becauſe this would be as great a Crime as any he is accuſed of. This Motion cannot therefore be ſuppoſed to relate to any foreign Affair, and, conſequently, an Inquiry into this Nobleman's Conduct, cannot be ſuppoſed to endanger the Diſcovery of any of the Secrets of our Government. Nay, if he, whilſt he was in Office, confined himſelf to the Duty of his Office, our Inquiry, in purſuance of this Motion, can comprehend but one Branch even of our domeſtick Affairs, and that Branch too, which, of all others, has the leaſt to do with our foreign Affairs. An Inquiry into the Conduct of a Secretary of State, a Secretary at War, a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, or even the Lord High Chancellor, might be ſaid to have ſome Relation to foreign Affairs; but I cannot ſuggeſt to myſelf what a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury can have to do with foreign Affairs, or how an Inquiry into his Conduct can have the leaſt Relation to any foreign Affair whatſoever; conſequently, I hope, this Motion will appear to be quite free from that Objection which ſeemed to be urged with ſo much Weight againſt my former; and as ſo much has in this Seſſion been ſaid, upon former Occaſions, about the Neceſſity of an immediate Inquiry, I ſhall add no more, but move to reſolve, as I have before mentioned, *That a Committee be appointed*, &c.

This Motion being ſeconded by the ſame Gentleman that ſeconded the former, it was firſt oppoſed by C. Saluſtius Criſpus, *in a Speech to this Effect:*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

WHATEVER were the prevailing Objections, or may be thought to have been the prevailing Objections againſt the former Motion, by ſome Gentlemen, that of its being too extenſive, either as to Time or Matter, was far from being the moſt prevailing with me. The Objection which prevailed moſt with me againſt the laſt, and will equally prevail againſt this, was, that, I think, we have no Cauſe for an Inquiry, and if we had, this is not a proper Time for it. The Suſpicions that are entertained, and the Clamours that are made without Doors, are neither the Suſpicions nor the Clamours of ſenſible and diſcerning Men, nor of Men of Fortune and Circumſtances in our Country, unleſs it be ſuch as cover their Diſaffection to the Royal Family under the Cloak of being diſcontented with the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtration. They are the Suſpicions and Clamours either of *Jacobites* and *Republicans*, or of the mere Mob; and, I hope, I ſhall never ſee the Meaſures or Proceedings of this Houſe directed by either of theſe Sorts of Men. If you were to be directed by *Jacobites* and *Republicans*, you would not only inquire, but hang up every Man that dared ſerve the Royal Family now upon our Throne, that you might thereby, at laſt, get the Royal Family itſelf baniſhed out of the Kingdom; and, if you were to be directed by the Mob,

you

you would, for their Diverſion, and for no other Cauſe, ſend ſome Miniſter or other every Year to *Tyburn* or *Tower-Hill*. Such an Execution would be a Holy-day to all the Children, Prentices, and Journeymen, about *London*; and if they are diverted, they trouble their Heads very little at whoſe Expence, or about the Juſtice of the Sentence.

The Suſpicions or the Murmurs without Doors are never to be a Rule for our Proceedings, unleſs we are fully convinced, that there is ſome very good Ground for thoſe Suſpicions and Murmurs; and this, I think, cannot with Reaſon be ſaid by any Gentleman at preſent. The only Ground of Complaint which the noble Lord was pleaſed to hint at, was that of applying the publick Money, and all the Favours of the Crown, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections and in Parliament. Sir, with regard to the Favours of the Crown, I do not ſee how any Miniſter can be made to anſwer for their Diſpoſal, becauſe they are directly diſpoſed of by the King himſelf, who very often diſpoſes of them without ſo much as asking the Advice of the Miniſter, whoſe proper Department they belong to; and therefore, if any Fault could be ſuppoſed to have been committed in this Reſpect, it would be a Charge againſt the King himſelf, which, I hope, will be allowed to be a Sort of Charge that cannot be brought by this Houſe, or by either Houſe of Parliament. Perhaps, thoſe Favours have been lately granted generally to thoſe, or the Friends of thoſe, that approved his Majeſty's Meaſures in Parliament. Sir, it is very natural they ſhould be ſo diſpoſed of: They have always been ſo diſpoſed of. His Majeſty, I am very ſure, never propoſes, much leſs purſues any Meaſure but what he thinks right; therefore he muſt ſuppoſe thoſe Gentlemen to be the beſt Friends to their Country, who approve of and ſupport his Meaſures in Parliament; and, I hope, it will not be imputed to him, or to any of his Miniſters as a Crime, to beſtow the Favours of the Crown upon thoſe they think the beſt Friends to their Country. This, I hope, will anſwer for thoſe Favours that are beſtowed by the Crown upon Members of Parliament; and, if they have any Favours in their Gift, or can obtain any Favours from the Crown for other Perſons, they are in Gratitude obliged to diſpoſe of thoſe Favours among thoſe who ſupported their Intereſt at their Election. This has always been the Practice, it always will, it always ought to be the Practice; becauſe, as I have ſaid, it is what Gentlemen are in Gratitude bound to do; and to be grateful will never, I hope, be deemed criminal.

If this, Sir, is to be called a corrupt Influence, it is impoſſible for us to be without it, as long as the Crown has any Favours to beſtow. It is what every Gentleman practiſes, and ought to practiſe in his private Capacity as well as his publick. If he has any Favours to beſtow, if he can procure any Favours, as a good Citizen, he ought to beſtow them upon, or procure them for thoſe that, in his Opinion, deſerve beſt of their Country; and if he purſues what he thinks the Intereſt of his Country, he muſt think, thoſe Men deſerve beſt of their Country, who approve of the Meaſures he approves of, and ſupport him in the Purſuit of them. This may, indeed, be a corrupt Influence, with regard to ſome of thoſe upon whom the Favours are beſtowed; They may, perhaps, pretend to approve of, and may ſupport their Patron in the Purſuit of Meaſures which they do not in their Hearts approve of; but with regard to him, it is no corrupt Influence,

as

as long as he purſues thoſe Meaſures which, he thinks, will contribute moſt to the Security and Happineſs of his Country. In the Perſon who beſtows, the Diſpoſal of Favours can never be ſuppoſed to be with a Deſign to procure a corrupt Influence; nor can it be imputed to him as a Crime, unleſs he purſues ſuch Meaſures as he knows to be deſtructive to his Country; and as this is a Crime in the Mind only, we can never diſcover it by an Inquiry, nor can it be juſtly puniſhed by any ſublunary Power: It can be neither detected nor puniſhed by any Thing but the Hand of God.

With regard to the Diſpoſal of publick Money, it is eaſier, indeed, to diſcover a criminal Practice. If that has been diſpoſed of towards bribing Votes either in Parliament, or at Elections, and without a Pretence of any real and honeſt Service performed to the Publick, it may be detected, and ought to be puniſhed. But there are two very ſtrong Reaſons for making us believe, that no ſuch Practice has been lately made uſe of. Such Practices, as all criminal Practices are, are generally carried on in a hidden Manner; but to iſſue Money from the Treaſury for this Purpoſe, I think impoſſible to be done in a hidden Manner. There are ſo many Commiſſioners, and ſo many Clerks attending that Board, that ſuch a Practice could not long eſcape a Diſcovery; and beſides, there muſt be ſo many Agents employed to carry this Money to the Country, and to diſtribute it in a proper Manner, that no Man of common Senſe would truſt to the Secret's being kept. Some one of thoſe to whom it muſt be communicated, would certainly, either out of Regard to his Country, or in Expectation of a Reward, or from ſome Diſappointment, become an Informer, and a direct Evidence againſt the high Criminal. As no ſuch Thing has happened: As the noble Lord does not ſo much as pretend, that he has any ſuch Information or Evidence, I muſt ſuppoſe, that no ſuch Crime has been lately committed. Even if there were a general Rumour among Men of Senſe and Diſcretion without Doors, that ſuch a Crime had been frequently committed, I ſhould look upon it as a mere groundleſs Rumour, unleſs ſome Gentleman of Character could ſay, he had direct Evidence to produce.

Another Argument, Sir, for my thinking the committing of this Crime impoſſible, is the Method introduced by the Revolution, of appropriating all Parliamentary Grants, and the regular Accounts of the Diſpoſal of all publick Monies that have been of late Years laid annually before Parliament. Theſe Grants are generally ſo far from having any Exceſs or Surplus, that they are often inſufficient for anſwering the Services to which they are appropriated by Parliament; and if ever any Surplus has ariſen, it has always been accounted for, and has been applied by the next ſucceeding Seſſion to the Service of the enſuing Year. From hence, I think it impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that any one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or all of them together, if they were Confederates in the Crime, could have the Command of any publick Money, which they might apply towards carrying on the Practice complained of. I ſay, Sir, they could have the Command of no publick Money, which they could apply to this Purpoſe, unleſs they took it from the Civil Liſt Revenue; and if we conſider the many Checks the Diſpoſal of that Revenue is liable to, and the great Care his Majeſty takes of that Part of it which is drawn out by ſpecial Warrant, we cannot ſuppoſe, that

that they could apply any Part of that Revenue to the carrying on of ſuch a Practice, eſpecially ſuch large Sums as would be neceſſary for carrying it on with Effect, without ſuppoſing, which God forbid! any one ſhould ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty himſelf was a *Socius Criminis*.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I cannot ſuppoſe we have the leaſt Cauſe or Reaſon for ſetting up ſuch an Inquiry as is propoſed by this Motion; and with all due Regard to this Houſe, I muſt ſay, that if an Inquiry were ſet up, as, I hope, there never will, without any apparent Cauſe whatever, I ſhould very much ſuſpect, that it proceeded from Malice and Reſentment, in which Caſe I ſhould very little expect, that the Perſon whoſe Conduct was by ſuch Means to be inquired into, ſhould meet with any Candour or fair Treatment. If I judge more favourably of the Cauſe and Character of the noble Lord whoſe Conduct is now ſo particularly propoſed to be inquired into, than other Gentlemen do, I hope, the Connexion I have with him, the natural Duty I owe him, will plead my Excuſe. If I thought his Character ſuffered among the valuable and diſcerning Part of Mankind, and ſuch as are true Friends to our happy Conſtitution, and the Royal Family now upon our Throne, as I am fully convinced of his Innocence, the ſame Duty that now prompts me to be the firſt to oppoſe an Inquiry into his Conduct, would in that Caſe prompt me to be the firſt to propoſe it, as ſoon as a proper Time preſented for that Purpoſe, which I cannot think the preſent is.

When the Nation, Sir, is in ſo much Danger, when our beſt and moſt natural Ally upon the Content is in the moſt imminent Danger of being deſtroyed, or ſo much reduced as never for the future to be able to do us any Service; when we ought to employ all our Time in conſulting and taking proper Meaſures for extricating ourſelves and our Allies from the Danger that now threatens all of us, would it be proper, would it be prudent for us to take up our Time with inquiring into the little Frauds that may have been committed in the Management of our publick Revenue, ſuppoſing we were certain that ſome ſuch had been committed? It would give the Courts abroad ſuch a mean Opinion of our Prudence, or ſuch a Suſpicion of our Zeal for the preſent Relief of *Europe*, that none of them would treat with us, or enter into any Concert or Negotiation with our Sovereign.

[*This* SPEECH *to be concluded, and this* DEBATE *and* JOURNAL *to be continued in our* MAGAZINE *for* January.]

In our laſt Magazine, *p.* 577, *l.* 17 *and* 18, *for* C. Marcius Coriolanus, *read*, Cn. Manlius Vulſo.

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